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LOCKE'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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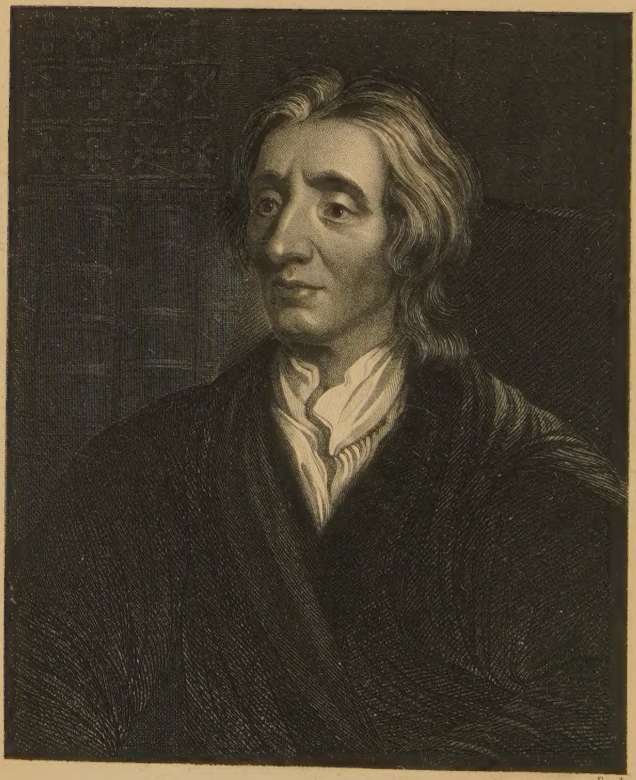

Read.

John Locke.

Harvey Gates Townsend

THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS OF JOHN LOCKE

EDITED,
WITH A PRELIMINARY ESSAY AND NOTES, BY
J. A. ST. JOHN

VOL. I.

LONDON
GEORGE BELL AND SONS
1905

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PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

Ἔστι δὲ τό γε ἀληθειά τις ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα τῶ Παρμενίδου λόγῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας αὐτὸν κωμῳδεῖν.

PLAT. PARMENIDES.

AN edition of the Philosophical Works of Locke has long been wanting. It is in fact matter of surprise, that a body of writings, in which the most popular metaphysical system of modern times is developed, should never before have been presented to the world in a collected form, and detached from all miscellaneous compositions. The object of the present discourse is to describe briefly and with simplicity, the character of these various pieces, in order that the reader who happens not to be already acquainted with them, may proceed with the greater curiosity to their perusal.

The Essay on the Human Understanding, the principal of Locke's writings, has now been before the world for nearly two centuries. It has excited the strongest opposition; it has been assailed by calumny, it has often been misunderstood, and sometimes neglected. Nevertheless, such is its character, such are the principles it contains, such the clearness, fulness, and satisfactory nature of its interpretations of intellectual phenomena, that it can never be wholly laid aside so long as the study of philosophy shall retain any charm for mankind.

That it is not a popular work must be admitted; nor can it, perhaps, by any art or contrivance be rendered so. For, in the first place, the public possess but little inclination to penetrate backwards, as it were, to the dim and misty fountains of human knowledge, lying remote from observation, and thickly shaded by the foliage of doubts and uncertainties; and secondly, to be frank and candid, the guide himself who undertakes to conduct us

thither is not altogether free from a certain uncouthness of manner, apt at first sight to chill our ardour and repel familiarity.

But they whom nature designed for metaphysicians are not to be discouraged by difficulties; since in philosophy, as in religion, the crown, they know, is reserved for those who "through faith and patience inherit the promises." The truths which in this world grow along the wayside, are few and of ordinary quality; to reach the noblest and most beautiful we must strike off into little-frequented paths, nor heed the briars and thorns, or the rocky, steep, and slippery places over which with sweat and toil it is necessary to force our way. For this reason the fastidious and luxurious student, who would enjoy the reputation of having made progress in philosophy, selects works of easier access than the masterpiece of Locke. In fact, compilers in this, as in other sciences, often possess greater charms for the generality than original speculators and inventors of systems; for, unable to overawe or dazzle mankind by opening up fresh views into the arcana of nature, or by the revelation of new truths, they betake themselves to the ample storehouses of rhetoric, and, by the help of sleights and artifices so metamorphose the ideas which they cull from the works of others that it would be difficult even for those from whose brains they sprung, to recognise them.

We accordingly often hear it said that, like Plato and Aristotle, Locke has now grown somewhat out of date, and that vast improvements have since his time been made in metaphysics.

It is far, however, from being clear to me that philosophy, in the proper sense, is a science at all, or that we can go on from generation to generation enlarging and improving it, as we do geography, astronomy, and the mathematics. On the contrary, it appears to partake very much of the nature of an art, which, depending partly on the genius and partly on the practice and experience of an individual, is perfectly intransmissible; otherwise the immediate disciples of Bacon and Locke would necessarily have been as wise if not wiser than they, all the accumulated stores of thought bequeathed by those great men to the world having been within their reach, together with whatever by their own industry they

could add to them. In this way each age would outgrow that which preceded it, until at length our wisdom would be that of gods, and our knowledge all but boundless.

The history of philosophy lays before us a far different picture. A great man arises and occupies himself with the study of nature; he reads, he inquires, he investigates, he meditates; his ideas and opinions, under the inexplicable influence of that peculiar conformation of mind which we designate character, arrange themselves harmoniously into a certain order; that is, grow up into a system of which the philosopher himself constitutes the centre, his intellectual idiosyncracies pervading the whole, and communicating to every part those peculiar features which prove it to have proceeded from his mind.

When this process is completed, men, smitten by the thirst of knowledge, ardent, enthusiastic, approaching within the sphere of the philosopher's influence, are attracted towards him and become his disciples; and his central light reflected from their minds, like that of the sun from the face of the planets, is what we denominate philosophy in its second stage of progression; after which, if the process be continued, it grows at every remove paler and paler until at length it dies away, and is no longer discernible. This circle being completed, the powers of that philosophy are supposed to be effete, and the necessity of a new system is felt. Then generally another inventive mind springs up into life, and contemplating man and the universe from a new point of view, creates another system more or less true and comprehensive in proportion to the elevation of its author's intellect.

The number of minds of this original and systematic character has in modern times been small, consisting of Descartes, Hobbes, Bacon, and Locke; and even Bacon ought perhaps to be considered rather as a great critic in philosophy than as the founder of a new system, since it would be difficult to name the doctrines or opinions he introduced, or say in what he innovated, save in the method of philosophizing. Other men indeed there have been, possessed by the ambition of founding a new philosophical sect, who have left behind them works of great ingenuity, and not without their value, as Leibnitz, Malebranche,

Hume, and Berkeley; but it may be doubted whether they would have favoured the world with their opinions at all had they not received the impulse from other thinkers. Descartes, Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke were themselves the originators and centres of a new motion, which, proceeding from them, diffused itself on all sides, until it embraced and agitated every speculative mind throughout the civilized world. The influence, however, of Descartes and Hobbes was comparatively transient, while that of Locke and Bacon still exists, and appears destined long to continue in operation. Their philosophy, indeed, is seldom received directly from their own writings, but through other and inferior channels, more on a level with the minds that imbibe it.

But it would unquestionably be an advantage to the world could we multiply the number of those who come in contact with the philosophers themselves, and receive the vital warmth and motion directly from their original source. To facilitate this process is the aim of the present edition of the Essay on the Human Understanding, and those minor works which precede and follow it, constituting the most remarkable and by far the most influential body of philosophical writings to which modern times have given birth.

I am not ignorant, however, that the opinion is widely received, even among persons who affect to rank above the common herd, that Locke is a dry and crabbed writer, abounding perhaps with original thoughts, and acute and ingenious speculations, but incapable of affording to the reader that pleasure, which, in an indolent and luxurious age, is more sedulously sought after than truth or knowledge. But I am inclined to reckon this among the vulgar errors of our times, particularly as I have never found it to be entertained by any man familiar with the works of Locke. On the contrary, it is generally bandied about among persons who lack the healthful appetite for knowledge which would enable them to digest it when placed before them in his manly and highly vigorous style.

In many respects indeed Locke may be regarded as an exact representative of the whole English nation, which has never been celebrated for external polish and refinement, though no people in Europe has hitherto approached it for

impetuosity of eloquence, for profoundness in philosophy, or the highest flights of imaginative grandeur in poetry.

So with Locke, whose language, to acknowledge the truth frankly, is at times careless, rough, and even slovenly; but to make amends our minds are delighted and lifted up by the magnificence and vast dimensions of his thoughts, which, circling about the orbit of human genius, often project themselves beyond the remotest limits of the universe into the unfathomable abyss of space which appears to surround creation on all sides. Departing likewise from those two sources of all we know or can know, sensation and reflection, he conducts our understandings upwards through every gradation of intellectual being extending from man to God, respecting whose existence and ineffable nature he reasons with the precision of a mathematician and the piety of a saint. It would indeed be difficult in this respect to exaggerate his merits. Having with wonderful patience and accuracy sounded the depths and shallows of human knowledge, and discovered how little we comprehend of that infinitude of intelligible things which encompasses us, he had framed to himself the most exalted notion of the Divinity; and the deep and unaffected reverence for the Divine nature which pervades his whole philosophy sheds a glory and a lustre over it which no length of time, I feel confident, will suffice to destroy.

Nevertheless, in investigating the origin of our knowledge on this awful subject, he falls into an error, which in the proper place I have pointed out in the notes. It may, however, be well briefly to advert to it in this place. Being intent on overthrowing the doctrine of innate ideas, he argues that even the idea of a God is obtained through the medium of sensation and reflection. In proof of this he refers to the many nations of atheists which, according to certain travellers, are found in various parts of the world. Now if whole communities of men exist to whom the conception of a Deity has never presented itself, it must be self-evident that the doctrine of innate ideas is false; for if God impressed any idea on the mind of man from the first moment of its existence, it would doubtless be that of himself: but we find whole races of men, says Locke, who not only bring no such idea into the world with them, but

never acquire it at all; therefore the system of innate ideas is palpably unfounded. It was well, however, for him that the other parts of the foundation of his system were better than this; since it has never been proved, and in fact never can be proved, that there is anywhere to be found a whole nation among whom no idea of a Divinity exists. The travellers who have given currency to such a belief are altogether unworthy of credit, either because they had some purpose to serve by setting it on foot, or because, being in reality ignorant of what the people they described thought or believed, they jumped rashly, without inquiry, to the conclusion that they believed nothing. This may often, as in the case of Le Vaillant, be demonstrated from their own works, where affirming one thing in one place and the contrary in another, they not only authorise but compel us to believe that they either wholly misunderstood or wilfully misrepresented the people among whom they sojourned. Upon such writers it might have been expected that a cautious and able inquirer like Locke would have placed no reliance; but their relations appearing to support his views he had the weakness to receive their testimony, though his worst enemies never for one moment supposed that it interfered in any way with his own belief.

Of man himself his conception, in my opinion, was less just. He appears frequently to delight in humbling our pride by dwelling upon our weakness and insignificance, by recurring again and again to our want of power to extort from nature her secrets, by delineating in sad and humiliating colours diseases as well of the body as the mind. For something of this propensity he was, perhaps, indebted to those physiological and pathological studies connected with the profession for which he was designed, it being exceedingly difficult for a physician to emancipate himself from the influence of the hospital and the dissecting-room, however much he may desire it.

With this part of his notions, which strongly resemble the sarcastic declamation of Montaigne, the world has been rendered familiar through the Essay on Man, in which Pope often does nothing more than versify what he found in the works of Locke.

The defect, however, here pointed out can scarcely be said

to pervade the whole system; for in laying bare the roots of our ideas, in describing the soil from which they spring, and the several stages of that marvellous growth and multiplication by which they spread and become, in some respects, coextensive with creation itself, he makes amends for what might seem to be invidious in other parts of his views and gives birth to a sublime conception of human intellect.

His object however was not so much to reconcile man with himself, as to explain the means by which we acquire all the knowledge we possess, with the reasons why it is not more extensive and complete. He had necessarily, therefore, to dwell on all the existing hindrances as well as helps to knowledge, whether arising from the make and constitution of our nature, or from that artificial atmosphere of prejudice by which in all stages of society we envelop ourselves.

In refuting errors and laying bare absurdities there is always something ungracious; but such, up to his time, had been the character of modern philosophy that it was impossible to erect a system sufficiently spacious and magnificent to be the dwelling-place of Truth, without overthrowing and removing the numerous dens and asylums of Error with which the whole was encumbered. Thus the Essay on the Human Understanding grew to be in part polemical, and the porch of philosophy was filled with the din and strife of controversy, instead of those musical flourishes and harmonious preludes which, in the works of Plato and many other ancient philosophers, meet the student on the threshold.

It will be perceived that I here refer more particularly to the doctrine of innate ideas, which Locke found it necessary to refute before he entered upon the development of his own system. It has been supposed by some modern writers that he was at very unnecessary pains in the matter, seeing he had little more to contend with than shadows of his own raising. This is Hume's view of the controversy, the whole nature of which he appears thoroughly to have misunderstood. At all events he misrepresents it grossly, where, in a laconic note, he cavalierly accuses Locke of not comprehending the question he was discussing. "'Tis probable," he says, "that no more was meant by those who

denied innate ideas than that all ideas were copies of our impressions." The probability however is, that their meaning was very different, for if the word 'impressions' mean anything at all, it must mean the same thing with sensation and then I would beg leave to inquire where Locke maintains that all our ideas, or indeed any of them, are *copies of our sensations?* For though he teaches that it is through sensation we obtain certain of our simple ideas, he nowhere asserts that the ideas thus obtained are copies of such sensations.

The explanation given by Hume of the word 'innate' is perfectly humorous: "For what," he asks, "is meant by *innate?* If innate be equivalent to natural, then all the perceptions and ideas of the mind must be allowed to be innate or natural, in whatever sense we take the latter word, whether in opposition to what is uncommon, artificial, or miraculous." But neither Descartes, nor any other philosopher who held the doctrine of innate ideas, ever employed the term as a synonym with natural. If he had done so, no dispute would have arisen about the matter, though people might have objected to his abuse of language. But Hume knew very well that such was not the meaning of the term innate, and therefore goes on to say: "If by innate he meant contemporary to our birth, the dispute seems to be frivolous; nor is it worth while to inquire at what time thinking begins, whether before, at, or after the birth." All this may be very true, but Locke finding the philosophical world besotted with such frivolities patiently undertook to demonstrate their frivolousness.

The sense in which 'innate' was understood by Locke's opponents, scarcely glanced at by Hume, requires to be explained: they supposed that certain of our ideas are obtained through sensation, others through reflection, and that a third sort are stamped upon the essence of the soul at the moment of its creation. But because the ideas of this third class are not developed in the first stages of life so as to be taken cognizance of by the understanding, they are said to lie hidden in the depths of our being until called forth and rendered visible by circumstances. This is the system which Locke undertakes to explode. Whether it be frivolous or otherwise the world must determine, for it still exists in

spite of his reasonings, which shows that, however frivolous it may be, it is at least possessed of considerable vitality.

Hume, however, undertakes to clear up the mystery in the following manner: "Admitting," says he, "these terms, *impressions* and *ideas*, in the sense above explained, and understanding by *innate* what is original or copied from no precedent perception, then may we assert that all our impressions are innate, and our ideas not innate." It is very easy to sneer, as Hume elsewhere does, at "that jargon which has so long taken possession of metaphysical reasonings;" but to speak frankly, I never met in any author jargon more completely unintelligible than this. For after utterly confounding the meaning of natural, innate, impression, and idea, he proceeds to make confusion worse confounded by speaking of innate and inward sensations, that is of sensations which precede the existence of all sensitive power, and sensations existing in the intellect, for by inward sensations he must mean this or nothing.*

From the fatal necessity of entering into this controversy sprung likewise another imperfection, the principal, perhaps, in the writings of Locke; I mean his prolixity, which often tires, and would inevitably disgust were it not for the depth,

* Upon this subject of innate ideas more stir was made during the lifetime of the philosopher than on any other connected with his system. The famous Dr. Sherlock attacked his views in a "Digression concerning connate Ideas, or inbred Knowledge, inserted in the third section of the second chapter of his discourse concerning the happiness of good men, and the punishment of the wicked, in the next world," etc. (Lond. 1704. 8vo.) About four months before Locke's death the book was sent to him by Anthony Collins, to whom in his next letter he expressed himself respecting it as follows: "The samples you have sent me I must conclude, from the abilities of the author, to be very excellent. But what shall I be the better for the most exact and best-proportioned picture that ever was drawn, if I have not eyes to see the correspondence of the parts? I confess the lines are too subtle for me, and my dull sight cannot perceive their connections. I am not envious, and therefore shall not be troubled if others find themselves instructed with so extraordinary and sublime a way of reasoning. I am content with my own mediocrity. And though I call the thinking faculty in me *mind*, yet I cannot, because of that name, compare or equal it in anything to that infinite and incomprehensible being which, for want of right and distinct conceptions, is called *mind* also, or the *eternal mind*. I endeavour to make the best use I can of everything; and therefore, though I am in despair to be the wiser for these learned instructions, yet I hope I shall be the merrier for them when you and I take the air in the calash together."

reach, and justness of the observations that everywhere abound by the way, making ample amends for the slow pace at which we advance. The philosopher himself was a man of invincible patience, who calmly and continuously could view a subject on all sides, note its lucid points, and tell where its surface retreated and was overshadowed by obscurity. His genius appeared to be marked with serenity and repose, and to search for wisdom without any of that turbulent excitement experienced by inferior men in the very sanctuary of philosophy. He was, therefore, incapable of comprehending the weariness which more active but less capacious minds would inevitably feel in making their way through his lengthy investigations. He could not foresee that they would gladly receive the result without being shown the steps which led to it; that they would have been better pleased that he should have dogmatised as a teacher than that he should have inquired as a companion and friend, not reflecting upon the inestimable advantages we enjoy in being permitted to accompany him through all those mazy and dusky paths by which he endeavoured to hound out the retreat of truth.

It is a modification of this practice which constitutes the principal charm of Plato's writings; though in them the investigation, thrown into the form of dialogue, enhanced by brilliant sallies of wit, illustrated by a thousand allusions to objects of beauty in nature and art, is conducted with infinitely superior skill, and sometimes assumes much of the sprightly or impassioned tone of dramatic colloquy.

Locke unfortunately had formed a false theory of composition. The philosophical style, he thought, could never be too much divested of metaphor and all other figures of speech, which in his opinion distort as well as colour the medium through which we contemplate the pure truths of the understanding. Yet he found himself compelled everywhere to make use of this proscribed form of expression, which in many parts of the Essay on the Human Understanding are as thickly sown as in any philosophical writings whatever, there being scarcely a sentence unadorned by a metaphor. But if the injurious opinions he entertained of those beauties of language did not prevent him from calling in their aid whenever he stood in need of it, they at least led to false views

with respect to their importance, which terminated at length in carelessness and indifference to the colours and harmony of style.

Towards producing this undesirable effect another quality of his mind contributed; I mean that insensibility to the allurements of verse which deprived him of the highest enjoyment afforded by literature, and betrayed him into expressing a cold preference for Sir Richard Blackmore before the noblest poets of our language. Had it not been for this he might possibly have united with the depth, penetration, and comprehensiveness of a philosopher, the ease, flexibility, taste, gracefulness, and nameless felicities of language which belong to the consummate writer; and these, far more than his higher merits, would have opened him a way to the heart of the many, and rendered his glorious speculations popular and familiar to the whole nation.

But admitting him to be in these points deficient, granting at once the roughness and inartificial structure of his language in many parts, the question is whether it be for the interest of the public that he should remain, what he has long been, a neglected author.

I am aware that it belongs to the natural course of things that to a certain extent men should grow out of date with the age that produced them; for in order to promote the tranquillity and happiness of the world, Providence has clearly ordained that through all the inhabitants of a country at any given period there should preexist a certain resemblance, which in common language we denominate the spirit of the age. Such writers as partake largely of this spirit are popular during life, but rarely attain to fame. Having exclusively devoted themselves to the amusement of their contemporaries they possess nothing for posterity; and it is not therefore unusual to see their works perish before them. Even in the case of the greatest writers there is commonly after the cessation of their personal influence and authority a gradual diminution in the number of those who peruse them, though in the meanwhile their names spread more widely and become familiar to millions who have never even seen their works.

This is preeminently the case with Locke. Everybody speaks of his philosophy; his Essay is among the books of most frequent occurrence upon the stalls; and yet there is good

reason to suspect that the number of those who have the wisdom and courage to read him is very limited. The same thing precisely is true of Lord Bacon; truer still of Hobbes and Hooker, and even of Milton as a prose writer. But must it always remain so? Is it altogether impossible to create among our youth a more masculine taste, a more healthful and vigorous appetite? Cannot the desire be awakened in them to escape for a moment from the vulgar literature of the hour, to wander amid those vast and solemn piles of thought which the greatest minds among our ancestors have reared in honour of philosophy? For myself, I do not yet despair of the commonwealth of letters, but feel persuaded that could I wreak, as Byron phrases it, my thoughts upon expression, could I perform successfully the task I have undertaken, could I describe Locke as he is, and through a short vista open up a prospect into the rich, varied, and boundless field of thought spread before us in the Essay on the Human Understanding, my labours would not be in vain. Certain I am that it is the interest of the present age, above almost all those that have preceded it, to prosecute the study of philosophy, seeing the point at which society has arrived, when the force of traditional principles being spent, there is an imperative necessity for other principles founded upon reason and experience. And in the works of Locke the reader will find a wonderful conformity with the tendencies of the present times. Hobbes, rash and erring in metaphysics, is in politics and practical philosophy timid and suited only to certain periods in the progress of society; Bacon, discerning the wants of his own age, taught men how to supply them, but did not attempt to perform the task himself; Locke alone has, like Aristotle, invaded nearly the whole field of human knowledge, from metaphysics and the science of legislation and government down to the training and feeding of a child in the nursery. He has moreover preserved amidst the austerity of a philosophy almost stoical, a cheerful and ready submission to the elemental impulses of the human heart, uniting the most fervent piety and the highest possible sense of moral rectitude.

I have elsewhere, however, described what he has left us on the subject of religion, and shall probably find other occasions for speaking of his political works, for which reason I here confine my remarks to those among his writings which treat

expressly of philosophy. These I have endeavoured to arrange in the manner best calculated to recommend their perusal, placing the Conduct of the Understanding at the head of all, as it furnishes an outline of his whole system of philosophy, happily conceived, and finished with far more care than is usually supposed. The object of this short treatise is twofold; first, to describe the extent and evils of popular ignorance, and secondly, to exhort mankind to the study of philosophy. It is a work full of ease and animation, and all that kind of eloquence which springs from a perfect knowledge of the subject; for, composed during the last years of the author's life, when he had completed his survey of the realms of knowledge and brought to the utmost maturity of which they were susceptible both his opinions and his theories, it has less the character of an inquiry than of an harangue delivered *ex cathedrâ*, without that hesitation and modest diffidence which in the Essay appear sometimes to impede the free current of his thoughts. He has here likewise introduced more abundantly perhaps than in any other part of his writings those fruits of long experience and wisdom, profound maxims, and pregnant sentences, which at once captivate the imagination and enlarge the mind. It seemed judicious therefore to commence the present publication with this work, which, though entirely of a popular character, leads by an easy ascent to the noblest truths of metaphysics, pinnacled upon the airiest and least accessible heights of speculation.

The way being thus prepared the Essay follows, furnishing a body of philosophy worthy to be studied, together with instructions for subduing or removing all those difficulties capable of being removed which commonly beset this department of human knowledge.

Next, in the Letters to the Bishop of Worcester, who had assailed his system on all those points on which it was supposed to be vulnerable, we have an example, and in most cases a satisfactory defence of his method of philosophising, together with the principle upon which he conducted his inquiries.

To complete the cycle of his philosophical productions I subjoin his examination of Malebranche's system, together with such other smaller pieces as seemed to belong to the same subject.

In the Notes my aim has been by no means ambitious: I have merely sought to increase the interest of the inquiries

pursued in the text, by introducing at the foot of the page illustrations from the works of other philosophers, whether they agree with Locke or differ from him. But I have by no means confined myself to this class of writers, for my object being to recommend the work as far as possible to general perusal, I have sought among poets, historians, travellers, in short from every kind of author within my reach, passages throwing light upon the matter in hand, confirming sometimes and sometimes controverting the views of Locke, whom I have not the superstition to regard as infallible.

Wherever I have found him to agree with others whose opinions happen to be known to me, I have been careful to point it out, particularly if he seemed to have borrowed, whether consciously or not, his notions from them. But this, it seems to me, he has seldom done, though it cannot be denied that the germs of one part of his theory are to be found in the dialogues of Plato, those inexhaustible treasures of thought and wisdom.

About the middle of the last century, when men were in general little bigoted in favour of antiquity, a learned and ingenious writer endeavoured to show that the system of Locke, as well as those of all other modern philosophers, was borrowed entirely from the Greeks. Had the position been maintained in general terms it might at first have seemed to be tenable. But the attempt having been made to support it by quotations, the accuser broke down in his proofs, merely showing that on many points the Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans had obtained glimpses of the truth afterwards demonstrated and placed in the clearest light by our illustrious countryman.

In what relates to the Stoics in particular there is something very ludicrous in the reasonings of the author in question; for, upon the strength of certain passages in Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius, he concludes that, had the writings of Zeno and his followers survived, the world would have stood in no need whatever of the Essay on the Human Understanding.* Whether the fact would have been so or not we have

* Dutens, Origine des Descouvertes attribués aux Modernes, p. 13 et seq.; where he says: "Le philosophe Anglois fait des sensations les matériaux dont la réflexion se sert pour composer les notions de l'âme: les sensations chez lui sont des idées simples, dont la réflexion forme les idées complexes; c'est là le fondement de son livre, dans lequel il est vrai qu'il a répandu un grand jour sur la manière dont nous acquérons nos

no means of judging, for those writings have perished irrecoverably; and the world not being disposed to reject all aid to knowledge because it did not proceed from the Stoics, gladly received and repaid with admiration the inestimable favours conferred upon it by Locke. At the same time, I grant there has scarcely been in modern times a theory started, good, bad, or indifferent, something resembling which might not be found in the philosophical fragments bequeathed to us by antiquity, though it requires a mind of the first order properly to interpret and wisely to profit by the hints which there lie buried. For example, there occurs in the Theatetus a passage not hitherto, that I am aware of, referred to in this discussion, in which sensation and reflection are clearly contemplated as the sources of all our ideas:

"Both in man and the inferior animals there exists from the birth a certain natural power, by which they perceive all those sensations that flow in through the body upon the soul; but the reflections upon these sensations, which discover to us their essence and utility, (in as many as attain to the possession of them at all,) grow up with difficulty in the course of time, through laborious experience and education."*

But it would nevertheless be absurd to infer that Locke had this passage before him when he first conceived the idea of the

idées, et sur leur association; mais il est clair aussi, par tout ce que Sextus Empiricus, Plutarque et Diogène Laerce nous ont conservé de la doctrine des Stoïciens, qu'ils raisonnoient de la même manière que Locke a fait de nos jours; et on peut juger, par ce qu'en dit Plutarque, que si tout ce qu'il sont écrit sur ce sujet (dans les ouvrages dont il ne nous reste que les titres) étoit parvenu jusqu'à nous, nous n'aurions pas en besoin de l'ouvrage de Locke. Le fond de la doctrine de Zénon et de son école sur la logique, étoit, que toutes nos notions nous viennent des sens. L'esprit de l'homme, à sa naissance, est semblable, disoient les Stoïciens, au papier blanc disposé à recevoir tout ce que l'on veut y écrire; les prèmiers impressions qu'il reçoit lui viennent des sens; les objets sont-ils éloignés, la mémoire sert à retenir ces impressions; la répétition de ces mêmes impressions fait l'expérience. Les notions sont de deux genres, naturelles et artificielles; les naturelles sont les vérités qui ont leur source dans les sensations, ou sont acquises par les sens; c'est pourquoi ils les appelloient aussi anticipations: les notions artificielles sont produites par la réflexion de l'esprit dans des êtres doués de raison." (Plut. de Placitis Philosoph. lib. iv. c. 11.)

* Opera, v. iii. p. 268. f. Bekk. *Οὐκοῦν τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς γενομένοις πάρεστι φύσει αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ θηρίοις, ὅσα διὰ τοῦ σώματος παθήματα ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τείνει· τὰ δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀναλογίσματα πρός τε οὐσίαν καὶ ὠφέλειαν μόγις καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ διὰ πολλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ παιδείας παραγίγνεται οἷς ἂν καὶ παραγίγνηται.*

Essay on the Human Understanding. We are endowed with the same senses, the same understanding as the ancients, and the same inexhaustible sources of knowledge lie scattered around us over the face of nature. Why then, if chance lead us to the same springs, should we be thought to have painfully traced our way thither by the dimly perceptible footsteps which they have sometimes left upon the soil? No man of large mind and independent character studies the ancients to pilfer their notions or become a slave to their systems, but to observe the method they pursued in the search after truth, and the inimitable art which many among them exhibited in placing their discoveries before the world. But in neither of these points was Locke much indebted to them, his method of philosophising being completely distinguished from theirs, and his manner of explaining his thoughts, it is to be regretted, still more so. Whatever faults he may have, therefore, it is clear to me that he is neither a plagiarist nor an imitator, but a writer as much *sui generis* as any that can be named in the whole compass of literature.

In studying him accordingly we are spared the labour of searching for the fountains of his opinions and ideas beyond the limits of his own works. He had manifestly followed the advice rather than the example of Hobbes, of reading diligently his own conceptions, which the Bishop of Worcester urged against him as a reproach, taunting him with having spun his whole theory out of his own brains. Had there been a possibility of fixing upon him the charge of plagiarism, the vast reading of Stillingfleet would have enabled him to do it, and the ill-blood engendered by controversy would not have suffered him to keep back such an accusation, as we may be sure, from his having advanced many worse.

I have already alluded briefly to some of the advantages which would ensue from a revival of the study of Locke, among which not the least would be the helps to be derived from him in the construction of a sound theory of ethics. He maintained, as is well known, the opinion that a system of morals might be erected on a basis of pure demonstration, though when pressed by Molineux to undertake the task himself he declined, not so much perhaps from any distrust of his own powers as from the experience he had gained of the temper of the age in which he lived, prone not only to cavil, but wilfully to misinterpret and impute unworthy motives.

To any one, however, who should be disposed to complete the design which he barely contemplated, his writings would supply many useful hints and suggestions, together with indications of the track which an honest investigator ought to pursue. It formed no part of Locke's own plan to examine the nature of our passions, emotions, sentiments and appetites, or to determine how far and by what means they influence our actions.

Though in nowise one of those who regard man simply as a reasoning animal, Locke had still too little of the elements of passion in his own nature, to enable him to judge experimentally of the struggle usually maintained through life between the understanding and the affections, the latter spreading before the judgment a cloud which the former endeavours to dispel.

It is accordingly observable that throughout his works our reason is alone appealed to. He never seeks to kindle our passions or enlist our sympathies on his side; but proceeding stedfastly in what appeared to him to be the wake of truth, he leaves it to our own good sense to determine whether we will go along with him or not.

This doubtless was the proper spirit in which to investigate the sources of knowledge; but it may be doubted whether it would have led him to a sound theory of morals, which should in part at least be based on departments of human experience in which Locke was deficient, never having been a husband or a father, and consequently lacking many of those views which it is impossible to take from any other positions.

No man in fact can have failed to observe that our ethical creed changes with our years, with the changes in our relations, even with the mutations of our status in society. It is necessary to have experienced a father's care, a mother's tenderness, a wife's endearing affection, the unutterable love of children, before we can reason correctly of the duties, feelings, influences, and emotions arising out of all those different relations. Of this Locke was incapable, for the reasons before stated; and therefore perhaps upon the whole, it is little to be regretted that he did not devote his time to the composition of a system of ethics, which, however admirably reasoned, would have wanted the greatest

charm of that kind of composition. Had he possessed this, the admiration excited by his works would have partaken more of enthusiasm. He would have been resorted to as a delightful companion as well as a wise instructor; and even as it is, they who habitually converse with him end at last by acquiring a strong attachment for his character as it develops itself in his writings.

A principal cause of this perhaps is his earnestness and frankness, and his being uniformly found arguing on the side of whatever is virtuous and honourable. Principles taken out of his book and pushed to extreme by others may, indeed, be found or forced to lead to dangerous consequences; but in Locke himself we discover nothing which, as contemplated by him, is adverse to the peace and best interests of society. He maintains no paradoxes for the purpose of exhibiting his metaphysical acuteness and logical power, but following everywhere the dictates of good sense and a disciplined and vigorous reason, he arrives at precisely those truths which are best calculated to knit man to man, to promote the ends of free government, to elevate our species to its proper level, to promote our happiness both here and hereafter.

Advocating above all things the free agency of man, he pitilessly batters down that hackneyed sophism by which certain wild and heterodox speculators have endeavoured to emancipate themselves and others from the empire of conscience. He establishes it as the basis of all law, government, and religion that men are accountable beings, consequently that they have it in their power to choose between vice and innocence; that society has a right to inflict punishment for certain crimes; that beyond the reach of laws there are actions sinful, and consequently requiring chastisement; that there is, therefore, a future life in which every man will receive according to the deeds done in the body. The chapter on Power, in which this question is discussed, may for this reason be said to be peculiarly worthy of being studied at the present moment, when so many of our countrymen appear to be infected by opinions of an opposite tendency.

It might be useful too, as a remedy against that narrow selfishness and vulgar utilitarianism which appears to be fast springing up amongst us, patiently to accompany him through

his speculations on Infinity, in which, flinging off one by one the ligaments that bind us to earth, he plunges out into the great ocean, where there is no existence but that of God dwelling in eternal silence and repose. Here, if anywhere we may discover the nothingness of our pitiful hopes and fears, whose aim extends no further than to a shadow-like passage over this "bank and shoal of time." His ideas throughout this part of his speculations are full of sublimity, some portion of which they must inevitably communicate to those who calmly and reverentially dwell upon them. Into error he may and does fall; but those we everywhere forgive him, as it is impossible not to perceive that he is guided by the love of truth, and that for her sake he was prepared to encounter persecution and calumny, and whatever other evil it might occasion him.

To be conversant, therefore, with the reasonings of such a man cannot fail at once to invigorate and purify the understanding. It requires some acuteness and much attention to perceive all the links of his ratiocination, to follow them, when by their own weight as it were they sink to the lowest depths of metaphysics, and rising again stretch in one unbroken chain nearly across the whole domain of philosophy. But if we be disposed to lend him the requisite attention, it is always possible to discern the subtlest evolutions of his reasonings, to discover precisely whither they lead, and by what motives they are thitherward directed.

Nevertheless, thinking thus highly of Locke, there are several things which I miss in his philosophy, of which the principal perhaps is that sense of the beautiful necessary to impart the highest charm to metaphysical speculations. In his writings we nowhere meet with glimpses of that ideal loveliness which inhabits the inner recesses of some minds, and constitutes the best proof of their affinity with the divine nature. He knows nothing of that visionary sweetness which descends like dew through the periods of Plato, and literally ravishes the imagination. Virtue he cultivates, either because it is the command of God, or because it would be inconsistent with reason to do otherwise. But there is no unconscious and involuntary apotheosis of the principal, drawing us after it like Milton's Archangel, by the irresistible beauty of its countenance. We seldom

in his company forget ourselves, or the matter in hand, to go loitering up the slope of some delightful speculation, leading us for a moment out of our track perhaps, but enabling us, after the digression, to return to it with greater zest and vigour. But what is true of him is likewise true of most modern writers on philosophy, among whom I could scarcely name a single exception, save Bacon, in whose writings we discover everywhere traces of that fire of the imagination necessary to ripen, and bring the noblest fruits of the soul to perfection. His thoughts had moved as it were among the clouds, and caught all the warm and golden hues which they present in the first hour of the morning. Impassioned he neither is nor knows how to be; but his fancy, like a bee, had wandered everywhere through the universe, culling the choicest sweets and odours, which he has breathed over his pages. Hence the pleasure which the reading of Bacon often imparts, when we neither admire his reasoning nor approve of his opinions. Locke, in comparison with him, holds the same place that logic does with respect to rhetoric. In the one the roots only of thoughts and speculations appear upon the surface, while the plants themselves grow in an inverted order, blossom inwards, and bear fruit in the secret recesses of the mind: in the other, whatever is rough or unsightly is kept sedulously out of view, while all that is rich or fascinating is artfully disposed in the order best calculated to charm the eye.

Again, Locke, like Epicureus, whether from the affectation of extreme originality, or from some peculiar theory of composition, the reason of which is not apparent, not only quotes very little from other philosophers, but seldom even refers to them in their opinions, except when it happens to be necessary to refute them. To him, therefore, we may apply with truth the censure which Dr. Johnson unjustly directed against Milton, that "few men ever wrote so much and praised so little." In this characteristic likewise he differs widely from Lord Bacon; many of whose Essays consist of a cento of quotations, admirably put together indeed, but in which little more than the arrangement and setting belongs to him. In Aristotle too and Plato the page is often studded with illustrious names, which are sometimes merely referred to by the way, sometimes for the purpose of opposing, examining, explaining, or illustrating opinions or principles

with which they were connected. This may in some sort be regarded as the bibliography of philosophy; and such is the weakness of human nature, such the desire and the necessity for frequent resting places in abstruse speculations, that allurements and concessions like these, if not absolutely necessary, are at least exceedingly well calculated to keep us in breath as it were, and enable us to support toil with cheerfulness.

In the Letters to the Bishop of Worcester, long as they are and full of repetitions, there is frequently a sort of dialogistic vivacity which keeps up the interest and carries along the reader without weariness to the end. Two characters are insensibly developed before us: that of the Bishop, confident in his extensive learning and high rank in the church, and relying greatly on the fame he had already acquired, advancing opinions and accusations rashly, laying his flanks open to the enemy, and then compelled to retire galled, chafed, and humiliated; and that of the philosopher looking warily around him, calmly and deliberately erecting his batteries, spying out the weak point of the enemy, and then pouring in upon him without mercy his incessant and tremendous fire. In these compositions we are sometimes reminded of the polished playfulness of Pascal. To enliven the dryness of controversy little imaginary dialogues are got up, in which the Bishop's arguments are mawled with a freedom and a levity in which Locke would not have indulged in his own proper person when contending openly with his antagonist.

But the controversy in the course of its development exhibited all the phases which controversies usually present. Beginning at first with a considerable show of good temper and politeness on both sides, it gradually warmed and became embittered, until what seemed to be a mere friendly discussion, undertaken for the purpose of settling agreeably a few doubtful points, degenerated into a fierce warfare, in which both parties put forth all their strength, and seemed to hazard their very reputation on the issue. Locke, it is well known, came out of the struggle triumphant; and this is not at all to be wondered at, for whatever learning or ability Dr. Stillingfleet may have possessed, he was certainly endued with little of that vigour of intellect, that calm and temperate spirit of speculation, that acuteness to discern,

that patience to explain, and that power to argue and vindicate the rights of truth which so preeminently distinguish Locke.

The questions discussed were of the most abstruse kind: the essence of substance, of nature, of person, of identity and diversity, of the Resurrection, of the Trinity, and the Incarnation of Christ. Of the learning requisite in a divine, Dr. Stillingfleet appears (for I do not presume to speak positively) to have possessed an ample share. It was not, therefore, from any deficiency on this point that he lost ground in the controversy, but because he was little accustomed to the calm, cautious, and rigid proceedings of metaphysics, in which nothing can be conceded to authority, nothing to public opinion, but where truth, naked and undisguised, is the sole guide and arbiter of all. Locke, on the other hand, besides being a redoubtable logician, was a practised controversialist, having all his life accustomed himself, though he was little fond of acknowledging it, to the eristic art, in which probably he was little inferior to Zeno himself. The reader will examine and judge. Nevertheless, from what has been said, it will be perceived, that as the dispute turns upon questions so thorny and difficult, it is no easy matter always to appreciate the value of the arguments or the force of the reasoning. Still it is in many respects fortunate that the controversy took place, since it enabled Locke to explain many parts of his philosophy which might otherwise have remained doubtful, and to defend and clear himself from several suspicions which, if made known after his death, it might have been exceedingly difficult to remove. For example, it is clear from the mistake of Dr. Stillingfleet, that it is possible for a hasty reader of the Essay on the Human Understanding to imagine Locke a disbeliever in the existence of the external world, but to one who peruses these letters such a suspicion can never present itself. On several points of faith too he had here an opportunity of speaking out explicitly, and he has in general done so with a frankness and fulness which seem to me altogether satisfactory. Whether I possess too much or too little charity, the reader must decide when he has arrived at the end.

J. A. St. J.

OF THE

CONDUCT OF THE UNDERSTANDING.

'Quid tam temerarium tamque indignum sapientis gravitate atque constantiâ, quam aut falsum sentire, aut quod non satis exploratè perceptum sit, et cognitum, sine ullâ dubitatione defendere?"

CIC. *de Natura Deorum*, lib. i.

[LOCKE has seldom obtained the credit due to him for the following brief treatise. It may in fact be said to be comparatively little known; for though sometimes printed separately, and at other times added almost by way of Appendix to the Essay on the Human Understanding, the opinion of the earliest editor of his works that it is little more than a series of "sudden views, intended to be afterwards revised and further looked into," appears to have been pretty generally adopted. Nevertheless the work is in every respect deserving of very high praise. The author when he wrote it had completed his meditations on all the important topics therein glanced at. He had learned, by the reception his own philosophy had met with, how hard it is to give currency to new truths, which are commonly suspected for counterfeits, until long use and familiarity have reconciled mankind to their appearance. Controversialists had assaulted him; his doctrines had been misunderstood, his motives misinterpreted; his indignation against ignorance and error, against prejudice and calumny, against the obstinacy which is blind to the beauties of truth, and the timidity, which though perceiving refuses to acknowledge them, was therefore wound up to a high pitch, and brought some relief for his mind in exposing the contemptible weakness and the perverse selfishness by which philosophy like religion is thwarted in its benevolent endeavours to enlighten and fortify the human mind. This is the object of the Conduct of the Understanding. It is an apology for philosophy, full of the highest wisdom, the most exquisite good sense, and is rendered doubly piquant by a tone of resentment, mingled with and modifying his characteristic yearning to be of service to his fellow-creatures. Though written later in the order of time, it should now be regarded as an introduction to the greater essay, being written in a style more sprightly, popular, and easy, abounding with figures and brilliant sallies of the fancy, and therefore calculated to operate as a recommendation to the more formidable speculations that succeed it. How it is likely to be estimated or received by readers of the present day it is difficult to foresee. I never remember to have met with the slightest notice of it by any of my contemporaries. The work is evidently little read, but no one who is at the trouble to become acquainted with its merits will acknowledge that it deserves to be neglected. Some few repetitions there are, together with certain roughnesses, and slight inaccuracies of style, which may perhaps be owing to its posthumous publication. Perhaps, however, the author, had he lived, would not have been very solicitous to remove these trifling blem-

lishes, since he indulged in the affectation, scarcely pardonable in one so great and wise, of looking with indifference on the niceties of language and composition. But if there be found here and there some few small imperfections, they are scarcely visible amid the crowd of beauties which press upon the sight. From first to last the chain of reasoning proceeds in one almost unbroken flow. It more resembles an oration in its ornaments and magnificence than a philosophical treatise. The language is quick, full, vehement. Argument does not here disdain the alliance of wit, or irony, or satire. Every weapon which can pierce ignorance, or beat down the defences of fraud, is seized on and wielded with surprising vigour and adroitness. The reader expecting mere instruction, is surprised at finding the most animate entertainment, so that I much doubt whether any one who can relish speculation at all, or experience an interest in anything but fiction, ever commenced the Conduct of the Understanding for the first time without pressing forward to its conclusion with unsatisfied appetite and unabated delight. To sum up its merits we may briefly say, that it is not unworthy to usher the mind into the great and magnificent building of which it may be regarded as the vestibule.—EDITOR.]

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1. *Introduction.*—THE last resort a man has recourse to, in the conduct of himself, is his understanding; for though we distinguish the faculties of the mind, and give the supreme command to the will, as to an agent, yet the truth is, the man, who is the agent, determines himself to this or that voluntary action, upon some precedent knowledge, or appearance of knowledge, in the understanding.* No man ever sets himself about anything but upon some view or other, which serves him for a reason for what he does: and whatsoever faculties he employs, the understanding, with such light as it has, well or ill informed, constantly leads; and by that light, true or false, all his operative powers are directed. The will itself, how absolute and uncontrollable soever it may be thought, never fails in its obedience to the dictates of the understanding. Temples have their sacred images, and we see what influence they have always had over a great part of mankind. But in truth, the ideas and images in men's minds are the invisible powers that constantly govern them, and to these they all universally pay a ready submission. It is therefore of the highest concernment that great care should be taken of the understanding, to conduct it right in the search of knowledge, and in the judgments it makes.

* The question barely glanced at in this place is fully discussed in the Essay on the Human Understanding, Book II. ch. ii. § 29.

The logic now in use has so long possessed the chair, as the only art taught in the schools, for the direction of the mind in the study of the arts and sciences, that it would perhaps be thought an affectation of novelty to suspect that rules that have served the learned world these two or three thousand years, and which, without any complaint of defects, the learned have rested in, are not sufficient to guide the understanding.* And I should not doubt but this attempt would be censured as vanity or presumption, did not the great Lord Verulam's authority justify it; who, not servilely thinking learning could not be advanced beyond what it was, because for many ages it had not been, did not rest in the lazy approbation and applause of what was, because it was, but enlarged his mind to what it might be. In his preface to his Novum Organum, concerning logic, he pronounces thus: "Qui summas dialecticæ partes tribuerunt, atque inde fidissima scientiis præsidia comparari putârunt, verissimè et optimè viderunt intellectum humanum, sibi permissum, meritò suspectum esse debere. Verum infirmior omninò est malo medicina; nec ipsa mali expers. Siquidem dialectica, quæ recepta est, licet ad civilia et artes, quæ in sermone et opinione positæ sunt, rectissimè adhibeatur; naturæ tamen subtilitatem longo intervallo non attingit, et prensando quod non capit, ad errores potius stabiliendos et quasi figendos, quam ad viam veritati aperiendam valuit."

"They," says he, "who attributed so much to logic, perceived very well and truly that it was not safe to trust the understanding to itself without the guard of any rules. But the remedy reached not the evil, but became a part of it, for the logic which took place, though it might do well enough in civil affairs and the arts, which consisted in talk and opinion, yet comes very far short of subtlety in the real performances of nature; and, catching at what it cannot reach, has served to confirm and establish errors, rather than to open a way to truth." And therefore a little after he says, "That it is absolutely necessary that a better and perfecter use and employ-

* Though it had grown fashionable in Locke's age to attack the ancient systems of logic, it will not, I imagine, be supposed that the philosopher himself intended to undervalue the science, though he points out the imperfections and abuses of it. However, he appears in some cases to have confounded the clear, systematic reasonings of the ancients with the subtleties prevalent among the schoolmen, and to have valued even the latter at much less than they were worth.

ment of the mind and understanding should be introduced." "Necessariò requiritur ut melior et perfectior mentis et intellectûs humani usus et adoperatio introducatur."

2. *Parts.*—There is, it is visible, great variety in men's understandings, and their natural constitutions put so wide a difference between some men in this respect, that art and industry would never be able to master, and their very natures seem to want a foundation to raise on it that which other men easily attain unto.* Amongst men of equal education there is great inequality of parts. And the woods of America, as well as the schools of Athens, produce men of several abilities in the same kind. Though this be so, yet I imagine most men come very short of what they might attain unto, in their several degrees, by a neglect of their understandings.† A few rules of logic are thought sufficient in this case for those who pretend to the highest improvement, whereas I think there are a great many natural defects in the understanding capable of amendment, which are overlooked and wholly neglected. And it is easy to perceive that men are guilty of a great many faults in the exercise and improvement of this faculty of the mind, which hinder them in their progress, and keep them in ignorance and error all their lives. Some of them I shall take notice of, and endeavour to point out proper remedies for, in the following discourse.

3. *Reasoning.*—Besides the want of determined ideas, and of sagacity and exercise in finding out and laying in order intermediate ideas, there are three miscarriages that men are

* This view of human nature being that which common sense and experience suggest, has been that of most philosophers from the days of Homer until now. But Helvetius, who desired rather to advance a new and startling theory than to establish truth, contends for the absolute equality of natural powers among men, and derives all the differences observable in them from the accidents of their education. In support of this hypothesis he exhibits much ingenuity, and brings forward many valuable and little-known facts, serving at least to show that discipline and instruction, though incapable of imparting intellect, create, nevertheless, most of those distinctions existing among mankind. So far, however, he had, as the reader will perceive, been anticipated by Locke, and indeed long before him, by Quinctilian.

† A French writer has put this thought in a more epigrammatic form: "Il n'y a personne peut être qui a fait tout ce qu'il pouvait." Yet Tennemann observes that "Socrates formed the design of carrying human nature in wisdom and virtue as far as it could go, and he carried it." But if this was so in one case, the experiment has seldom been repeated.

guilty of, in reference to their reason, whereby this faculty is hindered in them from that service it might do and was designed for. And he that reflects upon the actions and discourses of mankind will find their defects in this kind very frequent and very observable.

1. The first is of those who seldom reason at all, but do and think according to the example of others, whether parents, neighbours, ministers, or who else they are pleased to make choice of to have an implicit faith in, for the saving of themselves the pains and trouble of thinking and examining for themselves.*

2. The second is of those who put passion in the place of reason, and being resolved that shall govern their actions and arguments, neither use their own, nor hearken to other people's reason, any further than it suits their humour, interest, or party; and these one may observe commonly content themselves with words which have no distinct ideas to them, though in other matters, that they come with an unbiassed indifferency to, they want not abilities to talk and hear reason, where they have no secret inclination that hinders them from being tractable to it.

3. The third sort is of those who readily and sincerely follow reason, but for want of having that which one may call large, sound, roundabout sense, have not a full view of all that relates to the question, and may be of moment to decide it. We are all shortsighted, and very often see but one side of a matter; our views are not extended to all that has a connexion with it.† From this defect I think no man is free. We see but in part, and we know but in part, and therefore it is

* The poet Hesiod has somewhere divided men into three classes, distinguished from each other by the qualities of the understanding: the first he says consists of those who are able to discover truth for themselves; the second, of such as though they cannot make the discovery by their own strength, are yet willing to receive the truth disclosed to them by others; but the third class, who can neither discover it themselves nor will receive it when discovered by others, he overwhelms with scorn as the dregs of the species. Plato likewise, in his Republic, makes a similar division of mankind, but with a view to politics, conferring on the first the right to rule, on the second the privilege of bearing arms, while to the third he only grants the hard lot of toiling for the former two. Similar notions, more literally interpreted, led in India to the system of castes.

† "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face."

no wonder we conclude not right from our partial views. This might instruct the proudest esteemer of his own parts, how useful it is to talk and consult with others, even such as come short of him in capacity, quickness, and penetration; for since no one sees all, and we generally have different prospects of the same thing according to our different, as I may say, positions to it, it is not incongruous to think, nor beneath any man to try, whether another may not have notions of things which have escaped him, and which his reason would make use of if they came into his mind. The faculty of reasoning seldom or never deceives those who trust to it; its consequences, from what it builds on, are evident and certain; but that which it oftenest, if not only, misleads us in is, that the principles from which we conclude the grounds upon which we bottom our reasoning, are but a part; something is left out, which should go into the reckoning, to make it just and exact. Here we may imagine a vast and almost infinite advantage that angels and separate spirits may have over us, who in their several degrees of elevation above us may be endowed with more comprehensive faculties; and some of them perhaps, having perfect and exact views of all finite beings that come under their consideration, can, as it were in the twinkling of an eye, collect together all their scattered and almost boundless relations. A mind so furnished, what reason has it to acquiesce in the certainty of its conclusions!*

* The germs of this opinion, which is purely Platonic, may be found developed to a certain point in several parts of the Paradise Lost. Philosophical in the strictest sense of the word it unquestionably is, for though incapable of proof, it flows almost necessarily from the noblest theory of the universe, and view of the works of God. The readers of Milton, who reflect on what they read, cannot but be filled with wonder at his conception of those superior intelligences which, encircling the throne of the Divinity, are more deeply impregnated by his power, more brilliantly illuminated by the brightness of his wisdom. Raphael, discoursing with Adam, lifts up for a moment a part of the curtain which conceals from us the angelic nature, and at the same time teaches that the principle of life and the power of intellect develop themselves more and more in an ascending scale, from the humblest organized sentient being to the highest spiritual order of creation. Though there is here no space to accumulate all the passages in which allusions to this hypothesis are found, we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of introducing the following most magnificent fragment of philosophy:—

". . . . . One Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,

In this we may see the reason why some men of study and thought, that reason right and are lovers of truth, do make no great advances in their discoveries of it. Error and truth are uncertainly blended in their minds; their decisions are lame and defective, and they are very often mistaken in their judgments: the reason whereof is, they converse but with one sort of men, they read but one sort of books, they will not come in the hearing but of one sort of notions; the truth is, they canton out to themselves a little Goshen in the intellectual world, where light shines, and as they conclude, day blesses them; but the rest of that vast expansum they give up to night and darkness, and so avoid coming near it. They have a pretty traffic with known correspondents, in some little creek; within that they confine themselves, and are dexterous managers enough of the wares and products of that corner with which they content themselves, but will not venture out into the great ocean of knowledge, to survey the riches that nature hath stored other parts with, no less genuine, no less solid, no less useful than what has fallen to their lot, in the admired plenty and sufficiency of their own little spot, which to them contains whatsoever is good in the universe.* Those

> If not depraved from good, created all
> Such to perfection, one first matter all,
> Indued with various forms, various degrees
> Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
> But more refined, more spirituous, and pure,
> As nearer to him placed or nearer tending
> Each in their several active spheres assigned,
> Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
> Proportioned to each kind. So from the root
> Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
> More airy, last the bright consummate flower
> Spirits odorous breathes: flowers and their fruit
> Man's nourishment, by graduated scale sublimed
> To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
> To intellectual, give both life and sense,
> Fancy and understanding, whence the soul
> Reason receives, and reason is her being,
> Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
> Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours,
> Differing but in degree, of kind the same."

The use which Pope made of this notion is well known, and it will therefore be sufficient to allude to it.

* In the above remarks is contained the whole philosophy of sectarianism, whether in religion or the higher parts of learning. Could men

who live thus mewed up within their own contracted territories, and will not look abroad beyond the boundaries that chance, conceit, or laziness has set to their inquiries, but live separate from the notions, discourses, and attainments of the rest of mankind, may not amiss be represented by the inhabitants of the Marian islands, who, being separated by a large tract of sea from all communion with the habitable parts of the earth, thought themselves the only people of the world.* And though the straitness of the conveniences of life amongst them had never reached so far as to the use of fire, till the Spaniards, not many years since, in their voyages from Acapulco to Manilla, brought it amongst them; yet, in the want and ignorance of almost all things, they looked upon themselves, even after that the Spaniards had brought amongst

divest themselves of the narrowness of mind here described, a more liberal and generous spirit of philosophizing might be introduced, capable of overcoming not only the prejudices of sect, but also those of nation and race, more difficult still to extirpate. By these latter chiefly, the progress of Locke's philosophy has been obstructed on the continent, if not within the limits of our own island; for perhaps we may without injustice supect certain Scotch metaphysicians of being actuated by some such feelings in their treatment of his system.

* We have here one example, and many others will hereafter occur, of the advantages which the philosopher derived from his familiarity with books of voyages and travels. He read with method, but confined his reading to no particular department of literature; though among his favourite works were those which paint the manners of nations savage or but slightly civilized. By these means he had penetrated into the causes which impel man from one state of society into another; I mean the proximate causes, for the remote original cause lies as far beyond the range of human contemplation, as that which impels the individual from infancy to boyhood, from youth to age. In the above passage Locke alludes to an anecdote often repeated, viz., that the natives of the Marian islands when first they saw fire, supposed it to be some new kind of animal, and approached to stroke it with their hands. When the flames burnt their fingers they started back, and exclaimed that the creature had bitten them. The natives of the Andaman islands, almost within sight of our Indian possessions in the Bay of Bengal, were until very lately ignorant of the use of fire. See a very curious account of them in the Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 401 et seq. The natives of Norway, though from time immemorial familiar with the use of fire, in one instance we are told imagined that it grew on trees. "The poor Norwegian," says Bishop Patrick, "whom stories tell of, was afraid to touch roses when he first saw them, for fear they should burn his fingers. He much wondered to see that trees (as he thought) should put forth flames and blossoms of fire; before which he held up his hand to warm himself, not daring to approach any nearer." (Advice to a Friend, p. 58.)

them the notice of variety of nations, abounding in sciences, arts, and conveniences of life, of which they knew nothing; they looked upon themselves, I say, as the happiest and wisest people of the universe. But for all that, nobody, I think, will imagine them deep naturalists or solid metaphysicians; nobody will deem the quickest-sighted amongst them to have very enlarged views in ethics or politics; nor can any one allow the most capable amongst them to be advanced so far in his understanding as to have any other knowledge but of the few little things of his and the neighbouring islands within his commerce; but far enough from that comprehensive enlargement of mind which adorns a soul devoted to truth, assisted with letters, and a free generation of the several views and sentiments of thinking men of all sides. Let not men, therefore, that would have a sight of what every one pretends to be desirous to have a sight of, truth in its full extent, narrow and blind their own prospect. Let not men think there is no truth but in the sciences that they study, or books that they read. To prejudge other men's notions, before we have looked into them, is not to show their darkness, but to put out our own eyes. "Try all things, hold fast that which is good," is a divine rule, coming from the Father of light and truth, and it is hard to know what other way men can come at truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and search for it as for gold and hid treasure; but he that does so must have much earth and rubbish before he gets the pure metal; sand and pebbles and dross usually lie blended with it, but the gold is nevertheless gold, and will enrich the man that employs his pains to seek and separate it. Neither is there any danger he should be deceived by the mixture. Every man carries about him a touchstone, if he will make use of it, to distinguish substantial gold from superficial glitterings, truth from appearances. And, indeed, the use and benefit of this touchstone, which is natural reason, is spoiled and lost only by assuming prejudices, overweening presumption, and narrowing our minds. The want of exercising it in the full extent of things intelligible, is that which weakens and extinguishes this noble faculty in us. Trace it and see whether it be not so. The day-labourer in a country village has commonly but a small pittance of knowledge, because his ideas and notions have been confined to the narrow bounds

of a poor conversation and employment: the low mechanic of a country town does somewhat outdo him: porters and cobblers of great cities surpass them. A country gentleman who, leaving Latin and learning in the university, removes thence to his mansionhouse, and associates with neighbours of the same strain, who relish nothing but hunting and a bottle: with those alone he spends his time, with those alone he converses, and can away with no company whose discourse goes beyond what claret and dissoluteness inspire.* Such a patriot, formed in this happy way of improvement, cannot fail, as we see, to give notable decisions upon the bench at quarter-sessions, and eminent proofs of his skill in politics, when the strength of his purse and party have advanced him to a more conspicuous station. To such a one, truly, an ordinary coffee-house gleaner of the city is an arrant statesman, and as much superior to as a man conversant about Whitehall and the court is to an ordinary shopkeeper. To carry this a little further: here is one muffled up in the zeal and infallibility of his own sect, and will not touch a book or enter into debate with a person that will question any of those things which to him are sacred. Another surveys our differences in religion with an equitable and fair indifference, and so finds, probably, that none of them are in everything unexceptionable. These divisions and systems were made by men, and carry the mark of fallible on them; and in those whom he differs from, and till he opened his eyes had a general prejudice against, he meets with more to be said for a great many things than before he was aware of, or could have imagined. Which of these two now is most likely to judge right in our religious controversies, and to be most stored with truth, the mark all pretend to aim at? All these men that I have instanced in, thus unequally furnished with truth and advanced in knowledge, I suppose, of equal natural parts; all the odds between them has been the different scope that has been given to their understandings to range in, for the gathering up of information and furnishing their heads with ideas and notions

* Owing partly perhaps to the effect of Locke's own works, this repulsive picture of country gentlemen is no longer correct, at least to the same extent as formerly. Education is now finding its way among all classes of the community, high and low; though the arts and sciences most popularly studied, are not precisely those which a philosopher would approve.

and observations, whereon to employ their mind and form their understandings.*

It will possibly be objected, "who is sufficient for all this?" I answer, more than can be imagined. Every one knows what his proper business is, and what, according to the character he makes of himself, the world may justly expect of him; and to answer that, he will find he will have time and opportunity enough to furnish himself, if he will not deprive himself by a narrowness of spirit of those helps that are at hand. I do not say, to be a good geographer, that a man should visit every mountain, river, promontory, and creek upon the face of the earth, view the buildings and survey the land everywhere, as if he were going to make a purchase; but yet every one must allow that he shall know a country better that makes often sallies into it and traverses up and down, than he that like a mill-horse goes still round in the same track, or keeps within the narrow bounds of a field or two that delight him. He that will inquire out the best books in every science, and inform himself of the most material authors of the several sects of philosophy and religion, will not find it an infinite work to acquaint himself with the sentiments of mankind concerning the most weighty and comprehensive subjects.† Let him exercise the

* It should here be observed that Locke's conception of education differed very materially from that which generally prevails. He understood by it rather the training and disciplining of the mind into good habits, than the mere tradition of knowledge; on which point he agreed entirely with the ancients.

† To aid the reader in the accomplishment of what he here recommends, Locke has himself drawn up a list of the works a gentleman should study, which though imperfect even with reference to his own times, and now of necessity much more so, may still be consulted with advantage. Lord Bacon has likewise condescended to direct the students of philosophy and politics in their reading, and enumerates many "Helps to the Intellectual Powers." The works he recommends are not now likely to be read, for which reason I do not name them; but his description of the man who profits most by study, I shall introduce. "Certain it is, whether it be believed or not, that as the most excellent of metals, gold, is of all others the most pliant and most enduring to be wrought, so of all living and breathing substances, the perfectest man is the most susceptible of help, improvement, impression, and alteration; and not only in his body, but in his mind and spirit; and there again, not only in his appetite and affection, but in his wit and reason." (Works, vol. v. p. 329 et seq.) But on the subject of this section, Milton's "Tractate on Education" may be regarded as the best guide to which we could refer

freedom of his reason and understanding in such a latitude as this, and his mind will be strengthened, his capacity enlarged, his faculties improved; and the light which the remote and scattered parts of truth will give to one another will so assist his judgment, that he will seldom be widely out, or miss giving proof of a clear head and a comprehensive knowledge. At least, this is the only way I know to give the understanding its due improvement to the full extent of its capacity, and to distinguish the two most different things I know in the world, a logical chicaner from a man of reason. Only, he that would thus give the mind its flight, and send abroad his inquiries into all parts after truth, must be sure to settle in his head determined ideas of all that he employs his thoughts about, and never fail to judge himself, and judge unbiassedly, of all that he receives from others, either in their writings or discourses. Reverence or prejudice must not be suffered to give beauty or deformity to any of their opinions.

4. *Of Practice and Habits.*—We are born with faculties and powers capable almost of anything, such at least as would carry us further than can easily be imagined: but it is only the exercise of those powers which gives us ability and skill in anything, and leads us towards perfection.

A middle-aged ploughman will scarce ever be brought to the carriage and language of a gentleman, though his body be as well-proportioned, and his joints as supple, and his natural parts not any way inferior. The legs of a dancing-master and the fingers of a musician fall as it were naturally, without thought or pains, into regular and admirable motions. Bid them change their parts, and they will in vain endeavour to produce like motions in the members not used to them, and it will require length of time and long practice to attain but some degrees of a like ability. What incredible and astonishing actions do we find rope-dancers and tumblers bring their bodies to! Not but that sundry in almost all manual arts are as wonderful; but I name those which the world takes notice of for such, because on that very account they give money to see them. All these admired motions, beyond the

the noblest grounds of literary taste and knowledge being there pointed out, and enlarged upon in a manner nowhere else equalled. Another work worthy of praise is the Abbé Fleury's "Choix des Etudes," which Gibbon had the candour to commend, and the wisdom to study.

reach and almost conception of unpractised spectators, are nothing but the mere effects of use and industry in men whose bodies have nothing peculiar in them from those of the amazed lookers-on.*

As it is in the body, so it is in the mind: practice makes it what it is; and most even of those excellencies which are looked on as natural endowments, will be found, when examined into more narrowly, to be the product of exercise, and to be raised to that pitch only by repeated actions.† Some men are remarked for pleasantness in raillery; others for apologues and apposite diverting stories. This is apt to be taken for the effect of pure nature, and that the rather because it is not got by rules, and those who excel in either of them never purposely set themselves to the study of it as an art to be learnt.‡ But yet it is true, that at first some lucky hit, which

* And yet they who witness the performances of the Indian jugglers, or believe what others relate of them, will scarcely suppose their dexterity to be the result of mere exercise. For Ibn Batuta saw at Delhi one of this fraternity bundle his body up into the form of a cube, and ascend like a dark vapour into the air; a feat not likely to arise out of simple practice. Again, honest Tavernier has a story, which he relates with the utmost *näiveté*, calculated to convey a lofty idea of the natural philosophy of jugglers. "They took a small piece of wood, and having planted it in the earth, demanded of one of the bystanders what fruit they should cause it to produce. The company replied that they wished to see *mangos*. One of the jugglers then wrapped himself in a sheet, and crouched down to the earth, several times in succession. Tavernier, whom all this diablerie delighted exceedingly, ascended to the window of an upper chamber for the purpose of beholding more distinctly the whole proceedings of the magician, and through a rent in the sheet saw him cut himself under the arms with a razor, and rub the piece of wood with his blood. Every time he rose from his crouching posture the bit of wood grew visibly, and at the third time branches and buds sprang out. The tree, which had now attained the height of five or six feet, was next covered with leaves, and then with flowers. At this instant an English clergyman arrived, the performance taking place at the house of one of our countrymen, and perceiving in what practices the jugglers were engaged, commanded them instantly to desist, threatening the whole of the Europeans present with exclusion from the holy communion if they persisted in encouraging the diabolical arts of sorcerers, and magicians." Our traveller was thus prevented from beholding the crowning miracle. (Lives of Celebrated Travellers, vol. i. p. 183 et seq.)

† An illustration of this point, as far as the body is concerned, occurs in the story of Baharam Gour, in the Tales of the Ramadhan, where Shireen, commencing with carrying a calf up the steps of a tower, ends by being able to carry up a cow.

‡ Lawyers are usually good *raconteurs*, (I must borrow this word be-

took with somebody and gained him commendation, encouraged him to try again, inclined his thoughts and endeavours that way, till at last he insensibly got a facility in it, without perceiving how; and that is attributed wholly to nature which was much more the effect of use and practice. I do not deny that natural disposition may often give the first rise to it, but that never carries a man far without use and exercise, and it is practice alone that brings the powers of the mind, as well as those of the body, to their perfection.* Many a good poetic vein is buried under a trade, and never produces anything for want of improvement.† We see the ways of discourse and reasoning are very different, even concerning the same matter, at court and in the university. And he that will go but from Westminster-hall to the Exchange will find a different genius and turn in their ways of talking; and yet one cannot think that all whose lot fell in the city were born with different parts from those who were bred at the university or inns of court.

To what purpose all this but to show that the difference so observable in men's understandings and parts does not arise so much from their natural faculties as acquired habits. He would be laughed at that should go about to make a fine

cause our language has no equivalent,) the art of dressing up trifling narratives in an amusing way forming part of their legal studies. To this Lord Bacon alludes when he mentions "the exercise of lawyers in memory, narratives," etc. His Lordship is well known to have made for his own use a collection of choice anecdotes and witty sayings, which have since been published, and are in many cases well worthy of notice. (Bohn's edition, p. 164.)

* The greatest ambition of a wit is to pass for an improvisatore; but Swift, lying in bed till noon to invent sprightly sallies for the remainder of the day, was a type of the whole painstaking race of jokers, who fatigue their own intellects to make other people merry, and are generally observed to be themselves thoughtful, if not sad, except at the moment when they are uttering their jests.

† This reflection has crept into Grey's Elegy, and is therefore familiar to most readers:—

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.
* * * * * *
Some village Hampden, that with dauntless breast
The little tyrant of his fields withstood;
Some mute, inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood."

dancer out of a country hedger at past fifty. And he will not have much better success who shall endeavour at that age to make a man reason well, or speak handsomely, who has never been used to it, though you should lay before him a collection of all the best precepts of logic or oratory. Nobody is made anything by hearing of rules or laying them up in his memory; practice must settle the habit of doing without reflecting on the rule; and you may as well hope to make a good painter or musician extempore, by a lecture and instruction in the arts of music and painting, as a coherent thinker or a strict reasoner by a set of rules showing him wherein right reasoning consists.

This being so that defects and weakness in men's understanding, as well as other faculties, come from want of a right use of their own minds, I am apt to think the fault is generally mislaid upon nature, and there is often a complaint of want of parts when the fault lies in want of a due improvement of them. We see men frequently dexterous and sharp enough in making a bargain who, if you reason with them about matters of religion, appear perfectly stupid.

5. *Ideas.*—I will not here, in what relates to the right conduct and improvement of the understanding, repeat again the getting clear and determined ideas, and the employing our thoughts rather about them than about sounds put for them, nor of settling the signification of words which we use with ourselves in the search of truth, or with others in discoursing about it. Those hindrances of our understandings in the pursuit of knowledge I have sufficiently enlarged upon in another place, so that nothing more needs here to be said of those matters.

6. *Principles.*— There is another fault that stops or misleads men in their knowledge which I have also spoken something of, but yet is necessary to mention here again, that we may examine it to the bottom and see the root it springs from, and that is, a custom of taking up with principles that are not self-evident, and very often not so much as true. It is not unusual to see men rest their opinions upon foundations that have no more certainty and solidity than the propositions built on them and embraced for their sake. Such foundations are these and the like, viz., the founders or leaders of my party are good men, and therefore their tenets are true; it is the

opinion of a sect that is erroneous, therefore it is false; it hath been long received in the world, therefore it is true; or, it is new, and therefore false.

These, and many the like, which are by no means the measures of truth and falsehood, the generality of men make the standards by which they accustom their understanding to judge. And thus, they falling into a habit of determining of truth and falsehood by such wrong measures, it is no wonder they should embrace error for certainty, and be very positive in things they have no ground for.

There is not any who pretends to the least reason, but when any of these his false maxims are brought to the test, must acknowledge them to be fallible, and such as he will not allow in those that differ from him; and yet after he is convinced of this you shall see him go on in the use of them, and the very next occasion that offers argue again upon the same grounds.* Would one not be ready to think that men are willing to impose upon themselves, and mislead their own understandings, who conduct them by such wrong measures, even after they see they cannot be relied on? But yet they will not appear so blamable as may be thought at first sight; for I think there are a great many that argue thus in earnest, and do it not to impose on themselves or others. They are persuaded of what they say, and think there is weight in it, though in a like case they have been convinced there is none; but men would be intolerable to themselves and contemptible to others if they should embrace opinions without any ground, and hold what they could give no manner of reason for. True or false, solid or sandy, the mind must have some foundation to rest itself upon, and, as I have remarked in another place, it no sooner entertains any proposition but it presently hastens to some hypothesis to bottom it on; till then it is unquiet and unsettled. So much do our own very tempers dispose us to a right use of our understandings if we would follow, as we should, the inclinations of our nature.

In some matters of concernment, especially those of re-

* Every person must have observed in argument that there are people who, though repeatedly refuted, yet return again and again to the charge with the selfsame weapons, verifying the philosophical remark of Butler, that

> "The man convinced against his will
> Is of the same opinion still."

ligion, men are not permitted to be always wavering and uncertain, they must embrace and profess some tenets or other; and it would be a shame, nay a contradiction too heavy for any one's mind to lie constantly under, for him to pretend seriously to be persuaded of the truth of any religion, and yet not to be able to give any reason of his belief, or to say anything for his preference of this to any other opinion: and therefore they must make use of some principles or other, and those can be no other than such as they have and can manage; and to say they are not in earnest persuaded by them, and do not rest upon those they make use of, is contrary to experience, and to allege that they are not misled, when we complain they are.

If this be so, it will be urged, why then do they not make use of sure and unquestionable principles, rather than rest on such grounds as may deceive them, and will, as is visible, serve to support error as well as truth?

To this I answer, the reason why they do not make use of better and surer principles is because they cannot: but this inability proceeds not from want of natural parts (for those few whose case that is are to be excused) but for want of use and exercise.* Few men are from their youth accustomed to strict reasoning, and to trace the dependence of any truth, in a long train of consequences, to its remote principles, and to observe its connexion; and he that by frequent practice has not been used to this employment of his understanding, it is no more wonder that he should not, when he is grown into years, be able to bring his mind to it, than that he should not be on a sudden able to grave or design, dance on the ropes, or write a good hand, who has never practised either of them.

Nay, the most of men are so wholly strangers to this that they do not so much as perceive their want of it: they despatch the ordinary business of their callings by rote, as we say, as they have learnt it, and if at any time they miss success they impute it to anything rather than want of thought

* See a curious discussion on the possibility of sincerity in error, in Arthur Collier's letter to Mr. Mist, reprinted in Benson's Life of Collier, p. 108 et seq. He relates a conversation he had formerly had with Bishop Hoadly, who maintained the possibility of men being sincere in error, while he himself adopted the opposite opinion. Locke takes part with Hoadly, but argues that truth lies within our reach, if we will from the beginning properly use our faculties in the search after it.

or skill, that they conclude (because they know no better) they have in perfection: or if there be any subject that interest or fancy has recommended to their thoughts, their reasoning about it is still after their own fashion; be it better or worse, it serves their turns, and is the best they are acquainted with, and therefore, when they are led by it into mistakes and their business succeeds accordingly, they impute it to any cross accident or default of others, rather than to their own want of understanding; that is what nobody discovers or complains of in himself.* Whatsoever made his business to miscarry, it was not want of right thought and judgment in himself: he sees no such defect in himself, but is satisfied that he carries on his designs well enough by his own reasoning, or at least should have done, had it not been for unlucky traverses not in his power. Thus, being content with this short and very imperfect use of his understanding, he never troubles himself to seek out methods of improving his mind, and lives all his life without any notion of close reasoning in a continued connexion of a long train of consequences from sure foundations, such as is requisite for the making out and clearing most of the speculative truths most men own to believe and are most concerned in. Not to mention here what I shall have occasion to insist on by and by more fully, viz., that in many cases it is not one series of consequences will serve the turn, but many different and opposite deductions must be examined and laid together before a man can come to make a right judgment of the point in question. What then can be expected from men that neither see the want of any such kind of reasoning as this; nor, if they do, know how to set about it, or could perform it? You may as well set a countryman, who scarce knows the figures and never cast up a sum of three particulars, to state a merchant's long account, and find the true balance of it.

What then should be done in the case? I answer, we should always remember what I said above, that the faculties of our souls are improved and made useful to us just after the same manner as our bodies are. Would you have a man write or paint, dance or fence well, or perform any other

* "Tout le monde se plaint de sa mémoire, et personne ne se plaint de son jugement."—*Rochefoucault, Ref.* 113.

manual operation dexterously and with ease; let him have ever so much vigour and activity, suppleness and address naturally, yet nobody expects this from him unless he has been used to it, and has employed time and pains in fashioning and forming his hand or outward parts to these motions. Just so it is in the mind; would you have a man reason well, you must use him to it betimes, exercise his mind in observing the connexion of ideas and following them in train. Nothing does this better than mathematics, which therefore I think should be taught all those who have the time and opportunity, not so much to make them mathematicians as to make them reasonable creatures; for though we all call ourselves so because we are born to it if we please, yet we may truly say, nature gives us but the seeds of it; we are born to be, if we please, rational creatures, but it is use and exercise only that makes us so, and we are indeed so no further than industry and application has carried us.* And therefore, in ways of reasoning which men have not been used to, he that will observe the conclusions they take up must be satisfied they are not all rational.

This has been the less taken notice of because every one in his private affairs uses some sort of reasoning or other enough to denominate him reasonable. But the mistake is that he that is found reasonable in one thing is concluded to be so in all, and to think or to say otherwise is thought so unjust an affront and so senseless a censure that nobody ventures to do it. It looks like the degradation of a man below the dignity of his nature. It is true, that he that reasons well in any one thing, has a mind naturally capable of reasoning well in others, and to the same degree of strength

* The philosopher in this passage seems to attribute too much to use and exercise, though upon the whole he acknowledges with Quinctilian, that a man deficient by nature in intellectual powers will in vain hope to supply the deficiency by labour. "Illud tamen in primis testandum est," says the Roman rhetorician, "nihil præcepta atque artes valere, nisi adjuvante natura. Quapropter ei cui deerit ingenium, non magis hæc scripta sunt, quam de agrorum cultu sterilibus terris. Sunt et alia ingenita quædam adjumenta, vox, latus patiens laboris, valetudo, constantia, decor: quæ si modica obligerunt, possunt, ratione ampliari: sed nonnunquam ita desunt, ut bona etiam ingenii studiique corrumpant: sicut et hæc ipsa sine doctore perito, studio pertinaci, scribendi, legendi, dicendi multa et continua exercitatione, per se nihil prosunt." (Inst. Orat. I. Pr.)

and clearness, and possibly much greater, had his understanding been so employed. But it is as true that he who can reason well to-day about one sort of matters, cannot at all reason to-day about others, though perhaps a year hence he may. But wherever a man's rational faculty fails him, and will not serve him to reason, there we cannot say he is rational, how capable soever he may be by time and exercise to become so.

Try in men of low and mean education who have never elevated their thoughts above the spade and the plough, nor looked beyond the ordinary drudgery of a day-labourer. Take the thoughts of such an one used for many years to one track, out of that narrow compass he has been all his life confined to, you will find him no more capable of reasoning than almost a perfect natural. Some one or two rules on which their conclusions immediately depend, you will find in most men have governed all their thoughts; these, true or false, have been the maxims they have been guided by: take these from them and they are perfectly at a loss, their compass and pole-star then are gone, and their understanding is perfectly at a nonplus; and therefore they either immediately return to their old maxims again, as the foundations to all truth to them, notwithstanding all that can be said to show their weakness, or if they give them up to their reasons, they with them give up all truth and further inquiry, and think there is no such thing as certainty.* For if you would enlarge their thoughts and settle them upon more remote and surer principles, they either cannot easily apprehend them, or, if they can, know not what use to make of them, for long deductions from remote principles are what they have not been used to and cannot manage.

What, then, can grown men never be improved or enlarged

* The cause is here explained, why in times abounding with sciolists, when a small share of knowledge is possessed by many, and profound philosophy by few, rash and shallow sceptics spring up in great numbers.

"Here scanty draughts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking largely sobers us again."

So Lord Bacon, in his Essay on Atheism: "A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity." (Bohn's edition, p. 18.)

in their understandings? I say not so, but this I think I may say, that it will not be done without industry and application, which will require more time and pains than grown men, settled in their course of life, will allow to it, and therefore very seldom is done.* And this very capacity of attaining it by use and exercise only, brings us back to that which I laid down before, that it is only practice that improves our minds as well as bodies, and we must expect nothing from our understandings any further than they are perfected by habits.

The Americans are not all born with worse understandings than the Europeans, though we see none of them have such reaches in the arts and sciences. And among the children of a poor countryman, the lucky chance of education, and getting into the world, gives one infinitely the superiority in parts over the rest, who continuing at home had continued also just of the same size with his brethren.

He that has to do with young scholars, especially in mathematics, may perceive how their minds open by degrees, and how it is exercise alone that opens them. Sometimes they will stick a long time at a part of a demonstration, not for want of will and application, but really for want of perceiving the connexion of two ideas that, to one whose understanding is more exercised, is as visible as anything can be. The same would be with a grown man beginning to study mathematics, the understanding for want of

* Never, according to Bishop Butler. "The beginning of our days is adapted to be, and is, a state of education in the theory and practice of mature life. We are much assisted in it by example, instruction, and the care of others; but a great deal is left to ourselves to do. And of this, as part is done easily and of course, so part requires diligence and care, the voluntary foregoing many things which we desire, and setting ourselves to do what we have no inclination to, but for the necessity or expedience of it. For, that labour and industry which the station of so many absolutely requires, they would be greatly unqualified for, in maturity, as those in other stations would be for any other works of application, if both were not accustomed to them in their youth. And according as persons behave themselves, in the general education which all go through, and in the particular ones adapted to particular employments, their character is formed and made appear; they recommend themselves more or less; and are capable of and placed in different stations in the society of mankind. The former part of life then is to be considered as an important opportunity, which nature puts into our hands, and which when lost is not to be recovered."—*Analogy of Religion*, part I. chap. v. (Bohn's edition, p. 147.)

use often sticks in every plain way, and he himself that is so puzzled, when he comes to see the connexion wonders what it was he stuck at in a case so plain.

7. *Mathematics.*—I have mentioned mathematics as a way to settle in the mind a habit of reasoning closely and in train; not that I think it necessary that all men should be deep mathematicians, but that, having got the way of reasoning, which that study necessarily brings the mind to, they might be able to transfer it to other parts of knowledge as they shall have occasion. For in all sorts of reasoning every single argument should be managed as a mathematical demonstration, the connexion and dependence of ideas should be followed, till the mind is brought to the source on which it bottoms, and observes the coherence all along, though in proofs of probability one such train is not enough to settle the judgment, as in demonstrative knowledge.

Where a truth is made out by one demonstration, there needs no further inquiry; but in probabilities, where there wants demonstration to establish the truth beyond doubt, there it is not enough to trace one argument to its source, and observe its strength and weakness, but all the arguments, after having been so examined on both sides, must be laid in balance one against another, and upon the whole the understanding determine its assent.

This is a way of reasoning the understanding should be accustomed to, which is so different from what the illiterate are used to that even learned men sometimes seem to have very little or no notion of it. Nor is it to be wondered, since the way of disputing in the schools leads them quite away from it, by insisting on one topical argument, by the success of which the truth or falsehood of the question is to be determined, and victory adjudged to the opponent or defendant, which is all one as if one should balance an account by one sum, charged and discharged, when there are a hundred others to be taken into consideration.

This, therefore, it would be well if men's minds were accustomed to, and that early, that they might not erect their opinions upon one single view when so many others are requisite to make up the account, and must come into the reckoning before a man can form a right judgment. This would enlarge their minds and give a due freedom to their understandings, that they might not be led into error by pre-

sumption, laziness, or precipitancy, for I think nobody can approve such a conduct of the understanding as should mislead it from truth, though it be ever so much in fashion to make use of it.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that to manage the understanding as I propose would require every man to be a scholar, and to be furnished with all the materials of knowledge and exercised in all the ways of reasoning. To which I answer, that it is a shame for those that have time and the means to attain knowledge to want any helps or assistance for the improvement of their understandings that are to be got, and to such I would be thought here chiefly to speak. Those methinks, who, by the industry and parts of their ancestors, have been set free from a constant drudgery to their backs and their bellies, should bestow some of their spare time on their heads, and open their minds by some trials and essays, in all the sorts and matters of reasoning.* I have before mentioned mathemathics, wherein algebra gives new helps and views to the understanding. If I propose these, it is not, as I said, to make every man a thorough mathematician or a deep algebraist: but yet I think the study of them is of infinite use, even to grown men; first, by experimentally convincing them that to make any one reason well it is not enough to have parts wherewith he is satisfied and that serve him well enough in his ordinary course. A man in those studies will see, that however good he may think his understanding, yet in many things, and those very visible, it may fail him. This would take off that presumption that most men have of themselves in this part, and they would not be so apt to think their minds wanted no helps to enlarge them, that there could be nothing added to the acuteness and penetration of their understandings.

Secondly, the study of mathematics would show them the necessity there is in reasoning, to separate all the distinct ideas, and see the habitudes that all those concerned in the present inquiry have to one another, and to lay by those which

* Most men will admit the truth of the doctrine here maintained by Locke. The difficulty is not to prove that men ought to be well educated, but to discover in what good education consists. Milton's little tractate which I am never weary of referring to, and Locke's own larger treatise contain, taken both together, the best theory of discipline and instruction with which I am acquainted.

relate not to the proposition in hand, and wholly to leave them out of the reckoning. This is that which in other subjects besides quantity, is what is absolutely requisite to just reasoning, though in them it is not so easily observed nor so carefully practised. In those parts of knowledge where it is thought demonstration has nothing to do, men reason as it were in the lump; and if, upon a summary and confused view, or upon a partial consideration, they can raise the appearance of a probability, they usually rest content, especially if it be in a dispute where every little straw is laid hold on, and everything that can but be drawn in any way to give colour to the argument is advanced with ostentation.* But that mind is not in a posture to find the truth that does not distinctly take all the parts asunder, and omitting what is not at all to the point, draw a conclusion from the result of all the particulars which any way influence it. There is another no less useful habit to be got by an application to mathematical demonstrations, and that is, of using the mind to a long train of consequences: but having mentioned that already, I shall not again here repeat it.

As to men whose fortunes and time are narrower, what may suffice them is not of that vast extent as may be imagined, and so comes not within the objection.

Nobody is under an obligation to know everything. Knowledge and science in general is the business only of those who are at ease and leisure. Those who have particular callings ought to understand them, and it is no unreasonable proposal, nor impossible to be compassed, that they should think and reason right about what is their daily employment. This one cannot think them incapable of without levelling them with the brutes, and charging them with a stupidity below the rank of rational creatures.†

* This character most exactly suits ordinary political reasoning in all countries, wherein men invariably seek not truth, but victory.

† These were the views which the Greeks took of study and research; and as among them men commonly applied themselves to their own particular branches of learning with great earnestness and enthusiasm, it was not at all unusual to find much eloquence and ability even among cooks and artisans. Indeed the humbler classes of society in Greece were so greedy of knowledge, and so ostentatious of what they possessed, that one constant source of ridicule among the comic poets was the pretensions of such persons to erudition; though this of course forms no argument against the education of the people.

8. *Religion.*—Besides his particular calling for the support of this life, every one has a concern in a future life, which he is bound to look after. This engages his thoughts in religion, and here it mightily lies upon him to understand and reason right. Men, therefore, cannot be excused from understanding the words and framing the general notions relating to religion right. The one day of seven, besides other days of rest, allows in the Christian world time enough for this, (had they had no other idle hours,) if they would but make use of these vacancies from their daily labour, and apply themselves to an improvement of knowledge with as much diligence as they often do to a great many other things that are useless, and had but those that would enter them, according to their several capacities, in a right way to this knowledge. The original make of their minds is like that of other men, and they would be found not to want understanding fit to receive the knowledge of religion if they were a little encouraged and helped in it as they should be.* For there are instances of very mean people who have raised their minds to a great sense and understanding of religion; and though these have not been so frequent as could be wished, yet they are enough to clear that condition of life from a necessity of gross ignorance, and to show that more might be brought to be rational creatures and Christians, (for they can hardly be thought really to be so who, wearing the name, know not so much as the very principles of that religion,) if due care were taken of them. For, if I mistake not, the peasantry lately in France (a rank of people under a much heavier pressure of want and poverty

* There may perhaps be little necessity of citing examples in proof of this; yet I will not let slip the opportunity of mentioning the name of Bunyan, a tinker, but deeply versed in the Scriptures, and in faith and practice as genuine a Christian as any since the apostolic age. Chubb, the tallow-chandler, of Salisbury, though not remarkable for his orthodoxy, yet attained a considerable knowledge of theology, and has left behind him tracts of no small ability. Benson, indeed, in his life of Arthur Collier, notices a suspicion entertained at the time that "The Supremacy of the Father asserted," was corrected by Dr. Hoody, afterwards primate of Ireland, and relates that Collier took the pains to make a large collection of Chubb's letters, written on business, and these, full of errors, he often exhibited to the curious. (p. 62 et seq.) But this, after all, would only prove that Chubb's style and grammar needed some little correction, which might be predicated of writers of much higher pretensions.

than the day-labourers in England) of the reformed religion understood it much better and could say more for it than those of a higher condition among us.*

But if it shall be concluded that the meaner sort of people must give themselves up to brutish stupidity in the things of their nearest concernment, which I see no reason for, this excuses not those of a freer fortune and education, if they neglect their understandings, and take no care to employ them as they ought and set them right in the knowledge of those things for which principally they were given them. At least those whose plentiful fortunes allow them the opportunities and helps of improvement are not so few but that it might be hoped great advancements might be made in knowledge of all kinds, especially in that of the greatest concern and largest views, if men would make a right use of their faculties and study their own understandings.

9. *Ideas.*—Outward corporeal objects that constantly importune our senses and captivate our appetites, fail not to fill our heads with lively and lasting ideas of that kind. Here the mind needs not to be set upon getting greater store; they offer themselves fast enough, and are usually entertained in such plenty and lodged so carefully, that the mind wants room or attention for others that it has more use and need of. To fit the understanding, therefore, for such reasoning as I have been above speaking of, care should be taken to fill it with moral and more abstract ideas, for these not offering themselves to the senses, but being to be framed to the understanding, people are generally so neglectful of a faculty they are apt to think wants nothing, that I fear most men's minds are more unfurnished with such ideas than is imagined. They often use the words, and how can they be suspected to want the ideas? What I have said in the third book of my essay will excuse me from any other answer to this question. But to convince people of what moment it is to their understandings to be furnished with such abstract ideas, steady and settled in them, give me leave to ask how any one shall be able to know whether he be obliged to be just, if he has not

* On this subject the philosopher spoke from his own experience, as during his residence in Languedoc, he took much pains to instruct himself in whatever concerned the habits and opinions of the Huguenots. See Lord King's Life of Locke.

established ideas in his mind of obligation and of justice, since knowledge consists in nothing but the perceived agreement or disagreement of those ideas? and so of all others the like which concern our lives and manners.* And if men do find a difficulty to see the agreement or disagreement of two angles which lie before their eyes unalterable in a diagram, how utterly impossible will it be to perceive it in ideas that have no other sensible objects to represent them to the mind but sounds, with which they have no manner of conformity, and therefore had need to be clearly settled in the mind themselves, if we would make any clear judgment about them! This, therefore, is one of the first things the mind should be employed about in the right conduct of the understanding, without which it is impossible it should be capable of reasoning right about those matters. But in these, and all other ideas, care must be taken that they harbour no inconsistencies, and that they have a real existence where real existence is supposed, and are not mere chimeras with a supposed existence.

10. *Prejudice.*—Every one is forward to complain of the prejudices that mislead other men or parties, as if he were free and had none of his own. This being objected on all sides, it is agreed that it is a fault and a hindrance to knowledge. What now is the cure? No other but this, that every man should let alone others' prejudices and examine his own.† Nobody is convinced of his by the accusation of another; he recriminates by the same rule, and is clear. The only way to remove this great cause of ignorance and error out of the world is, for every one impartially to examine himself. If others will not deal fairly with their own

* The indispensibleness of knowledge was rendered more apparent in the Socratic philosophy, by the doctrine that science is virtue, which, though paradoxical at first sight, may be proved by irrefragable arguments. In fact, when the science of morals is understood, it will be so evident that virtue leads to happiness that we might as well expect the arithmetician to refuse to be guided in his calculations by the science of numbers, as that he who is versed in the knowledge of good and evil will prefer the evil to the good. Whoever sins, therefore, sins through ignorance, though that ignorance, being often voluntary, is itself a crime. On the subject of justice, which Plato maintains to be the greatest good, see the Dial. de Repub. part vi. pp. 75—188 et seq.

† "Tout le monde trouve à redire en autruy, ce qu'on trouve à redire en luy."—*Rochef. Reflect. Mor.* 33.

minds, does that make my errors truths? or ought it to make me in love with them and willing to impose on myself? If others love cataracts in their eyes, should that hinder me from couching of mine as soon as I can? Every one declares against blindness, and yet who almost is not fond of that which dims his sight, and keeps the clear light out of his mind, which should lead him into truth and knowledge? False or doubtful positions, relied upon as unquestionable maxims, keep those in the dark from truth who build on them. Such are usually the prejudices imbibed from education, party, reverence, fashion, interest, &c. This is the mote which every one sees in his brother's eye, but never regards the beam in his own. For who is there almost that is ever brought fairly to examine his own principles, and see whether they are such as will bear the trial? But yet this should be one of the first things every one should set about, and be scrupulous in, who would rightly conduct his understanding in the search of truth and knowledge.

To those who are willing to get rid of this great hindrance of knowledge (for to such only I write), to those who would shake off this great and dangerous impostor, prejudice, who dresses up falsehood in the likeness of truth, and so dexterously hoodwinks men's minds as to keep them in the dark with a belief that they are more in the light than any that do not see with their eyes, I shall offer this one mark whereby prejudice may be known. He that is strongly of any opinion must suppose (unless he be self-condemned) that his persuasion is built upon good grounds, and that his assent is no greater than what the evidence of the truth he holds forces him to, and that they are arguments, and not inclination or fancy, that make him so confident and positive in his tenets. Now if, after all his profession, he cannot bear any opposition to his opinion, if he cannot so much as give a patient hearing, much less examine and weigh the arguments on the other side, does he not plainly confess it is prejudice governs him? and it is not the evidence of truth, but some lazy anticipation, some beloved presumption that he desires to rest undisturbed in. For if what he holds be, as he gives out, well fenced with evidence, and he sees it to be true, what need he fear to put it to the proof? If his opinion be settled upon a firm foundation, if the arguments that support it and

have obtained his assent be clear, good, and convincing, why should he be shy to have it tried whether they be proof or not?* He whose assent goes beyond this evidence, owes this excess of his adherence only to prejudice; and does in effect own it, when he refuses to hear what is offered against it, declaring thereby that it is not evidence he seeks, but the quiet enjoyment of the opinion he is fond of, with a forward condemnation of all that may stand in opposition to it, unheard and unexamined; which, what is it but prejudice? "qui æquum statuerit, parte inauditâ alterâ, etiamsi æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit." He that would acquit himself in this case as a lover of truth, not giving way to any pre-occupation or bias that may mislead him, must do two things that are not very common nor very easy.

11. *Indifferency.*—First, he must not be in love with any opinion, or wish it to be true till he knows it to be so; and then he will not need to wish it; for nothing that is false can deserve our good wishes, nor a desire that it should have the place and force of truth; and yet nothing is more frequent than this. Men are fond of certain tenets upon no other evidence but respect and custom, and think they must maintain them or all is gone, though they have never examined the ground they stand on, nor have ever made them out to themselves or can make them out to others. We should contend earnestly for the truth, but we should first be sure that it is truth, or else we fight against God, who is the God of truth, and do the work of the devil, who is the father and propagator of lies; and our zeal, though ever so warm, will not excuse us, for this is plainly prejudice.

12. *Examine.*—Secondly, he must do that which he will find himself very averse to, as judging the thing unnecessary, or himself incapable of doing it. He must try whether his principles be certainly true or not, and how far he may safely rely upon them. This, whether fewer have the heart or the skill to do, I shall not determine, but this I am sure is that which every one ought to do who professes to love truth, and

* It may be regarded as one proof of the great rifeness of prejudices in society, that arguers are in ill repute. Voltaire accordingly remarks that the man who should hope to make his way in the world by the weapons of logic, would be as mad as Don Quixotte; but in his work on Education, Locke endeavours to show how arguments may be maintained in conversation without offence. (p. 222 et seq.)

would not impose upon himself, which is a surer way to be made a fool of than by being exposed to the sophistry of others. The disposition to put any cheat upon ourselves works constantly, and we are pleased with it, but are impatient of being bantered or misled by others. The inability I here speak of, is not any natural defect that makes men incapable of examining their own principles. To such, rules of conducting their understandings are useless, and that is the case of very few. The great number is of those whom the ill habit of never exerting their thoughts has disabled; the powers of their minds are starved by disuse and have lost that reach and strength which nature fitted them to receive from exercise. Those who are in a condition to learn the first rules of plain arithmetic, and could be brought to cast up an ordinary sum, are capable of this, if they had but accustomed their minds to reasoning; but they that have wholly neglected the exercise of their understandings in this way, will be very far at first from being able to do it, and as unfit for it as one unpractised in figures to cast up a shop-book, and perhaps think it as strange to be set about it. And yet it must nevertheless be confessed to be a wrong use of our understandings to build our tenets (in things where we are concerned to hold the truth) upon principles that may lead us into error. We take our principles at hap-hazard upon trust, and without ever having examined them, and then believe a whole system upon a presumption that they are true and solid: and what is all this but childish, shameful, senseless credulity?

In these two things, viz., an equal indifferency for all truth—I mean the receiving it, the love of it, as truth, but not loving it for any other reason, before we know it to be true—and in the examination of our principles, and not receiving any for such, nor building on them, till we are fully convinced as rational creatures of their solidity, truth, and certainty, consists that freedom of the understanding which is necessary to a rational creature, and without which it is not truly an understanding. It is conceit, fancy, extravagance, anything rather than understanding, if it must be under the constraint of receiving and holding opinions by the authority of anything but their own, not fancied, but perceived evidence. This was rightly called imposition, and is of all other the worst and most dangerous

sort of it. For we impose upon ourselves, which is the strongest imposition of all others, and we impose upon ourselves in that part which ought with the greatest care to be kept free from all imposition. The world is apt to cast great blame on those who have an indifferency for opinions, especially in religion. I fear this is the foundation of great error and worse consequences. To be indifferent which of two opinions is true, is the right temper of the mind that preserves it from being imposed on, and disposes it to examine with that indifferency till it has done its best to find the truth; and this is the only direct and safe way to it. But to be indifferent whether we embrace falsehood or truth is the great road to error. Those who are not indifferent which opinion is true are guilty of this; they suppose, without examining, that what they hold is true, and then think they ought to be zealous for it. Those, it is plain by their warmth and eagerness, are not indifferent for their own opinions, but methinks are very indifferent whether they be true or false, since they cannot endure to have any doubts raised or objections made against them, and it is visible they never have made any themselves; and so never having examined them, know not, nor are concerned, as they should be, to know whether they be true or false.*

These are the common and most general miscarriages which I think men should avoid or rectify in a right conduct of their understandings, and should be particularly taken care of in education. The business whereof in respect of knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a learner in all or any one of the sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition, and those habits that may enable him to attain any part of knowledge he shall apply himself to, or stand in need of, in the future course of his life.

This, and this only, is well principling, and not the instil-

* On the temper of mind which Locke here denominates indifference, Bishop Patrick quotes from Arrian, and with approbation, a very beautiful passage, which we subjoin in his version: "Let us begin everything without too much desire or aversation. Let us not incline to this or the other way; but behave ourselves like a traveller, who when he comes to two ways, asks him whom he meets next, which of those he shall take to such a place; having no inclination to the right hand or to the left, but desiring only to know the true and direct way that will carry him to his journey's end." (Advice to a Friend, p. 176.)

ling a reverence and veneration for certain dogmas under the specious title of principles, which are often so remote from that truth and evidence which belongs to principles that they ought to be rejected as false and erroneous, and often cause men so educated when they come abroad into the world and find they cannot maintain the principles so taken up and rested in, to cast off all principles, and turn perfect sceptics, regardless of knowledge and virtue.

There are several weaknesses and defects in the understanding, either from the natural temper of the mind, or ill habits taken up, which hinder it in its progress to knowledge. Of these there are as many, possibly, to be found, if the mind were thoroughly studied, as there are diseases of the body, each whereof clogs and disables the understanding to some degree, and therefore deserves to be looked after and cured. I shall set down some few to excite men, especially those who make knowledge their business, to look into themselves, and observe whether they do not indulge some weaknesses, allow some miscarriages in the management of their intellectual faculty which is prejudicial to them in the search of truth.

13. *Observations.*—Particular matters of fact are the undoubted foundations on which our civil and natural knowledge is built: the benefit the understanding makes of them is to draw from them conclusions which may be as standing rules of knowledge, and consequently of practice. The mind often makes not that benefit it should of the information it receives from the accounts of civil or natural historians, by being too forward or too slow in making observations on the particular facts recorded in them.

There are those who are very assiduous in reading, and yet do not much advance their knowledge by it. They are delighted with the stories that are told, and perhaps can tell them again, for they make all they read nothing but history to themselves; but not reflecting on it, not making to themselves observations from what they read, they are very little improved by all that crowd of particulars that either pass through or lodge themselves in their understandings. They dream on in a constant course of reading and cramming themselves; but not digesting anything, it produces nothing but a heap of crudities.

If their memories retain well, one may say, they have the

materials of knowledge, but like those for building they are of no advantage if there be no other use made of them but to let them lie heaped up together. Opposite to these there are others, who lose the improvement they should make of matters of fact by a quite contrary conduct. They are apt to draw general conclusions and raise axioms from every particular they meet with.* These make as little true benefit of history as the other; nay, being of forward and active spirits, receive more harm by it, it being of worse consequence to steer one's thoughts by a wrong rule than to have none at all, error doing to busy men much more harm than ignorance to the slow and sluggish.† Between these, those seem to do best who, taking material and useful hints, sometimes from single matters of fact, carry them in their minds to be judged of by what they shall find in history to confirm or reverse their imperfect observations, which may be established into rules fit to be relied on when they are justified by a sufficient and wary induction of particulars. He that makes no such reflections on what he reads, only loads his mind with a rhapsody of tales, fit in winter nights for the entertainment of others; and he that will improve every matter of fact into a maxim, will abound in contrary observations that can be of no other use but to perplex and pudder him if he compares them, or else to misguide him if he gives himself up to the authority of that which for its novelty or for some other fancy best pleases him.

14. *Bias.*—Next to these we may place those who suffer their own natural tempers and passions they are possessed with to influence their judgments, especially of men and things that may any way relate to their present circumstances

* Of the two methods here described, the former is that of the Germans, the latter that of the French; and perhaps nearer home one might find examples of both. Descartes supplies in philosophy an instance of hasty generalization, which perhaps betrayed him into most of the errors that distinguish his fanciful but ingenious system.

† This seems to be an erroneous opinion, an imperfect rule being in most cases better than no rule at all. Thucydides, a greater master of civil wisdom than Locke himself, delivers by the mouth of Cleon an important truth, where he says that a state possessing inferior laws, but unswervingly executed, is preferable to one with better institutions, which have not their due influence on practice: *μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν, ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσι ἀκύροις.* iii. 37.

and interest. Truth is all simple, all pure, will bear no mixture of anything else with it. It is rigid and inflexible to any bye-interests, and so should the understanding be, whose use and excellency lie in conforming itself to it. To think of everything just as it is in itself, is the proper business of the understanding, though it be not that which men always employ it to. This all men at first hearing allow is the right use every one should make of his understanding. Nobody will be at such an open defiance with common sense, as to profess that we should not endeavour to know and think of things as they are in themselves, and yet there is nothing more frequent than to do the contrary; and men are apt to excuse themselves, and think they have reason to do so, if they have but a pretence that it is for God, or a good cause; that is, in effect, for themselves, their own persuasion or party: for those in their turns the several sects of men, especially in matters of religion, entitle God and a good cause. But God requires not men to wrong or misuse their faculties for him, nor to lie to others or themselves for his sake,* which they purposely do who will not suffer their understandings to have right conceptions of the things proposed to them, and designedly restrain themselves from having just thoughts of everything, as far as they are concerned to inquire. And as for a good cause, that needs not such ill helps; if it be good, truth will support it, and it has no need of fallacy or falsehood.

15. *Arguments.*—Very much of kin to this is the hunting after arguments to make good one side of a question, and wholly to neglect and refuse those which favour the other side. What is this but wilfully to misguide the understanding? and is so far from giving truth its due value, that it wholly debases it: espouse opinions that best comport with their power, profit, or credit, and then seek arguments to support them? Truth lighted upon this way, is of no more avail to us

* The source of this remark is to be found in Job, who, as quoted by Lord Bacon (for the common version runs differently), inquires: "Will you lie for God as one man doth for another to gratify him?" His lordship's reflections on the same subject are worthy of consideration. "Certain it is that God works nothing in nature according to ordinary course, but by second causes; and if they would have it otherwise believed, it is a mere imposture, under colour of piety to God, and nothing else but to offer unto the Author of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie." (Mag. Instaur. i. 1.)

than error, for what is so taken up by us may be false as well as true; and he has not done his duty who has thus stumbled upon truth in his way to preferment.

There is another but more innocent way of collecting arguments very familiar among bookish men, which is to furnish themselves with the arguments they meet with pro and con in the questions they study. This helps them not to judge right nor argue strongly, but only to talk copiously on either side without being steady and settled in their own judgments: for such arguments gathered from other men's thoughts, floating only in the memory, are there ready indeed to supply copious talk with some appearance of reason, but are far from helping us to judge right.* Such variety of arguments only distract the understanding that relies on them, unless it has gone farther than such a superficial way of examining; this is to quit truth for appearance, only to serve our vanity. The sure and only way to get true knowledge, is to form in our minds clear settled notions of things, with names annexed to those determined ideas. These we are to consider with their several relations and habitudes, and not amuse ourselves with floating names and words of indetermined signification which we can use in several senses to serve a turn. It is in the perception of the habitudes and respects our ideas have one to another that real knowledge consists, and when a man once perceives how far they agree or disagree one with another, he will be able to judge of what other people say, and will not need to be led by the arguments of others, which are many of them nothing but plausible sophistry. This will teach him to state the question right, and see whereon it turns, and thus he will stand upon his own legs, and know by his own understanding. Whereas by collecting and learning arguments by heart, he will be but a retailer to others; and when any one questions the foundations they are built upon, he will be at a nonplus, and be fain to give up his implicit knowledge.

* The practice here described was in a certain degree that of the ancient sophists, whose dexterity was rivalled by Hudibras, of whom it is said, that

"On either side he could dispute,
Confute, change hands, and still confute."

The most lively picture of this kind of trifling, occurs in the Euthydemos of Plato, where several of the class are introduced disputing *de omnibus rebus* in a strain of comic extravagance worthy of Shakspeare.

16. *Haste*.—Labour for labour-sake is against nature.* The understanding, as well as all the other faculties, chooses always the shortest way to its end, would presently obtain the knowledge it is about, and then set upon some new inquiry. But this, whether laziness or haste, often misleads it and makes it content itself with improper ways of search, and such as will not serve the turn: sometimes it rests upon testimony when testimony of right has nothing to do, because it is easier to believe than to be scientifically instructed: sometimes it contents itself with one argument, and rests satisfied with that as it were a demonstration, whereas the thing under proof is not capable of demonstration, and therefore must be submitted to the trial of probabilities, and all the material arguments pro and con be examined and brought to a balance. In some cases the mind is determined by probable topics in inquiries where demonstration may be had. All these, and several others, which laziness, impatience, custom, and want of use and attention lead men into, are misapplications of the understanding in the search of truth. In every question, the nature and manner of the proof it is capable of should be considered, to make our inquiry such as it should be. This would save a great deal of frequently misemployed pains, and lead us sooner to that discovery and possession of truth we are capable of. The multiplying variety of arguments, especially frivolous ones, such as are all that are merely verbal, is not only lost labour, but cumbers the memory to no purpose, and serves only to hinder it from seizing and holding of the truth in all those cases which are capable of demonstration. In such a way of proof, the truth and certainty is seen, and the mind fully possesses itself of it, when in the other way of assent it only hovers about it, is amused with uncertainties. In this superficial way, indeed, the mind is capable of more variety of plausible talk, but is not enlarged, as it should be, in its knowledge. It is to this

* This is the maxim of an indolent man, and examined by the strict rules of philosophy will turn out to be a mere fallacy; for in many things we may with an ancient writer repeat "Labor ipsa voluptas." In fact employment for employment's sake is so far from being against nature, that it is a thing we may every day witness, though I will not deny that there are seasons in which happiness appears to consist in the *dolce far niente*.

same haste and impatience of the mind also, that a not due tracing of the arguments to their true foundation is owing; men see a little, presume a great deal, and so jump to the conclusion. This is a short way to fancy and conceit, and (if firmly embraced) to opiniona try, but is certainly the farthest way about to knowledge. For he that will know, must by the connexion of the proofs see the truth and the ground it stands on; and therefore if he has for haste skipt over what he should have examined, he must begin and go over all again, or else he will never come to knowledge.

17. *Desultory.*—Another fault of as ill consequence as this, which proceeds also from laziness, with a mixture of vanity, is the skipping from one sort of knowledge to another.* Some men's tempers are quickly weary of one thing. Constancy and assiduity is what they cannot bear: the same study long continued in is as intolerable to them, as the appearing long in the same clothes or fashion is to a court-lady.

18. *Smattering.*—Others, that they may seem universally

* On this subject very excellent observations are found scattered here and there through Lord Bacon's writings. In one of his opuscula, entitled "Helps for the Intellectual Powers," occurs the raw material, afterwards polished and converted into a brilliant aphorism in the "Advancement of Learning." In the former place he says: "Exercises are to be framed to the life; that is to say, to work ability in that kind whereof a man in the course of action shall have most use. The indirect and oblique exercises, which do *per partes* and *per consequentiam*, enable their faculties, which perhaps direct exercise at first would but distort; and these have chiefly place where the faculty is weak, not *per se*, but *per accidens;* as if want of memory grew through lightness of wit and want of fixed attention: then the mathematics or the law helpeth, because they are things, wherein if the mind once roam, it cannot recover." (Works, vol. v. p. 329 et seq.) In the other passage to which I have referred, his ideas acquire the following shape: "There is no defect in the faculties intellectual, but seemeth to have a proper cure contained in the same studies: as for example, if a child be bird-witted, that is, hath not the faculty of attention, the mathematics giveth a remedy thereunto; for in them, if the wit be caught away but a moment, one is to begin anew. And as sciences have a propriety towards faculties for cure and help, so faculties or powers have a sympathy towards sciences for excellency or speedy profiting; and therefore it is an inquiry of great wisdom, what kinds of wits and natures are most apt and proper for what sciences." (Advancement of Learning, p. 257.)

knowing, get a little smattering in everything. Both these may fill their heads with superficial notions of things, but are very much out of the way of attaining truth or knowledge.

19. *Universality.*—I do not here speak against the taking a taste of every sort of knowledge; it is certainly very useful and necessary to form the mind; but then it must be done in a different way and to a different end. Not for talk and vanity to fill the head with shreds of all kinds, that he who is possessed of such a frippery may be able to match the discourses of all he shall meet with, as if nothing could come amiss to him, and his head was so well stored a magazine that nothing could be proposed which he was not master of, and was readily furnished to entertain any one on.* This is an excellency indeed, and a great one too, to have a real and true knowledge in all or most of the objects of contemplation. But it is what the mind of one and the same man can hardly attain unto, and the instances are so few of those who have in any measure approached towards it, that I know not whether they are to be proposed as examples in the ordinary conduct of the understanding. For a man to understand fully the business of his particular calling in the commonwealth, and of religion, which is his calling as he is a man in the world, is usually enough to take up his whole time; and there are few that inform themselves in these, which is every man's proper and peculiar business, so to the bottom as they should do. But though this be so, and there are very few men that extend their thoughts towards universal knowledge, yet I do not doubt but if the right way were taken, and the methods of inquiry were ordered as they should be, men of little business and great leisure might go a great deal further in it than is usually done. To turn to the business in hand, the end and use of a little insight in those parts of knowledge which are not a man's proper business, is to accustom our minds to all sorts of ideas, and the proper ways of examining their habitudes and relations.

* Locke, there can be little doubt, here glances at the practice of the sophists, more particularly of Gorgias, who boasts in Plato, that for many years no one had proposed to him a single new question. Ἀληθῆ, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, καὶ λὰρ νῦν δὴ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐπηγγελλόμην, καὶ γέγω ὅτι οὐδείςμέ πω ἠρώτηκε καινὸν οὐδὲν πολλῶν ἐτῶν. Γοργ. (Op. III. 4.) See also Cic. de Orat. iii. 32.

This gives the mind a freedom, and the exercising the understanding in the several ways of inquiry and reasoning which the most skilful have made use of, teaches the mind sagacity and wariness, and a suppleness to apply itself more closely and dexterously to the bents and turns of the matter in all its researches.* Besides, this universal taste of all the sciences with an indifferency before the mind is possessed with any one in particular, and grown into love and admiration of what is made its darling, will prevent another evil very commonly to be observed in those who have from the beginning been seasoned only by one part of knowledge. Let a man be given up to the contemplation of one sort of knowledge, and that will become everything. The mind will take such a tincture from a familiarity with that object, that everything else, how remote soever, will be brought under the same view. A metaphysician will bring ploughing and gardening immediateiy to abstract notions, the history of

* Some great writers, observing the connexion which subsists between all branches of knowledge, have contended that there is but one science, that of nature, and that it behoves the philosopher to be versed in the whole. This opinion was put forward by Condillac, and appears to have been shared by Buffon; but Cicero, though he well understood the relationship of the sciences, and conceived that the perfect orator ought to comprehend every one of them, saw no advantage in this paradoxical view of the subject. Several curious remarks bearing immediately on the question, may be found in that very rare book, "Le Voyage à Montbar," which, though I may elsewhere have quoted them, will not be out of place here. "Il me répondit," observes Hérault de Séchelles, "qu'il ne faillait lire que les ouvrages principaux, mais les lire dans tous les genres et dans toutes les sciences, parcequ'elles sont parentes, comme dit Ciceron, parce que les vues de l'une peuvent s'appliquer à l'autre, quoiqu'on ne soit pas destiné à les exercer toutes. Ainsi, même pour un jurisconsulte, la connaissance de l'art militaire, et de ses principales opérations, ne serait pas inutile. C'est ce que j'ai fait, mé disait l'auteur de l'histoire naturelle; au fond l'Abbé de Condillac a fort bien dit, à la tête de son quatrième volume du cours d'éducation, si je ne me trompe, qu'il n'y a qu'une seule science, la science de la nature. M. de Buffon était du même avis, sans citer l'Abbé de Condillac, qu'il n'aime pas, ayant eu jadis des discussions polémiques avec lui; mais il pense que toutes nos divisions et classifications sont arbitraire; que les mathématiques elles-mêmes ne sont que des arts qui tendent au même but, celui de s'appliquer à la nature, et de la faire connaître; que cela ne nous effraye point au surplus. Les livres capitaux dans chaque genre sont rares, et au total ils pourraient peut-être se réduire à une cinquantaine d'ouvrages qu'il suffirait de bien méditer." (p. 52 et seq.)

nature shall signify nothing to him.* An alchemist, on the contrary, shall reduce divinity to the maxims of his laboratory: explain morality by sal, sulphur and mercury, and allegorise the scripture itself, and the sacred mysteries thereof, into the philosopher's stone. And I heard once a man who had a more than ordinary excellency in music seriously accommodate Moses's seven days of the first week to the notes of music, as if from thence had been taken the measure and method of the creation. It is of no small consequence to keep the mind from such a possession, which I think is best done by giving it a fair and equal view of the whole intellectual world, wherein it may see the order, rank, and beauty of the whole, and give a just allowance to the distinct provinces of the several sciences in the due order and usefulness of each of them.

If this be that which old men will not think necessary, nor be easily brought to, it is fit at least that it should be practised in the breeding of the young. The business of education, as I have already observed, is not as I think to make them perfect in any one of the sciences, but so to open and dispose their minds as may best make them capable of any when they shall apply themselves to it. If men are for a long time accustomed only to one sort or method of thoughts,

* In the same spirit the musical philosophers of Greece supposed the human soul to be nothing but harmony; and in modern times the ardent students of astrology, Cardan among others, have attempted to explain by their pretended science the historical facts of Scripture. (See Buhle, Hist. de la Phil. Mod. ii. 738.) In like manner a wild enthusiast of our own day imagines himself able to explain all the mysteries of nature and revelation by means of a little movable triangle. He sees nothing in heaven or in earth but triangles. Both politics and religion swarm with figures of this kind, and there is no difficulty in any science which may not be at once removed by means of his wondrous instrument. Another gentleman, Mr. Wirgman, also in love with triangles, but in close association with circles, endeavours to familiarise to the minds of children by means of sensible figures the loftiest truths of ontology. The better to recommend his theory, he has translated his whole philosophy of sense into a song, and set it to the tune of the "Highland Laddie." Again, a printer turning preacher converted the ideas obtained by his former experience into illustrations of the truths he proclaimed in his new calling. He represented human life under the allegory of a complete sentence: childhood, in this ingenious view of things, was a comma; youth a semicolon; manhood a colon; and death a full stop. Even Fracklin, the first philosopher of America, was fain

their minds grow stiff in it, and do not readily turn to another.* It is therefore to give them this freedom that I think they should be made to look into all sorts of knowledge, and exercise their understandings in so wide a variety and stock of knowledge. But I do not propose it as a variety and stock of knowledge, but a variety and freedom of thinking, as an increase of the powers and activity of the mind, not as an enlargement of its possessions.

20. *Reading.*—This is that which I think great readers are apt to be mistaken in. Those who have read of everything are thought to understand everything too, but it is not always so. Reading furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge, it is thinking makes what we read ours. We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourselves with a great load of collections; unless we chew them over again they will not give us strength and nourishment. There are indeed in some writers visible instances of deep thoughts, close and acute reasoning, and

on a very solemn occasion, to indulge in this quaint humour. Most readers, I imagine, are already well acquainted with the following epitaph which he wrote for himself:

The Body
of
Benjamin Franklin,
Printer,
(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,
And stript of its lettering and gilding,)
Lies here food for worms;
Yet the work itself shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more
In a new
And more beautiful edition,
Corrected and amended
by
The Author.

* The evils of a narrow system of education and study are nowhere perhaps more visible than in the mental habits of artists, and professional men generally. Accustomed to one class of ideas, and with these becoming by use familiar, they often remain almost wholly ignorant of other things; and are consequently regarded by philosophers and men of enlarged experience as little better, out of their own peculiar walk, than so many children. Brilliant exceptions there have been, and always will be; but these only serve by contrast to render the condition of their associates the more remarkable.

ideas well pursued.* The light these would give would be of great use if their reader would observe and imitate them; all the rest at best are but particulars fit to be turned into knowledge, but that can be done only by our own meditation and examining the reach, force, and coherence of what is said, and then as far as we apprehend and see the connexion of ideas so far it is ours; without that it is but so much loose matter floating in our brain. The memory may be stored, but the judgment is little better, and the stock of knowledge not increased by being able to repeat what others have said or produce the arguments we have found in them. Such a knowledge as this is but knowledge by hearsay, and the ostentation of it is at best but talking by rote, and very often upon weak and wrong principles. For all that is to be found in books is not built upon true foundations, nor always rightly deduced from the principles it is pretended to be built on. Such an examen as is requisite to discover, that every reader's mind is not forward to make, especially in those who have given themselves up to a party, and only hunt for what they can scrape together that may favour and support the tenets of it. Such men wilfully exclude themselves from truth, and from all true benefit to be received by reading. Others of more indifferency often want attention and industry. The mind is backward in itself to be at the pains to trace every argument to its original, and to see upon what basis it stands and how firmly; but yet it is this that gives so much the advantage to one man more than another in reading. The mind should by severe rules be tied down to this, at first, uneasy task; use and exercise will give it facility. So that those who are accustomed to it

* The art of reading therefore is no guarantee that civilization shall continue. The intellectual condition of mankind depends upon their taste, which is always fluctuating; so that we need not wonder at finding the Greeks and Romans sinking to barbarism, with Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero and Tacitus on their shelves, or in their hands. Among the Burmese, the art of reading is almost universal, but as the books they lounge over are trifling and worthless, no habits of study are engendered, and civilization always remains in its infancy. Nay, it is quite possible for a nation to retrograde towards the savage state with Shakspeare and Milton, and Bacon and Locke constantly before their eyes. The question always is, do we read in search of wisdom, or simply to be amused? When the latter is the case, we are not far from second childhood.

readily, as it were with one cast of the eye, take a view of the argument, and presently, in most cases, see where it bottoms. Those who have got this faculty, one may say, have got the true key of books, and the clue to lead them through the mizmaze of variety of opinions and authors to truth and certainty. This young beginners should be entered in, and showed the use of, that they might profit by their reading. Those who are strangers to it will be apt to think it too great a clog in the way of men's studies, and they will suspect they shall make but small progress if in the books they read they must stand to examine and unravel every argument, and follow it step by step up to its original.

I answer, this is a good objection, and ought to weigh with those whose reading is designed for much talk and little knowledge, and I have nothing to say to it.* But I am here inquiring into the conduct of the understanding in its progress towards knowledge; and to those who aim at that I may say, that he who fair and softly goes steadily forward in a course that points right, will sooner be at his journey's end than he that runs after every one he meets, though he gallop all day full speed.†

To which let me add, that this way of thinking on and profiting by what we read will be a clog and rub to any one only in the beginning: when custom and exercise have made it familiar, it will be despatched on most occasions without resting or interruption in the course of our reading The motions and views of a mind exercised that way are wonderfully quick, and a man used to such sort of reflections sees as much at one glimpse as would require a long discourse to lay before another, and make out in an entire and gradual deduction. Besides that, when the first difficulties are over the delight and sensible advantage it brings mightily encourages and enlivens the mind in reading, which without this is very improperly called study.

21. *Intermediate Principles.*—As a help to this, I think it may be proposed, that for the saving the long progression of the thoughts to remote and first principles in every case,

* This cool contempt strikes more forcibly at the root of the fallacy than a thousand arguments.

† I own myself partial, like Martin Luther, to the Æsopian school of wisdom, so that the reader will perhaps pardon my simplicity if I here refer to the fable of the Hare and the Tortoise.

the mind should provide it several stages; that is to say intermediate principles which it might have recourse to in the examining those positions that come in its way. These, though they are not self-evident principles, yet if they have been made out from them by a wary and unquestionable deduction, may be depended on as certain and infallible truths, and serve as unquestionable truths to prove other points depending on them by a nearer and shorter view than remote and general maxims. These may serve as landmarks to show what lies in the direct way of truth, or is quite beside it. And thus mathematicians do, who do not in every new problem run it back to the first axioms, through all the whole train of intermediate propositions. Certain theorems that they have settled to themselves upon sure demonstration, serve to resolve to them multitudes of propositions which depend on them, and are as firmly made out from thence as if the mind went afresh over every link of the whole chain that ties them to first self-evident principles. Only in other sciences great care is to be taken that they establish those intermediate principles with as much caution, exactness, and indifferency as mathematicians use in the settling any of their great theorems. When this is not done, but men take up the principles in this or that science upon credit, inclination, interest, &c., in haste, without due examination and most unquestionable proof, they lay a trap for themselves, and, as much as in them lies, captivate their understandings to mistake falsehood and error.

22. *Partiality.*—As there is a partiality to opinions, which, as we have already observed, is apt to mislead the understanding, so there is often a partiality to studies which is prejudicial also to knowledge and improvement. Those sciences which men are particularly versed in they are apt to value and extol, as if that part of knowledge which every one has acquainted himself with were that alone which was worth the having, and all the rest were idle and empty amusements, comparatively of no use or importance. This is the effect of ignorance and not knowledge, the being vainly puffed up with a flatulency arising from a weak and narrow comprehension. It is not amiss that every one should relish the science that he has made his peculiar study; a view of its beauties and a sense of its usefulness carry a man on with

the more delight and warmth in the pursuit and improvement of it. But the contempt of all other knowledge, as if it were nothing in comparison of law or physic, of astronomy or chemistry, or perhaps some yet meaner part of knowledge wherein I have got some smattering or am somewhat advanced, is not only the mark of a vain or little mind, but does this prejudice in the conduct of the understanding, that it coops up within narrow bounds, and hinders it looking abroad into other provinces of the intellectual world, more beautiful possibly, and more fruitful than that which it had till then laboured in, wherein it might find, besides new knowledge, ways or hints whereby it might be enabled the better to cultivate its own.

23. *Theology.*—There is indeed one science (as they are now distinguished) incomparably above all the rest, where it is not by corruption narrowed into a trade or faction for mean or ill ends and secular interests; I mean theology, which, containing the knowledge of God and his creatures, our duty to him and our fellow-creatures, and a view of our present and future state, is the comprehension of all other knowledge directed to its true end; i.e., the honour and veneration of the Creator and the happiness of mankind.* This is that noble study which is

* Plato, as Locke himself elsewhere observes, had even in Pagan times discovered that the happiness of man consists in knowing God. Properly speaking indeed his whole philosophy is based on this conviction, and its object is to raise and purify man so as to fit him for the attainment of this knowledge. St. Augustine goes one step further, and conceives the love of God to be the great wellspring of human felicity. "I love thee, O my God!" he exclaims, "thou hast smitten my heart with thy word, and I have loved thee. Nay, the heavens and the earth, and all things contained therein, admonish me on every side that I should love thee; and they cease not to say the same to all men also, so that they are inexcusable if they do not love thee. But what do I love, when I love thee? Not the beauty of a body; not the grace and comeliness of time; not the brightness of light (and yet, O how friendly and agreeable is that to these eyes!); not the sweet melodies of well-composed songs, nor the fragrant odours of flowers, or unguents or costly spices; not manna; not honey; not the embraces of the dearest and most lovely person; these are not the things that I love, when I love my God. And yet I love a certain light, and a certain voice, and a certain grateful odour, and a certain food, and a kind of embracement when I love my God; the true light, the melody, the food, the satisfaction and embracement of my inward man. When that shines to my soul which no place can contain; when that sounds which no time can snatch away; when that scents

every man's duty, and every one that can be called a rational creature is capable of. The works of nature and the words of revelation display it to mankind in characters so large and visible, that those who are not quite blind may in them read and see the first principles and most necessary parts of it, and from thence, as they have time and industry, may be enabled to go on to the more abstruse parts of it, and penetrate into those infinite depths filled with the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. This is that science which would truly enlarge men's minds were it studied or permitted to be studied everywhere with that freedom, love of truth, and charity which it teaches, and were not made, contrary to its nature, the occasion of strife, faction, malignity, and narrow impositions. I shall say no more here of this, but that it is undoubtedly a wrong use of my understanding to make it the rule and measure of another man's, a use which it is neither fit for nor capable of.*

24. *Partiality.*—This partiality, where it is not permitted an authority to render all other studies insignificant or contemptible, is often indulged so far as to be relied upon and made use of in other parts of knowledge to which it does not at all belong, and wherewith it has no manner of affinity. Some men have so used their heads to mathematical figures, that giving a preference to the methods of that science, they introduce lines and diagrams into their study of divinity or politic inquiries, as if nothing could be known

which no wind can disperse and scatter abroad; when I taste that which eating cannot diminish; when I cleave to that which no fulness, no satiety, can force away,—this is that which I love, when I love my God. And what is this? I asked the earth, and it said, I am not. I asked the sea, and the deeps, and all living creatures, and they answered, We are not thy God; look above us, and inquire after him, for here he is not. I asked the air, and all its inhabitants, yea, the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, and they confessed, We are not him whom thy soul seeketh. And I spake to all things whatsoever that stand round about the gates of my flesh, saying, Ye tell me that ye are not my God, but tell me something of him. And they all cried out with a loud voice, 'He made us!'" The translation here used is Bishop Patrick's, in his Advice to a Friend, p. 35 et seq. The original occurs in the Confessions.

* The reader will perhaps remark that what is here said of theology is a digression evidently inserted after the completion of the rest of the book; for "this partiality," evidently, in the order of the author's original thoughts, followed immediately after "its own," the words with which section 22 concludes.

without them; and others accustomed to retired speculations run natural philosophy into metaphysical notions and the abstract generalities of logic: and how often may one meet with religion and morality treated of in the terms of the laboratory, and thought to be improved by the methods and notions of chemistry?* But he that will take care of the conduct of his understanding, to direct it right to the knowledge of things, must avoid those undue mixtures, and not by a fondness for what he has found useful and necessary in one, transfer it to another science, where it serves only to perplex and confound the understanding. It is a certain truth that "res nolunt malè administrari;" it is no less certain "res nolunt malè intelligi." Things themselves are to be considered as they are in themselves, and then they will show us in what way they are to be understood. For to have right conceptions about them we must bring our understandings to the inflexible nature and unalterable relations of things, and not endeavour to bring things to any preconceived notions of our own.

There is another partiality very commonly observable in men of study no less prejudicial or ridiculous than the former, and that is a fantastical and wild attributing all knowledge to the ancients alone, or to the moderns. This raving upon antiquity in matter of poetry, Horace has wittily described and exposed in one of his satires.† The

* It will be observed, both here and elsewhere, that Locke is exceedingly liable to repeat himself. Of this defect he was very sensible, as appears from his correspondence with Mr. Molyneux respecting the Essay on the Human Understanding. (Works, fol. i. vol. iii. p. 503.) See ante, § 19.

† The witty passage of the Roman satirist, to which Locke here refers, occurs in Epist. I. i. 34 et seq. It is somewhat too long to be inserted entire, but I subjoin a few verses from Creech's rough but vigorous translation:—

"If length of time will better verse like wine,
Give it a brisker taste, and make it fine;
Come tell me then, I would be gladly showed,
How many years will make a poem good:
One poet writ an hundred years ago,
What, is he old, and therefore famed, or no?
Or is he new, and therefore bold appears?
Let's fix upon a certain term of years.
He's good that lived an hundred years ago,
Another wants a hundred one, is he so too?

same sort of madness may be found in reference to all the other sciences. Some will not admit an opinion not authorised by men of old, who were then all giants in knowledge.* Nothing is to be put into the treasury of truth or knowledge which has not the stamp of Greece or Rome upon it, and since their days will scarce allow that men have been able to see, think or write. Others, with a like extravagancy, contemn all that the ancients have left us, and being taken with the modern inventions and discoveries, lay by all that went before, as if whatever is called old must have the decay of time upon it, and truth too were liable to mould and rottenness. Men I think have been much the same for natural endowments in all times. Fashion, discipline, and education have put eminent differences in the ages of several countries: and made one generation much differ from another in arts and sciences: but truth is always the same; time alters it not, nor is it the better or worse for being of ancient or modern tradition. Many were eminent in former ages of the world for their discovery and delivery of it; but though the knowledge they have left us be worth our study, yet they exhausted not all its treasure; they left a

> Or is he new, and damned for that alone?
> Well, he's good too, and old that wants but one,
> And thus I'll argue on, and bate one more,
> And so by one and one waste all the store:
> And so confute him, who esteems by years,
> A poem's goodness from the date it bears,
> Who not admires, nor yet approves a line,
> But what is old, and death hath made divine."

On this subject Pindar differed very widely from the Romans, for he preferred old wine and new songs.

* The error here exposed springs up very naturally from the faulty schemes of study which have been above described. They who devote themselves exclusively to the reading of ancient authors necessarily consider them the best. The same thing is true of the lovers of modern times. It is only by impartially considering and comparing both that men can arrive at right conclusions. In the present day the admirers of antiquity are few, and there is little danger of their increasing; but among them we must reckon M. Schœl, the historian of Ancient Literature, who seems to imagine that while original genius fell to the lot of the Greeks, the moderns have merely received for their portion the spirit of criticism. (Hist. de la Lit. Grecque, Int. pp. 18 and 22.) He knew nothing, it is to be presumed, of Shakspeare, or Milton, or Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden or Pope, though he should have been acquainted with the name of Leibnitz.

great deal for the industry and sagacity of after-ages, and so shall we. That was once new to them which any one now receives with veneration for its antiquity, nor was it the worse for appearing as a novelty; and that which is now embraced for its newness, will to posterity be old, but not thereby be less true or less genuine.* There is no occasion on this account to oppose the ancients and the moderns to one another, or to be squeamish on either side. He that wisely conducts his mind in the pursuit of knowledge, will gather what lights and get what helps he can from either of them, from whom they are best to be had, without adoring the errors or rejecting the truths which he may find mingled in them.

Another partiality may be observed in some to vulgar, in others to heterodox tenets; some are apt to conclude that what is the common opinion cannot but be true; so many men's eyes they think cannot but see right; so many men's understandings of all sorts cannot be deceived, and therefore will not venture to look beyond the received notions of the place and age, nor have so presumptuous a thought as to be wiser than their neighbours. They are content to go with the crowd, and so go easily, which they think is going right, or at least serves them as well. But however "vox populi vox Dei" has prevailed as a maxim, yet I do not remember wherever God delivered his oracles by the multitude, or nature truths by the herd. On the other side, some fly all common opinions as either false or frivolous. The title of many-headed beast is a sufficient reason to them to conclude that no truths of weight or consequence can be lodged there.† Vulgar opinions are suited to vulgar capacities, and adapted to the

* In another work I have remarked that "when Mr. Bentham published his Defence of Usury, almost fifty years ago, he was treated as a visionary, and his notions were despised. Time went on, and in the course of thirty or forty years some few came up with Mr. Bentham's position, and found it no longer so absurd as it had appeared through the mists of distance. Meanwhile the philosopher was stretching away before them, inventing and discovering, and still appearing in his new positions as ludicrous as in the matter of usury. When they overtake him again, they may again find him rational." (Anat. of Soc. vol. i. p. 62.)

† This was the error of Sir Thomas Browne and Coleridge, the latter of whom, as Hazlitt has remarked, had the knack of always preferring the unknown to the known.

end of those that govern.* He that will know the truth of things must leave the common and beaten track, which none but weak and servile minds are satisfied to trudge along continually in. Such nice palates relish nothing but strange notions quite out of the way: whatever is commonly received has the mark of the beast on it, and they think it a lessening to them to hearken to it or receive it: their mind runs only after paradoxes; these they seek, these they embrace, these only they vent, and so as they think distinguish themselves from the vulgar. But common or uncommon are not the marks to distinguish truth or falsehood, and therefore should not be any bias to us in our inquiries. We should not judge of things by men's opinions, but of opinions by things. The multitude reason but ill, and therefore may be well suspected, and cannot be relied on, nor should be followed as a sure guide, but philosophers who have quitted the orthodoxy of the community and the popular doctrines of their countries have fallen into as extravagant and as absurd opinions as ever common reception countenanced. It would be madness to refuse to breathe the common air or quench one's thirst with water because the rabble use them to these purposes; and if there are conveniencies of life which common use reaches not, it is not reason to reject them because they are not grown into the ordinary fashion of the country, and every villager doth not know them.†

Truth, whether in or out of fashion, is the measure of knowledge and the business of the understanding; whatsoever is besides that, however authorised by consent or recommended by rarity, is nothing but ignorance or something worse.

Another sort of partiality there is whereby men impose upon themselves, and by it make their reading little useful to

* An observation worthy of Machiavelli. It has always been the policy of rulers to engender and perpetuate among their subjects contempt and hatred of neighbouring nations; and these prejudices may sometimes prove useful, as the vulgar notion that one Englishman can at any time beat two Frenchmen, has often, as Chesterfield remarks, led to the achievement. The French on the other hand nourish prejudices of the same kind, and a little schoolboy Munchausen once remarked that a French giant of his acquaintance had broken an Englishman in two like a raw carrot.

† Cicero somewhere observes that there is no opinion so foolish but that it has obtained the approbation of some one among the philosophers.

themselves, I mean the making use of the opinions of writers and laying stress upon their authorities wherever they find them to favour their own opinions.

There is nothing almost has done more harm to men dedicated to letters than giving the name of study to reading, and making a man of great reading to be the same with a man of great knowledge, or at least to be a title of honour. All that can be recorded in writing are only facts or reasonings. Facts are of three sorts: 1. Merely of natural agents observable in the ordinary operations of bodies one upon another, whether in the visible course of things left to themselves, or in experiments made by them, applying agents and patients to one another after a peculiar and artificial manner. 2. Of voluntary agents, more especially the actions of men in society, which makes civil and moral history. 3. Of opinions.

In these three consists, as it seems to me, that which commonly has the name of learning; to which perhaps some may add a distinct head of critical writings, which indeed at bottom is nothing but matter of fact, and resolves itself into this, that such a man or set of men used such a word or phrase in such a sense, i. e., that they made such sounds the marks of such ideas.*

Under reasonings I comprehend all the discoveries of general truths made by human reason, whether found by intuition, demonstration, or probable deductions. And this is that which is, if not alone, knowledge (because the truth or probability of particular propositions may be known too), yet is, as may be supposed, most properly the business of those who pretend to improve their understandings and make themselves knowing by reading.

Books and reading are looked upon to be the great helps of the understanding and instruments of knowledge, as it must be allowed that they are; and yet I beg leave to question whether these do not prove a hindrance to many, and keep several bookish men from attaining to solid and true knowledge. This I think I may be permitted to say, that there is no part wherein the understanding needs a more care-

* This is a very imperfect definition of criticism, applying only to one of the meanest of its branches. By criticism we mean the passing of just and accurate judgments on works of art, each of which creates a new fact and establishes a new opinion.

ful and wary conduct than in the use of books, without which they will prove rather innocent amusements than profitable employments of our time, and bring but small additions to our knowledge.*

There is not seldom to be found, even amongst those who aim at knowledge, who with an unwearied industry employ their whole time in books, who scarcely allow themselves time to eat or sleep, but read, and read, and read on, yet make no great advances in real knowledge, though there be no defect in their intellectual faculties to which their little progress can be imputed. The mistake here is, that it is usually supposed that by reading, the author's knowledge is transfused into the reader's understanding; and so it is, but not by bare reading, but by reading and understanding what he wrote. Whereby I mean, not barely comprehending what is affirmed or denied in each proposition (though that great readers do not always think themselves concerned precisely to do), but to see and

* It requires much wisdom to discover the true use of reading; but precisely the same thing may be said of every other road to knowledge, commerce with the world being as little profitable to the careless and unreflecting as reading itself. The habit of reading and study sometimes grows in the most philosophical minds into a passion. It was thus with Bayle, who speaking of the effects of study upon health, and how much better it is to be satisfied with moderate application rather than injure one's constitution, exclaims, however—"Heureux, je le dis encore un coup, celui qui est si robuste qu'il peut étudier quatorze ou quinze heures chaque jour, sans être jamais malade!" (Dict. Hist. et Crit. art. Hall, rem. B.) The author of the discourse on the Life of Mr. Ancillon, makes several long and judicious comments on his mode of study. He read, it seems, books of all kinds, romances even, old and new; but it was his opinion that he derived benefit from them all; and he often used to repeat the words attributed to Virgil: "Aurum ex stercore Ennii colligo." In certain careless authors things of a singular nature, he thought, were sometimes to be met with, which could be found nowhere else. But although he read all kinds of books, he bestowed application on such only as were important; running through the lighter sort, as the Latin proverb has it, "sicut canis ad Nilum bibens et fugiens," but perusing the others frequently and with exactitude and care. He gathered from the first reading the general idea of a book, but looked to the second for the discovery of its beauties. His exact manner of observing what he read, rendered *indexes*, which many great men have called "*the souls of books*," of little or no use to him; for he had, besides, a very faithful memory, and especially that *local* memory so valuable to literary men. He was not always in the habit of reading books from beginning to end; but sometimes chose to search to the bottom the subjects of which they treated, in which case he had to consult a number of au-

follow the train of his reasonings, observe the strength and clearness of their connexion, and examine upon what they bottom. Without this a man may read the discourses of a very rational author, written in a language and in propositions that he very well understands, and yet acquire not one jot of his knowledge, which consisting only in the perceived, certain, or probable connexion of the ideas made use of in his reasonings, the reader's knowledge is no further increased than he perceives that; so much as he sees of this connexion, so much he knows of the truth or probability of that author's opinions.

All that he relies on without this perception he takes upon trust, upon the author's credit, without any knowledge of it at all. This makes me not at all wonder to see some men so abound in citations and build so much upon authorities, it being the sole foundation on which they bottom most of their own tenets; so that in effect they have but a second-hand or implicit knowledge, i. e., are in the right if such an one from whom they borrowed it were in the right in that opinion which they took from him; which indeed is no knowledge at all. Writers of this or former ages may be good witnesses of matters of fact which they deliver, which we may do well to take upon their authority; but their credit can go no further than this; it cannot at all affect the truth and falsehood of opinions which have no other sort of trial but reason and proof, which they themselves made use of to make themselves knowing; and so must others too that will partake in their knowledge. Indeed it is an advantage that they have been at the pains to find out the proofs and lay them in that order

thors. "Il voyait souvent la même chose dans différens ouvrages; mais cela ne le dégoutait pas; au contraire, il disait que c'était comme autant de nouvelles couches de couleurs qui formaient l'idée qu'il avait conçue qui la mettaient dans une entière perfection." He had a large table in the middle of his study, which was usually covered with open books. The celebrated Fra Paolo studied in the same manner; never discontinuing his researches until he had made the comparison of authorities, of places, times, and opinions; and this he did to free himself from doubt, and from all occasion of again thinking on the same subject. Ancillon kept a commonplace book, though Goveau, Salmasius, Ménage, and others stigmatised the practice as mischievous, and an obstacle to real learning. On this question I am inclined to side with Ancillon and the multitude, though undoubtedly an author may trust too much to his commonplace book. (See Bayle, t. i. art. Ancillon, rem. C.)

that may show the truth or probability of their conclusions, and for this we owe them great acknowledgments for saving us the pains in searching out those proofs which they have collected for us, and which possibly after all our pains we might not have found nor been able to have set them in so good a light as that which they left them us in. Upon this account we are mightily beholden to judicious writers of all ages for those discoveries and discourses they have left behind them for our instruction if we know how to make a right use of them, which is not to run them over in a hasty perusal, and perhaps lodge their opinions or some remarkable passages in our memories, but to enter into their reasonings, examine their proofs, and then judge of the truth or falsehood, probability or improbability of what they advance, not by any opinion we have entertained of the author, but by the evidence he produces and the conviction he affords us drawn from things themselves. Knowing is seeing, and if it be so, it is madness to persuade ourselves that we do so by another man's eyes, let him use ever so many words to tell us that what he asserts is very visible. Till we ourselves see it with our own eyes and perceive it by our own understandings, we are as much in the dark and as void of knowledge as before, let us believe any learned author as much as we will.

Euclid and Archimedes are allowed to be knowing and to have demonstrated what they say, and yet whoever shall read over their writings without perceiving the connexion of their proofs, and seeing what they show, though he may understand all their words, yet he is not the more knowing: he may believe indeed, but does not know what they say, and so is not advanced one jot in mathematical knowledge by all his reading of those approved mathematicians.

25. *Haste.*—The eagerness and strong bent of the mind after knowledge, if not warily regulated, is often a hindrance to it. It still presses into further discoveries and new objects, and catches at the variety of knowledge, and therefore often stays not long enough on what is before it to look into it as it should, for haste to pursue what is yet out of sight. He that rides post through a country may be able from the transient view to tell how in general the parts lie, and may be able to give some loose description of here a mountain and

there a plain, here a morass and there a river, woodland in one part and savannahs in another. Such superficial ideas and observations as these he may collect in galloping over it; but the more useful observations of the soil, plants, animals, and inhabitants, with their several sorts and properties, must necessarily escape him; and it is seldom men ever discover the rich mines without some digging. Nature commonly lodges her treasure and jewels in rocky ground. If the matter be knotty and the sense lies deep, the mind must stop and buckle to it, and stick upon it with labour and thought and close contemplation, and not leave it till it has mastered the difficulty and got possession of truth. But here care must be taken to avoid the other extreme; a man must not stick at every useless nicety, and expect mysteries of science in every trivial question or scruple that he may raise. He that will stand to pick up and examine every pebble that comes in his way, is as unlikely to return enriched and laden with jewels, as the other that travelled full speed. Truths are not the better nor the worse for their obviousness or difficulty, but their value is to be measured by their usefulness and tendency. Insignificant observations should not take up any of our minutes, and those that enlarge our view and give light towards further and useful discoveries, should not be neglected, though they stop our course and spend some of our time in a fixed attention.

There is another haste that does often and will mislead the mind if it be left to itself and its own conduct. The understanding is naturally forward, not only to learn its knowledge by variety (which makes it skip over one to get speedily to another part of knowledge), but also eager to enlarge its views by running too fast into general observations and conclusions without a due examination of particulars enough whereon to found those general axioms.* This seems to enlarge their stock, but it is of fancies, not realities; such theories, built upon narrow foundations, stand but weakly, and if they fall not of themselves, are at least very hardly to be supported against the assaults of opposition. And thus men being too hasty to erect to themselves general notions and ill-grounded theories, find themselves deceived in their stock of knowledge when they come to examine their hastily assumed maxims

* See ante, note 1, p. 27.

themselves or to have them attacked by others. General observations drawn from particulars are the jewels of knowledge, comprehending great store in a little room; but they are therefore to be made with the greater care and caution, lest if we take counterfeit for true our loss and shame be the greater when our stock comes to a severe scrutiny.* One or two particulars may suggest hints of inquiry, and they do well to take those hints; but if they turn them into conclusions, and make them presently general rules, they are forward indeed, but it is only to impose on themselves by propositions assumed for truths without sufficient warrant. To make such observations is, as has been already remarked, to make the head a magazine of materials which can hardly be called knowledge, or at least it is but like a collection of lumber not reduced to use or order; and he that makes everything an observation has the same useless plenty and much more falsehood mixed with it. The extremes on both sides are to be avoided, and he will be able to give the best account of his studies who keeps his understanding in the right mean between them.

26. *Anticipation.*—Whether it be a love of that which brings the first light and information to their minds, and want of vigour and industry to inquire; or else that men content themselves with any appearance of knowledge, right or wrong, which when they have once got they will hold fast; this is visible, that many men give themselves up to the first anticipations of their minds, and are very tenacious of the opinions that first possess them; they are as often fond of their first conception as of their first-born, and will by no means recede from the judgment they have once made, or any conjecture or conceit which they have once entertained. This is a fault in the conduct of the understanding, since this firmness or rather stiffness of the mind is not from an adherence to truth, but a submission to prejudice. It is an unreasonable

* The practice on which this beautiful figure is founded still prevails in the East, and must always prevail in despotic countries, where men are often compelled by necessity to conceal all their riches about their persons and fly for their lives. Sometimes, where the rights of the harem are revered, great men heap their wealth in the form of jewels upon the females of their family, whose persons are generally held sacred in the East. For this reason Warren Hastings' plunder of the Begum was regarded with peculiar abhorrence in India.

homage paid to prepossession, whereby we show a reverence not to (what we pretend to seek) truth, but what by haphazard we chance to light on, be it what it will. This is visibly a preposterous use of our faculties, and is a downright prostituting of the mind to resign it thus and put it under the power of the first comer. This can never be allowed or ought to be followed as a right way to knowledge, till the understanding (whose business it is to conform itself to what it finds in the objects without) can by its own opinionatry change that, and make the unalterable nature of things comply with its own hasty determinations, which will never be. Whatever we fancy, things keep their course, and the habitudes, correspondences, and relations keep the same to one another.

27. *Resignation.*—Contrary to these, but by a like dangerous excess on the other side, are those who always resign their judgment to the last man they heard or read.* Truth never sinks into these men's minds nor gives any tincture to them, but cameleon-like, they take the colour of what is laid before them, and as soon lose and resign it to the next that happens to come in their way. The order wherein opinions are proposed or received by us is no rule of their rectitude, nor ought to be a cause of their preference. First or last in this case is the effect of chance, and not the measure of truth or falsehood. This every one must confess, and therefore should in the pursuit of truth keep his mind free from the influence of any such accidents.† A man may as reasonably draw cuts for his tenets, regulate his persuasion by the cast of a die, as take it up for its novelty, or retain it because it had his first assent and he was never of another mind. Well-weighed reasons are to determine the judgment; those the mind should be always ready to hearken and submit to, and by their testimony and suffrage entertain or reject any tenet indifferently, whether it be a perfect stranger or an old acquaintance.

* Of this failing Pope used to plead guilty, observing, jocularly perhaps, that in theology he always agreed in opinion with the last author he read.

† A similar thought occurs somewhere in Plato, who observes that in all discussions we should hold our minds free to be carried whithersoever we may by the stream of our reasoning. Dr. Middleton makes a remark of like import in the preface, if I rightly remember, of his Free Inquiry.

28. *Practice.*—Though the faculties of the mind are improved by exercise, yet they must not be put to a stress beyond their strength. "Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent,"* must be made the measure of every one's understanding who has a desire not only to perform well but to keep up the vigour of his faculties, and not to balk his understanding by what is too hard for it. The mind by being engaged in a task beyond its strength, like the body strained by lifting at a weight too heavy, has often its force broken, and thereby gets an unaptness or an aversion to any vigorous attempt ever after. A sinew cracked seldom recovers its former strength, or at least the tenderness of the sprain remains a good while after, and the memory of it longer, and leaves a lasting caution in the man not to put the part quickly again to any robust employment. So it fares in the mind once jaded by an attempt above its power; it either is disabled for the future, or else checks at any vigorous undertaking ever after, at least is very hardly brought to exert its force again on any subject that requires thought and meditation. The understanding should be brought to the difficult and knotty parts of knowledge that try the strength of thought and a full bent of the mind by insensible degrees, and in such a gradual proceeding nothing is too hard for it.† Nor let it be objected that such a slow progress will never reach the extent of some sciences. It is not to be imagined how far constancy will carry a man; however, it is better walking slowly in a rugged way than to break a leg and be a cripple. He that begins with the calf may carry the ox, but he that will at first go to take up an ox may so disable himself as not to be able to lift up a calf after that. When the mind by insensible degrees has brought itself to attention and close thinking, it will be able to cope with difficulties and master them without any

* Which Roscommon thus translates (Ars. Poet. 394 et seq.):—

"And often try what weight you can support,
And what your shoulders are too weak to bear."

† In the same spirit Milton, in his Tractate on Education, condemns the preposterous practice of "forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose or the plucking of untimely fruit"

prejudice to itself, and then it may go on roundly. Every abstruse problem, every intricate question, will not baffle, discourage, or break it. But though putting the mind unprepared upon an unusual stress that may discourage or damp it for the future ought to be avoided, yet this must not run it by an over-great shyness of difficulties into a lazy sauntering about ordinary and obvious things that demand no thought or application. This debases and enervates the understanding, makes it weak and unfit for labour. This is a sort of hovering about the surface of things without any insight into them or penetration; and when the mind has been once habituated to this lazy recumbency and satisfaction on the obvious surface of things, it is in danger to rest satisfied there and go no deeper, since it cannot do it without pains and digging. He that has for some time accustomed himself to take up with what easily offers itself at first view, has reason to fear he shall never reconcile himself to the fatigue of turning and tumbling things in his mind to discover their more retired and more valuable secrets.

It is not strange that methods of learning which scholars have been accustomed to in their beginning and entrance upon the sciences should influence them all their lives, and be settled in their minds by an overruling reverence; especially if they be such as universal use has established. Learners must at first be believers, and their master's rules having been once made axioms to them, it is no wonder they should keep that dignity, and by the authority they have once got, mislead those who think it sufficient to excuse them if they go out of their way in a well-beaten track.

29. *Words.*—I have copiously enough spoken of the abuse of words in another place,* and therefore shall upon this reflection, that the sciences are full of them, warn those that would conduct their understandings right not to take any term, howsoever authorized by the language of the schools, to stand for anything till they have an idea of it. A word may be of frequent use and great credit with several authors, and be by them made use of as if it stood for some real being;

* This is fully treated of in the Essay on the Human Understanding, Book iii. chap. 10, 11. The whole book, however, has reference to the same subject. Compare also Bishop Berkeley's troduction to the Principles of Human knowledge

but yet, if he that reads cannot frame any distinct idea of that being, it is certainly to him a mere empty sound without a meaning, and he learns no more by all that is said of it or attributed to it than if it were affirmed only of that bare empty sound. They who would advance in knowledge, and not deceive and swell themselves with a little articulated air, should lay down this as a fundamental rule, not to take words for things, nor suppose that names in books signify real entities in nature, till they can frame clear and distinct ideas of those entities. It will not perhaps be allowed, if I should set down "substantial forms" and "intentional species," as such that may justly be suspected to be of this kind of insignificant terms. But this I am sure, to one that can form no determined ideas of what they stand for, they signify nothing at all, and all that he thinks he knows about them is to him so much knowledge about nothing, and amounts at most but to be a learned ignorance. It is not without all reason supposed that there are many such empty terms to be found in some learned writers, to which they had recourse to etch out their systems, where their understandings could not furnish them with conceptions from things. But yet I believe the supposing of some realities in nature answering those and the like words, have much perplexed some and quite misled others in the study of nature. That which in any discourse signifies, "I know not what," should be considered "I know not when." Where men have any conceptions, they can, if they are never so abstruse or abstracted, explain them and the terms they use for them. For our conceptions being nothing but ideas, which are all made up of simple ones, if they cannot give us the ideas their words stand for it is plain they have none. To what purpose can it be to hunt after his conceptions who has none, or none distinct? he that knew not what he himself meant by a learned term, cannot make us know anything by his use of it, let us beat our heads about it never so long. Whether we are able to comprehend all the operations of nature and the manners of them, it matters not to inquire, but this is certain, that we can comprehend no more of them than we can distinctly conceive, and therefore to obtrude terms where we have no distinct conceptions, as if they did contain, or rather conceal something, is but an artifice of learned vanity to cover a defect in an hypothesis of

our understandings. Words are not made to conceal, but to declare and show something; where they are by those who pretend to instruct otherwise used, they conceal indeed something; but that that they conceal is nothing but the ignorance, error, or sophistry of the talker, for there is in truth nothing else under them.*

30. *Wandering.*—That there is a constant succession and flux of ideas in our minds I have observed in the former part of this essay, and every one may take notice of it in himself. This, I suppose, may deserve some part of our care in the conduct of our understandings; and I think it may be of great advantage if we can by use get that power over our minds, as to be able to direct that train of ideas, that so, since there will new ones perpetually come into our thoughts by a constant succesion, we may be able by choice so to direct them, that none may come in view but such as are pertinent to our present inquiry, and in such order as may be most useful to the discovery we are upon; or, at least, if some foreign and unsought ideas will offer themselves, that yet we might be able to reject them and keep them from taking off our minds from its present pursuit, and hinder them from running away with our thoughts quite from the subject in hand. This is not, I suspect, so easy to be done as perhaps may be imagined; and yet, for aught I know, this may be, if not the chief, yet one of the great differences that carry some men in their reasoning so far beyond others, where they seem to be naturally of equal parts. A proper and effectual remedy for this wandering of thoughts I would be glad to find. He that shall propose such an one would do great service to the studious and contemplative part of mankind, and perhaps help unthinking men to become thinking. I must acknowledge that hitherto I have discovered no other way to keep our thoughts close to their business, but the endeavouring as much as we can, and by frequent attention and application, getting the habit of attention and application. He that will observe children will find that even when they endeavour their utmost they cannot keep their minds from straggling. The way to cure it, I am satisfied, is not angry chiding or

* Upon this philosophical observation was erected the witty contradiction of Goldsmith, commonly attributed to Talleyrand, that language was given to man to conceal his thoughts.

beating, for that presently fills their heads with all the ideas that fear, dread, or confusion can offer to them. To bring back gently their wandering thoughts, by leading them into the path and going before them in the train they should pursue, without any rebuke, or so much as taking notice (where it can be avoided) of their roving, I suppose, would sooner reconcile and inure them to attention than all these rougher methods, which more distract their thought, and hindering the application they would promote, introduce a contrary habit.*

31. *Distinction.*—Distinction and division are (if I mistake not the import of the words) very different things; the one being the perception of a difference that nature has placed in things; the other, our making a division where there is yet none; at least if it may be permitted to consider them in this sense, I think I may say of them, that one of them is the most necessary and conducive to true knowledge that can be; the other, when too much made use of, serves only to puzzle and confound the understanding. To observe every the least difference that is in things argues a quick and clear sight, and this keeps the understanding steady and right in its way to knowledge. But though it be useful to discern every variety that is to be found in nature, yet it is not convenient to consider every difference that is in things, and divide them into distinct classes under every such difference. This will run us, if followed, into particulars (for every individual has something that differences it from another), and we shall be able to establish no general truths, or else at least shall be apt to perplex the mind about them. The collection

* Upon this subject he has spoken at considerable length in his Thoughts on Education, where see, in my notes, the opinions of Montaigne. Bishop Patrick has likewise, in his Advice to a Friend, a pleasant passage to the same purpose. Speaking of our attempts unreasonably to compel ourselves to religious meditation, he says: "As a child, you may have observed, when he cannot think of his lesson, the more his teacher chides and calls upon him, the more blockishly he stands, and the further it is beat out of his memory: so it is very frequently with the natural spirits of every one of us. They are so oppressed and stupid at certain seasons that if we labour to set them in motion, it doth but dispose them the more to stand stock still. But if we let them alone, and for that time leave them, they will be like the same child, who in a short time comes to himself, and is able to say his lesson perfectly. They would go whither we would have them, and perhaps run before us." (88 et seq.)

of several things into several classes gives the mind more general and larger views, but we must take care to unite them only in that, and so far as they do agree, for so far they may be united under the consideration, for entity itself, that comprehends all things, as general as it is, may afford us clear and rational conceptions. If we would weigh and keep in our minds what it is we are considering, that would best instruct us when we should or should not branch into further distinctions, which are not to be taken only from a due contemplation of things, to which there is nothing more opposite than the art of verbal distinctions made at pleasure in learned and arbitrarily invented terms, to be applied at a venture, without comprehending or conveying any distinct notions, and so altogether fitted to artificial talk or empty noise in dispute, without any clearing of difficulties or advance in knowledge. Whatsoever subject we examine and would get knowledge in, we should, I think, make as general and as large as it will bear; nor can there be any danger of this, if the idea of it be settled and determined: for if that be so, we shall easily distinguish it from any other idea, though comprehended under the same name. For it is to fence against the entanglements of equivocal words, and the great art of sophistry which lies in them, that distinctions have been multiplied and their use thought so necessary. But had every distinct abstract idea a distinct known name, there would be little need of these multiplied scholastic distinctions, though there would be nevertheless as much need still of the mind's observing the differences that are in things, and discriminating them thereby one from another. It is not therefore the right way to knowledge to hunt after and fill the head with abundance of artificial and scholastic distinctions, wherewith learned men's writings are often filled: we sometimes find what they treat of so divided and subdivided that the mind of the most attentive reader loses the sight of it, as it is more than probable the writer himself did; for in things crumbled into dust it is in vain to affect or pretend order, or expect clearness. To avoid confusion by too few or too many divisions, is a great skill in thinking as well as writing, which is but the copying our thoughts; but what are the boundaries of the mean between the two vicious excesses on both hands, I think is hard to set down in words: clear and distinct ideas

are all that I yet know able to regulate it. But as to verbal distinctions received and applied to common terms, i.e., equivocal words they are more properly, I think, the business of criticisms and dictionaries than of real knowledge and philosophy, since they for the most part explain the meaning of words, and give us their several significations. The dexterous management of terms, and being able to fend and prove with them,* I know has and does pass in the world for a great part of learning; but it is learning distinct from knowledge, for knowledge consists only in perceiving the habitudes and relations of ideas one to another, which is done without words; the intervention of a sound helps nothing to it. And hence we see that there is least use of distinctions where there is most knowledge, I mean in mathematics, where men have determined ideas without known names to them, and so there being no room for equivocations, there is no need of distinctions. In arguing, the opponent uses as comprehensive and equivocal terms as he can, to involve his adversary in the doubtfulness of his expressions: this is expected, and therefore the answerer on his side makes it his play to distinguish as much as he can, and thinks he can never do it too much; nor can he indeed in that way wherein victory may be had without truth and without knowledge. This seems to me to be the art of disputing. Use your words as captiously as you can in your arguing on one side, and apply distinctions as much as you can on the other side to every term, to nonplus your opponent, so that in this sort of scholarship, there being no bounds set to distinguishing, some men have thought all acuteness to have lain in it, and therefore in all they have read or thought on, their great business has been to amuse themselves with distinctions, and multiply to themselves divisions; at least, more than the nature of the thing required. There seems to me, as I said, to be no other rule for this but a due and right consideration of things as they are in themselves. He that has settled in his mind determined ideas, with names affixed to them, will be able both to discern their differences one from another, which is really distinguishing; and where the penury of words affords not terms answering every distinct idea, will be able to apply proper distinguishing terms to the comprehensive and equi

* To fend and prove, i. e., to wrangle. (Vitilitigo. Adam Littleton.)

vocal names he is forced to make use of. This is all the need I know of distinguishing terms, and in such verbal distinctions each term of the distinction, joined to that whole signification it distinguishes, is but a distinct name for a distinct idea. Where they are so, and men have clear and distinct conceptions that answer their verbal distinctions, they are right, and are pertinent as far as they serve to clear anything in the subject under consideration. And this is that which seems to me the proper and only measure of distinctions and divisions, which he that will conduct his understanding right must not look for in the acuteness of invention nor the authority of writers, but will find only in the consideration of things themselves, whether he is led into it by his own meditations or the information of books.

An aptness to jumble things together wherein can be found any likeness, is a fault in the understanding on the other side which will not fail to mislead it, and by thus lumping of things, hinder the mind from distinct and accurate conceptions of them.

32. *Similes.*—To which let me here add another near of kin to this, at least in name, and that is letting the mind, upon the suggestion of any new notion, run immediately after similes to make it the clearer to itself, which, though it may be a good way and useful in the explaining our thoughts to others, yet it is by no means a right method to settle true notions of anything in ourselves, because similes always fail in some part, and come short of that exactness which our conceptions should have to things if we would think aright. This indeed makes men plausible talkers, for those are always most acceptable in discourse who have the way to let their thoughts into other men's minds with the greatest ease and facility; whether those thoughts are well formed and correspond with things matters not; few men care to be instructed but at an easy rate. They who in their discourse strike the fancy, and take the hearers' conceptions along with them as fast as their words flow, are the applauded talkers, and go for the only men of clear thoughts. Nothing contributes so much to this as similes, whereby men think they themselves understand better, because they are the better understood. But it is one thing to think right and another thing to know the right way to lay our thoughts before

others with advantage and clearness, be they right or wrong. Well-chosen similes, metaphors, and allegories, with method and order, do this the best of anything, because being taken from objects already known and familiar to the understanding, they are conceived as fast as spoken, and the correspondence being concluded, the thing they are brought to explain and elucidate is thought to be understood too. Thus fancy passes for knowledge, and what is prettily said is mistaken for solid. I say not this to decry metaphor, or with design to take away that ornament of speech; my business here is not with rhetoricians and orators, but with philosophers and lovers of truth, to whom I would beg leave to give this one rule whereby to try whether in the application of their thoughts to anything for the improvement of their knowledge, they do in truth comprehend the matter before them really such as it is in itself. The way to discover this is to observe whether, in the laying it before themselves or others, they make use only of borrowed representations and ideas foreign to the things which are applied to it by way of accommodation, as bearing some proportion or imagined likeness to the subject under consideration. Figured and metaphorical expressions do well to illustrate more abstruse and unfamiliar ideas which the mind is not yet thoroughly accustomed to, but then they must be made use of to illustrate ideas that we already have, not to paint to us those which we yet have not. Such borrowed and allusive ideas may follow real and solid truth, to set it off when found, but must by no means be set in its place and taken for it. If all our search has yet reached no further than simile and metaphor, we may assure ourselves we rather fancy than know, and have not yet penetrated into the inside and reality of the thing, be it what it will, but content ourselves with what our imaginations, not things themselves, furnish us with.

33. *Assent.*—In the whole conduct of the understanding, there is nothing of more moment than to know when and where, and how far to give assent, and possibly there is nothing harder. It is very easily said, and nobody questions it, that giving and withholding our assent and the degrees of it should be regulated by the evidence which things carry with them; and yet we see men are not the better for this rule;

some firmly embrace doctrines upon slight grounds, some upon no grounds, and some contrary to appearance: some admit of certainty, and are not to be moved in what they hold; others waver in everything, and there want not those that reject all as uncertain.* What then shall a novice, an inquirer, a stranger do in the case? I answer, use his eyes. There is a correspondence in things, and agreement and disagreement in ideas, discernible in very different degrees, and there are eyes in men to see them if they please; only their eyes may be dimmed or dazzled, and the discerning sight in them impaired or lost. Interest and passion dazzle; the custom of arguing on any side, even against our persuasions, dims the understanding, and makes it by degrees lose the faculty of discerning clearly between truth and falsehood, and so of adhering to the right side. It is not safe to play with error and dress it up to ourselves or others in the shape of truth. The mind by degrees loses its natural relish of real solid truth, is reconciled insensibly to anything that can be dressed up into any feint appearance of it; and if the fancy be allowed the place of judgment at first in sport, it afterwards comes by use to usurp it, and what is recommended by this flatterer (that studies but to please) is received for good. There are so many ways of fallacy, such arts of giving colours, appearances, and resemblances by this court-dresser, the fancy, that he who is not wary to admit nothing but truth itself, very careful not to make his mind subservient to anything else, cannot but be caught. He that has a mind to believe, has half assented already; and he that by often arguing against his own sense imposes falsehood on others, is not far from believing himself. This takes away the great distance there is betwixt truth and falsehood; it brings them almost together, and makes it no great odds in things that approach so near which you take; and when things are brought to that pass, passion, or interest, &c., easily, and without being perceived, determine which shall be the right.

34. *Indifferency.*—I have said above that we should keep a perfect indifferency for all opinions, not wish any of them true, or try to make them appear so, but being indifferent,

* Talleyrand erred on this point, for he is said never to have believed anything. The extravagancies of the ancient sceptics are well known.

receive and embrace them according as evidence, and that alone, gives the attestation of truth. They that do thus, i.e., keep their minds indifferent to opinions, to be determined only by evidence, will always find the understanding has perception enough to distinguish between evidence and no evidence, betwixt plain and doubtful; and if they neither give nor refuse their assent but by that measure, they will be safe in the opinions they have. Which being perhaps but few, this caution will have also this good in it, that it will put them upon considering, and teach them the necessity of examining more than they do; without which the mind is but a receptacle of inconsistencies, not the storehouse of truths. They that do not keep up this indifferency in themselves for all but truth, not supposed, but evidenced in themselves, put coloured spectacles before their eyes, and look on things through false glasses, and then think themselves excused in following the false appearances which they themselves put upon them. I do not expect that by this way the assent should in every one be proportioned to the grounds and clearness wherewith every truth is capable to be made out, or that men should be perfectly kept from error; that is more than human nature can by any means be advanced to; I aim at no such unattainable privilege: I am only speaking of what they should do, who would deal fairly with their own minds, and make a right use of their faculties in the pursuit of truth; we fail them a great deal more than they fail us. It is mismanagement more than want of abilities that men have reason to complain of, and which they actually do complain of in those that differ from them. He that by indifferency for all but truth, suffers not his assent to go faster than his evidence, nor beyond it, will learn to examine, and examine fairly instead of presuming, and nobody will be at a loss or in danger for want of embracing those truths which are necessary in his station and circumstances. In any other way but this all the world are born to orthodoxy; they imbibe at first the allowed opinions of their country and party, and so never questioning their truth, not one of a hundred ever examines.* They are applauded for presuming

* The reader will here be reminded of the well-known bon-mot of Warburton, who, on being asked, What is orthodoxy? replied, It is my doxy while heterodoxy is every other man's doxy.

they are in the right. He that considers, is a foe to orthodoxy, because possibly he may deviate from some of the received doctrines there. And thus men, without any industry or acquisition of their own, inherit local truths (for it is not the same everywhere) and are inured to assent without evidence. This influences further than is thought, for what one of a hundred of the zealous bigots in all parties ever examined the tenets he is so stiff in, or ever thought it his business or duty so to do? It is suspected of lukewarmness to suppose it necessary, and a tendency to apostacy to go about it. And if a man can bring his mind once to be positive and fierce for positions whose evidence he has never once examined, and that in matters of greatest concernment to him, what shall keep him from this short and easy way of being in the right in cases of less moment? Thus we are taught to clothe our minds as we do our bodies, after the fashion in vogue, and it is accounted fantasticalness, or something worse, not to do so.* This custom (which who dares oppose?) makes the short-sighted bigots and the warier sceptics, as far as it prevails: and those that break from it are in danger of heresy: for taking the whole world, how much of it doth truth and orthodoxy possess together? Though it is by the last alone (which has the good luck to be everywhere) that error and heresy are judged of: for argument and evidence signify nothing in the case, and excuse nowhere, but are sure to be borne down in all societies by the infallible orthodoxy

* In fact, men think in packs as jackals hunt. On this subject I formerly published some observations, one or two of which may be here repeated. Having noticed the rapid changes in faith and practice which during the last century have taken place in France, I add, "When public opinion is thus fluctuating, individuals have some difficulty in preserving themselves from the charge of singularity, to which all such persons are obnoxious as maintain during these sudden changes a sober and steady mind. There are, however, but very few in any country entertaining thoughts and opinions that ought really to be termed singular. For, although there be nothing too absurd for men to believe conjointly with others, they dread to embrace it alone, in silence and solitude. Men have always thought and believed in masses, under the standard of intellectual despots, in the same manner as they fight in masses beneath the banners of political despots. Throughout the whole earth, you may observe opinions and ideas, like swarms of bees, clustering together upon particular spots, or as if, like certain trees and plants they were indigenous to the soil." (Anat. of Soc i. 64 et seq.)

of the place. Whether this be the way to truth and right assent, let the opinions that take place and prescribe in the several habitable parts of the earth declare. I never saw any reason yet why truth might not be trusted on its own evidence: I am sure if that be not able to support it there is no fence against error, and then truth and falsehood are but names that stand for the same things. Evidence therefore is that by which alone every man is (and should be) taught to regulate his assent, who is then, and then only, in the right way when he follows it.

Men deficient in knowledge are usually in one of these three states: either wholly ignorant, or as doubting of some proposition they have either embraced formerly, or are at present inclined to; or lastly, they do with assurance hold and profess without ever having examined and being convinced by well-grounded arguments.

The first of these are in the best state of the three, by having their minds yet in their perfect freedom and indifferency, the likelier to pursue truth the better, having no bias yet clapped on to mislead them.

35. For ignorance, with an indifferency for truth, is nearer to it than opinion with ungrounded inclination, which is the great source of error; and they are more in danger to go out of the way who are marching under the conduct of a guide that it is a hundred to one will mislead them, than he that has not yet taken a step, and is likelier to be prevailed on to inquire after the right way. The last of the three sorts are in the worst condition of all; for if a man can be persuaded and fully assured of anything for a truth, without having examined, what is there that he may not embrace for truth? and if he has given himself up to believe a lie, what means is there left to recover one who can be assured without examining? To the other two, this I crave leave to say, that as he that is ignorant is in the best state of the two, so he should pursue truth in a method suitable to that state; i. e., by inquiring directly into the nature of the thing itself, without minding the opinions of others, or troubling himself with their questions or disputes about it; but to see what he himself can, sincerely searching after truth, find out. He that proceeds upon other principles in his inquiry into any sciences, though he be resolved to examine them and judge of

them freely, does yet at least put himself on that side, and post himself in a party which he will not quit till he be beaten out; by which the mind is insensibly engaged to make what defence it can, and so is unawares biassed. I do not say but a man should embrace some opinion when he has examined, else he examines to no purpose; but the surest and safest way is to have no opinion at all till he has examined, and that without any the least regard to the opinions or systems of other men about it. For example, were it my business to understand physic, would not the safe and readier way be to consult nature herself, and inform myself in the history of diseases and their cures, than espousing the principles of the dogmatists, methodists, or chemists, to engage in all the disputes concering either of those systems, and suppose it to be true, till I have tried what they can say to beat me out of it?* Or, supposing that Hippocrates, or any other book, infallibly contains the whole art of physic; would not the direct way be to study, read, and consider that book, weigh and compare the parts of it to find the truth, rather than espouse the doctrines of any party? who, though they acknowledge his authority, have already interpreted and wire-drawn all his text to their own sense; the tincture whereof when I have imbibed, I am more in danger to misunderstand his true meaning, than if I had come to him with a mind unprepossessed by doctors and commentators of my sect, whose reasonings, interpretation, and language which I have been used to, will of course make all chime that way, and make another, and perhaps the genuine, meaning of the author seem harsh, strained, and uncouth to me. For words having naturally none of their own, carry that signification to the hearer that he is used to put upon them, whatever be the sense of him that uses them. This, I think, is visibly so; and if it be, he that begins to have any doubt of any of his tenets, which he received without examination, ought as much as he can, to put himself wholly into this state of ignorance in reference to that question; and throwing wholly by all his former

* Locke so seldom alludes to medicine or physicians, that few not acquainted with the history of his life would suppose him to have studied physic professionally, and to have been only prevented by the weakness of his constitution from entering on the practice of it. See his Life prefixed to the Reasonableness of Christianity, p. viii—xi.

notions, and the opinions of others, examine, with a perfect indifferency, the question in its source, without any inclination to either side or any regard to his or others' unexamined opinions. This I own is no easy thing to do; but I am not inquiring the easy way to opinion, but the right way to truth, which they must follow who will deal fairly with their own understandings and their own souls.*

36. *Question.*—The indifferency that I here propose will also enable them to state the question right which they are in doubt about, without which they can never come to a fair and clear decision of it.

37. *Perseverance.*—Another fruit from this indifferency, and the considering things in themselves abstract from our own opinions and other men's notions and discourses on them, will be, that each man will pursue his thoughts in that method which will be most agreeable to the nature of the thing, and to his apprehension of what it suggests to him, in which he ought to proceed with regularity and constancy, until he come to a well-grounded resolution wherein he may acquiesce. If it be objected that this will require every man to be a scholar, and quit all his other business and betake himself wholly to study, I answer, I propose no more to any one than he has time for. Some men's state and condition require no great extent of knowledge; the necessary provision for life swallows the greatest part of their time. But one man's want of leisure is no excuse for the oscitancy and ignorance of those who have time to spare; and every one has enough to get as much knowledge as is required and expected of him, and he that does not that is in love with ignorance, and is accountable for it.

38. *Presumption.*—The variety of distempers in men's minds is as great as of those in their bodies; some are epidemic, few escape them; and every one too, if he would look

* In this passage we have much of the earnest eloquence of Plato, who, in his matchless introduction to the Protagoras, describes in few words the imminent danger of admitting error into the mind. Socrates, there as elsewhere in his disciple's writings the principal interlocutor, observes to Hippocrates, desirous of becoming a hearer of Protagoras, *μέλλεις τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σαυτοῦ παρασχεῖν θεραπεῦσαι ἀνδρί, ὡς φῄς, σοφιστῇ· ὅ τι δέ ποτε ὁ σοφιστὴς ἔστι, θαυμάζοιμ' ἄν εἰ οἶσθα. καί τοι εἰ τουτ' ἀγνοεῖς, οὐδὲ ὅτῳ παραδίδως τὴν ψυχὴν οἶσθα, οὔτ' εἰ ἀγαθῷ οὔτ εἰ κακῷ πράγματι.* (T. i. p. 155. Bekk.) —Ed.

into himself, would find some defect of his particular genius. There is scarce any one without some idiosyncrasy that he suffers by. This man presumes upon his parts, that they will not fail him at time of need; and so thinks it superfluous labour to make any provision beforehand. His understanding is to him like Fortunatus's purse, which is always to furnish him, without ever putting anything into it beforehand; and so he sits still satisfied, without endeavouring to store his understanding with knowledge. It is the spontaneous product of the country, and what need of labour in tillage? Such men may spread their native riches before the ignorant; but they were best not to come to stress and trial with the skilful. We are born ignorant of everything. The superficies of things that surround them make impressions on the negligent, but nobody penetrates into the inside without labour, attention, and industry.* Stones and timber grow of themselves, but yet there is no uniform pile with symmetry and convenience to lodge in without toil and pains. God has made the intellectual world harmonious and beautiful without us; but it will never come into our heads all at once; we must bring it home piecemeal, and there set it up by our own industry, or else we shall have nothing but darkness and a chaos within, whatever order and light there be in things without us.

39. *Despondency.*—On the other side, there are others that depress their own minds, despond at the first difficulty, and conclude that the getting an insight in any of the sciences, or making any progress in knowledge further than serves their ordinary business, is above their capacities. These sit still, because they think they have not legs to go; as the others I last mentioned do, because they think they have wings to fly, and can soar on high when they please. To these latter one may for answer apply the proverb, "Use legs and have legs." Nobody knows what strength of parts he has till he has tried them. And of the understanding one may most truly say, that its force is greater generally than it thinks, till it is put to it. "Viresque acquirit eundo."

And therefore the proper remedy here is but to set the mind to work, and apply the thoughts vigorously to the

* It is Xenophon, I believe, who says that the gods sell all good things to man for sweat and toil.—Ed.

business; for it holds in the struggles of the mind as in those of war, "dum putant se vincere vicêre." A persuasion that we shall overcome any difficulties that we meet with in the sciences seldom fails to carry us through them. Nobody knows the strength of his mind, and the force of steady and regular application, till he has tried. This is certain, he that sets out upon weak legs, will not only go further, but grow stronger too than one who, with a vigorous constitution and firm limbs, only sits still.

Something of kin to this men may observe in themselves, when the mind frights itself (as it often does) with anything reflected on in gross, and transiently viewed confusedly and at a distance. Things thus offered to the mind carry the show of nothing but difficulty in them, and are thought to be wrapt up in impenetrable obscurity. But the truth is, these are nothing but spectres that the understanding raises to itself to flatter its own laziness. It sees nothing distinctly in things remote and in a huddle; and therefore concludes too faintly, that there is nothing more clear to be discovered in them. It is but to approach nearer, and that mist of our own raising that enveloped them will remove; and those that in that mist appeared hideous giants not to be grappled with, will be found to be of the ordinary and natural size and shape.* Things that in a remote and confused view seem very obscure, must be approached by gentle and regular steps; and what is most visible, easy, and obvious in them first considered Reduce them into their distinct parts; and then in their due order bring all that should be known concerning every one of those parts into plain and simple questions; and then what was thought obscure, perplexed, and too hard for our weak parts, will lay itself open to the understanding in a fair view and let the mind into that which before it was awed with, and kept at a distance from, as wholly mysterious. I appeal to my reader's experience, whether this has never happened to him, especially when, busy on one thing, he has occasionally reflected on another. I ask him whether he has never thus been scared with a sudden opinion of mighty difficulties, which yet have vanished, when he has seriously and methodi-

* Omne ignotum pro magnifico.

'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And clothes the mountain with its azure hue.—Ed.

cally applied himself to the consideration of this seeming terrible subject; and there has been no other matter of astonishment left, but that he amused himself with so discouraging a prospect of his own raising, about a matter which in the handling was found to have nothing in it more strange nor intricate than several other things which he had long since, and with ease, mastered. This experience would teach us how to deal with such bugbears another time, which should rather serve to excite our vigour than enervate our industry. The surest way for a learner in this, as in all other cases, is not to advance by jumps and large strides; let that which he sets himself to learn next be indeed the next, i. e., as nearly conjoined with what he knows already as is possible; let it be distinct, but not remote from it; let it be new, and what he did not know before, that the understanding may advance; but let it be as little at once as may be, that its advances may be clear and sure. All the ground that it gets this way it will hold. This distinct gradual growth in knowledge is firm and sure; it carries its own light with it in every step of its progression in an easy and orderly train; than which there is nothing of more use to the understanding. And though this perhaps may seem a very slow and lingering way to knowledge, yet I dare confidently affirm, that whoever will try it in himself, or any one he will teach, shall find the advances greater in this method, than they would in the same space of time have been in any other he could have taken. The greatest part of true knowledge lies in a distinct perception of things in themselves distinct. And some men give more clear light and knowledge by the bare distinct stating of a question, than others by talking of it in gross, whole hours together. In this, they who so state a question, do no more but separate and disentangle the parts of it one from another, and lay them, when so disentangled, in their due order. This often, without any more ado, resolves the doubt, and shows the mind where the truth lies. The agreement or disagreement of the ideas in question, when they are once separated and distinctly considered, is, in many cases, presently received, and thereby clear and lasting knowledge gained; whereas things in gross taken up together, and so lying together in confusion, can produce in the mind but a confused, which in effect is no, knowledge; or at least, when it comes to be

examined and made use of, will prove little better than none. I therefore take the liberty to repeat here again what I have said elsewhere, that in learning anything, as little should be proposed to the mind at once as is possible; and, that being understood and fully mastered, to proceed to the next adjoining part, yet unknown, simple, unperplexed proposition, belonging to the matter in hand, and tending to the clearing what is principally designed.

40. *Analogy.*—Analogy is of great use to the mind in many cases, especially in natural philosophy; and that part of it chiefly which consists in happy and successful experiments. But here we must take care that we keep ourselves within that wherein the analogy consists. For example: the acid oil of vitriol is found to be good in such a case, therefore the spirit of nitre or vinegar may be used in the like case. If the good effect of it be owing wholly to the acidity of it, the trial may be justified; but if there be something else besides the acidity in the oil of vitriol, which produces the good we desire in the case, we mistake that for analogy which is not, and suffer our understanding to be misguided by a wrong supposition of analogy where there is none.

41. *Association.*—Though I have, in the second book of my Essay concerning Human Understanding, treated of the association of ideas; yet having done it there historically, as giving a view of the understanding in this as well as its several other ways of operating, rather than designing there to inquire into the remedies that ought to be applied to it; it will, under this latter consideration, afford other matter of thought to those who have a mind to instruct themselves thoroughly in the right way of conducting their understandings: and that the rather, because this, if I mistake not, is as frequent a cause of mistake and error in us as perhaps anything else that can be named; and is a disease of the mind as hard to be cured as any, it being a very hard thing to convince any one that things are not so, and naturally so, as they constantly appear to him.

By this one easy and unheeded miscarriage of the understanding, sandy and loose foundations become infallible principles, and will not suffer themselves to be touched or questioned; such unnatural connexions become by custom as natural to the mind as sun and light, fire and warmth go

together, and so seem to carry with them as natural an evidence as self-evident truths themselves. And where then shall one with hopes of success begin the cure?* Many men firmly embrace falsehood for truth; not only because they never thought otherwise, but also because, thus blinded as they have been from the beginning, they never could think otherwise; at least without a vigour of mind able to contest the empire of habit, and look into its own principles; a freedom which few men have the notion of in themselves, and fewer are allowed the practice of by others; it being the great art and business of the teachers and guides in most sects to suppress, as much as they can, this fundamental duty which every man owes himself, and is the first steady step towards right and truth in the whole train of his actions and opinions. This would give one reason to suspect, that such

* Compare with the above the following passage from Lord Bacon: "It is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that, when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour, but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself.

"One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle light. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied light. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure." But if there be a pleasure in lying, or in believing a lie, there is also, very fortunately, no small delight in the discovery and reception of truth. Montaigne's remarks on this subject are worthy of consideration. "Que signifie ce refrain? *En un lieu glissant et coulant suspendons notre creance:* car comme dit Euripides,

Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses
Façons nous donnent des traverses;

semblable à celuy qu'Empedocles semoit souvent en ses livres, comme agité d'une divine fureur et forcé de la vérité. *Non non, nous ne sentons rien, nous ne voyons rien, toutes choses nous sont occultes, il n'en est aucune de la laquelle nous puissons establir quelle elle est.* Revenant à ce mot divin, *cogitationes mortalium timidæ et incertæ ad inventiones nostræ et providentiæ.* Il ne faut pas trouver estrange, si gents desesperez de la prinse n'ont pas laissé d'avoir plaisir à la chasse, l'estude estant de soi une occupation plaisante: et si plaisante, que parmy les voluptez, les Stoiciens defendent aussi celle qui vient de l'exercitation de l'esprit, y veulent de la bride, et trouvent de l'intemperance a trop scavoir." (Vol. v. p. 44 et seq.) —ED

teachers are conscious to themselves of the falsehood or weakness of the tenets they profess, since they will not suffer the grounds whereon they are built to be examined; whereas those who seek truth only, and desire to own and propagate nothing else, freely expose their principles to the test; are pleased to have them examined; give men leave to reject them if they can; and if there be anything weak and unsound in them, are willing to have it detected, that they themselves, as well as others, may not lay any stress upon any received proposition beyond what the evidence of its truths will warrant and allow.*

There is, I know, a great fault among all sorts of people of principling their children and scholars; which at least, when looked into, amounts to no more but making them imbibe their teacher's notions and tenets by an implicit faith, and firmly to adhere to them whether true or false. What colours may be given to this, or of what use it may be when practised upon the vulgar, destined to labour, and given up to the service of their bellies, I will not here inquire. But as to the ingenuous part of mankind, whose condition allows them leisure, and letters, and inquiry after truth, I can see no other right way of principling them, but to take heed, as much as may be, that in their tender years, ideas that have no natural cohesion come not to be united in their heads; and that this rule be often inculcated to them to be their guide in the whole course of their lives and studies, viz., that they never suffer any ideas to be joined in their understandings in any other or stronger combination than what their own nature and correspondence give them; and that they often examine those that they find linked together in their minds, whether this association of ideas be from the visible agreement that is in the ideas themselves, or from the

* Plato, in his Gorgias, has put sentiments strongly resembling the above into the mouth of Socrates, who, having graphically described the noisy and wrangling tone of ordinary disputants, exclaims, "But what manner of man am I? Why I am one of those who, when in error, love to be refuted, and who have equal delight in refuting the errors of others; nor is it more pleasant to me to refute than to be refuted. On the contrary, I account it a greater satisfaction, inasmuch as the advantage is greater to be delivered from the extreme of evil, than to deliver others; and truly I consider no evil incident to human nature so grievous as to entertain false opinions concerning the subject we have here under discussion." (Plat. t. iii. p. 26.)—Ed.

habitual and prevailing custom of the mind joining them thus together in thinking

This is for caution against this evil, before it be thoroughly riveted by custom in the understanding; but he that would cure it when habit has established it, must nicely observe the very quick and almost imperceptible motions of the mind in its habitual actions. What I have said in another place about the change of the ideas of sense into those of judgment may be proof of this. Let any one, not skilled in painting, be told when he sees bottles and tobacco-pipes, and other things so painted, as they are in some places shown, that he does not see protuberances, and you will not convince him but by the touch; he will not believe that by an instantaneous legerdemain of his own thoughts, one idea is substituted for another. How frequent instances may one meet with of this in the arguings of the learned, who not seldom, in two ideas that they have been accustomed to join in their minds, substitute one for the other; and I am apt to think, often without perceiving it themselves! This, whilst they are under the deceit of it, makes them incapable of conviction, and they applaud themselves as zealous champions for truth, when indeed they are contending for error. And the confusion of two different ideas, which a customary connexion of them in their minds hath made to them almost one, fills their head with false views, and their reasonings with false consequences.

42. *Fallacies.*—Right understanding consists in the discovery and adherence to truth, and that in the perception of the visible or probable agreement or disagreement of ideas, as they are affirmed and denied one of another. From whence it is evident, that the right use and conduct of the understanding, whose business is purely truth and nothing else, is, that the mind should be kept in a perfect indifferency, not inclining to either side, any further than evidence settles it by knowledge, or the over-balance of probability gives it the turn of assent and belief; but yet it is very hard to meet with any discourse wherein one may not perceive the author not only maintain (for that is reasonable and fit) but inclined and biassed to one side of the question, with marks of a desire that that should be true. If it be asked me, how authors who have such a bias and lean to it may be discovered; I answer, by observing how in their writings or

arguings they are often led by their inclinations to change the ideas of the question, either by changing the terms, or by adding and joining others to them, whereby the ideas under consideration are so varied as to be more serviceable to their purpose, and to be thereby brought to an easier and nearer agreement, or more visible and remoter disagreement one with another. This is plain and direct sophistry; but I am far from thinking that wherever it is found it is made use of with design to deceive and mislead the readers. It is visible that men's prejudices and inclinations by this way impose often upon themselves; and their affection for truth, under their prepossession in favour of one side, is the very thing that leads them from it. Inclination suggests and slides into their discourse favourable terms, which introduce favourable ideas; till at last by this means that is concluded clear and evident, thus dressed up, which, taken in its native state, by making use of none but the precise determined ideas, would find no admittance at all. The putting these glosses on what they affirm, these, as they thought handsome, easy, and graceful explications of what they are discoursing on, is so much the character of what is called and esteemed writing well, that it is very hard to think that authors will ever be persuaded to leave what serves so well to propagate their opinions, and procure themselves credit in the world, for a more jejune and dry way of writing, by keeping to the same terms precisely annexed to the same ideas; a sour and blunt stiffness tolerable in mathematicians only, who force their way, and make truth prevail by irresistible demonstration.*

But yet if authors cannot be prevailed with to quit the looser, though more insinuating ways of writing; if they will not think fit to keep close to truth and instruction by

* Authors desire to be read, which they would not be if they adopted the cast-iron style of the mathematicians. The blame therefore, if blame there be, rests with human nature itself; for authors have only the choice of not being read at all, and consequently of imparting no truth, or of so clothing the truths they deliver that they may sometimes, by unwary observers, be confounded with error. I am not indeed convinced that a barren style, uninformed by fancy, stripped entirely of figures, a mere skeleton of language, would, even if tolerated, be favourable to the delivery of truth. An outline of the human form, drawn in brilliant colours, would not be less true to nature than one drawn in black. And in reasoning, as the philosopher a few sections back appears to allow, metaphors and similes afford a powerful aid in the elucidation of truth.—Ed.

unvaried terms and plain unsophisticated arguments; yet it concerns readers not to be imposed on by fallacies and the prevailing ways of insinuation. To do this, the surest and most effectual remedy is to fix in the mind the clear and distinct ideas of the question stripped of words; and so likewise in the train of argumentation, to take up the author's ideas, neglecting his words, observing how they connect or separate those in question. He that does this will be able to cast off all that is superfluous; he will see what is pertinent, what coherent, what is direct to, what slides by, the question. This will readily show him all the foreign ideas in the discourse, and where they were brought in; and though they perhaps dazzled the writer, yet he will perceive that they give no light nor strength to his reasonings.

This, though it be the shortest and easiest way of reading books with profit, and keeping one's self from being misled by great names or plausible discourses; yet it being hard and tedious to those who have not accustomed themselves to it, it is not to be expected that every one (amongst those few who really pursue truth) should this way guard his understanding from being imposed on by the wilful, or at least undesigned sophistry, which creeps into most of the books of argument. They that write against their conviction, or that, next to them, are resolved to maintain the tenets of a party they were engaged in, cannot be supposed to reject any arms that may help to defend their cause, and therefore such should be read with the greatest caution. And they who write for opinions they are sincerely persuaded of and believe to be true, think they may so far allow themselves to indulge their laudable affection to truth, as to permit their esteem of it to give it the best colours, and set it off with the best expressions and dress they can, thereby to gain it the easiest entrance into the minds of their readers, and fix it deepest there.

One of those being the state of mind we may justly suppose most writers to be in, it is fit their readers, who apply to them for instruction, should not lay by that caution which becomes a sincere pursuit of truth, and should make them always watchful against whatever might conceal or misrepresent it. If they have not the skill of representing to

themselves the author's sense by pure ideas separated from sounds, and thereby divested of the false lights and deceitful ornaments of speech; this yet they should do, they should keep the precise question steadily in their minds, carry it along with them through the whole discourse, and suffer not the least alteration in the terms, either by addition, subtraction, or substituting any other. This every one can do who has a mind to it; and he that has not a mind to it, it is plain, makes his understanding only the warehouse of other men's lumber; I mean false and unconcluding reasonings, rather than a repository of truth for his own use, which will prove substantial, and stand him in stead, when he has occasion for it. And whether such an one deals fairly by his own mind, and conducts his own understanding right, I leave to his own understanding to judge.*

43. *Fundamental Verities.*—The mind of man being very narrow, and so slow in making acquaintance with things, and taking in new truths, that no one man is capable, in a much longer life than ours, to know all truths, it becomes our prudence, in our search after knowledge, to employ our thoughts about fundamental and material questions, carefully avoiding those that are trifling, and not suffering ourselves to be diverted from our main even purpose, by those that are merely incidental. How much of many young men's time is thrown away in purely logical inquiries I need not mention. This is no better than if a man, who was to be a painter, should spend all his time in examining the threads of the several cloths he is to paint upon, and counting the hairs of each pencil and brush he intends to use in the laying on of his colours. Nay, it is much worse than for a young painter to spend his apprenticeship in such useless niceties; for he, at the end of all his pains to no purpose, finds that it is not painting, nor any help to it, and so is really to no purpose; whereas men designed for scholars have often their heads so filled and warmed with disputes on logical questions, that they take those airy useless notions for real and substantial knowledge, and think their understandings so well furnished with science, that they need not look any further into the nature of things, or descend to the mechanical drudgery of

* See on this subject Bacon's two Essays, on "Cunning," and "Wisdom for a Man's self."—Ed.

experiment and inquiry. This is so obvious a mismanagement of the understanding, and that in the professed way to knowledge, that it could not be passed by; to which might be joined abundance of questions, and the way of handling of them in the schools. What faults in particular of this kind every man is or may be guilty of would be infinite to enumerate; it suffices to have shown that superficial and slight discoveries, and observations that contain nothing of moment in themselves, nor serve as clues to lead us into further knowledge, should not be thought worth our searching after.

There are fundamental truths that lie at the bottom, the basis upon which a great many others rest, and in which they have their consistency. These are teeming truths, rich in store, with which they furnish the mind, and, like the lights of heaven, are not only beautiful and entertaining in themselves, but give light and evidence to other things, that without them could not be seen or known. Such is that admirable discovery of Mr. Newton, that all bodies gravitate to one another, which may be counted as the basis of natural philosophy; which, of what use it is to the understanding of the great frame of our solar system, he has to the astonishment of the learned world shown; and how much further it would guide us in other things, if rightly pursued, is not yet known. Our Saviour's great rule, that "we should love our neighbour as ourselves," is such a fundamental truth for the regulating human society, that I think by that alone one might without difficulty determine all the cases and doubts in social morality. These and such as these are the truths we should endeavour to find out, and store our minds with. Which leads me to another thing in the conduct of the understanding that is no less necessary, viz.

44. *Bottoming.*—To accustom ourselves, in any question proposed, to examine and find out upon what it bottoms. Most of the difficulties that come in our way, when well considered and traced, lead us to some proposition, which, known to be true, clears the doubt, and gives an easy solution of the question; whilst topical and superficial arguments, of which there is store to be found on both sides, filling the head with variety of thoughts, and the mouth with copious discourse, serve only to amuse the understanding, and entertain com-

pany, without coming to the bottom of the question, the only place of rest and stability for an inquisitive mind, whose tendency is only to truth and knowledge.

For example, if it be demanded whether the grand seignior can lawfully take what he will from any of his people? this question cannot be resolved without coming to a certainty whether all men are naturally equal, for upon that it turns; and that truth well settled in the understanding, and carried in the mind through the various debates concerning the various rights of men in society, will go a great way in putting an end to them, and showing on which side the truth is.

45. *Transferring of Thoughts.*—There is scarcely anything more for the improvement of knowledge, for the ease of life, and the despatch of business, than for a man to be able to dispose of his own thoughts; and there is scarcely anything harder in the whole conduct of the understanding than to get a full mastery over it. The mind, in a waking man, has always some object that it applies itself to; which, when we are lazy or unconcerned, we can easily change, and at pleasure transfer our thoughts to another, and from thence to a third, which has no relation to either of the former. Hence men forwardly conclude, and frequently say, nothing is so free as thought, and it were well it were so; but the contrary will be found true in several instances; and there are many cases wherein there is nothing more resty and ungovernable than our thoughts; they will not be directed what objects to pursue, nor be taken off from those they have once fixed on, but run away with a man in pursuit of those ideas they have in view, let him do what he can.

I will not here mention again what I have above taken notice of, how hard it is to get the mind, narrowed by a custom of thirty or forty years' standing to a scanty collection of obvious and common ideas, to enlarge itself to a more copious stock, and grow into an acquaintance with those that would afford more abundant matter of useful contemplation; it is not of this I am here speaking. The inconveniency I would here represent, and find a remedy for, is the difficulty there is sometimes to transfer our minds from one subject to another, in cases where the ideas are equally familiar to us.

Matters that are recommended to our thoughts by any of

our passions, take possession of our minds with a kind of authority, and will not be kept out or dislodged; but, as if the passion that rules were for the time the sheriff of the place, and came with all the posse, the understanding is seized and taken with the object it introduces, as if it had a legal right to be alone considered there.* There is scarcely anybody I think of so calm a temper who hath not some time found this tyranny on his understanding, and suffered under the inconvenience of it. Who is there almost whose mind, at some time or other, love or anger, fear or grief, has not so fastened to some clog that it could not turn itself to any other object? I call it a clog, for it hangs upon the mind so as to hinder its vigour and activity in the pursuit of other contemplations; and advances itself little or not at all in the knowledge of the thing which it so closely hugs and constantly pores on. Men thus possessed are sometimes as if they were so in the worse sense, and lay under the power of an enchantment. They see not what passes before their eyes, hear not the audible discourse of the company, and when by any strong application to them they are roused a little, they are like men brought to themselves from some remote region; whereas in truth they come no further than their secret cabinet within, where they have been wholly taken up with the puppet, which is for that time appointed for their entertainment. The shame that such dumps cause to well-bred people, when it carries them away from the company, where they should bear a part in the conversation, is a sufficient argument that it is a fault in the conduct of our understanding not to have that power over it as to make use of it to those purposes and on those occasions wherein we have need of its assistance. The mind should be always free and ready to turn itself to the variety of objects that occur, and allow them as much consideration as shall for that time be thought fit. To be engrossed so by one object as not to be prevailed on to leave it for another that we judge fitter for our contemplation, is to make it of no use to us. Did this state of mind remain always so, every one would, without scruple, give it the name of perfect madness; and whilst it does last,

* ". . . . . one master passion in the breast,
Like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest."
Essay on Man, ep. ii.—Ed.

at whatever intervals it returns, such a rotation of thoughts about the same object no more carries us forward towards the attainment of knowledge, than getting upon a mill-horse whilst he jogs on in his circular track would carry a man a journey.

I grant something must be allowed to legitimate passions and to natural inclinations. Every man, besides occasional affections, has beloved studies, and those the mind will more closely stick to; but yet it is best that it should be always at liberty, and under the free disposal of the man, and to act how and upon what he directs. This we should endeavour to obtain unless we would be content with such a flaw in our understanding, that sometimes we should be, as it were, without it; for it is very little better than so in cases where we cannot make use of it to those purposes we would, and which stand in present need of it.

But before fit remedies can be thought on for this disease we must know the several causes of it, and thereby regulate the cure, if we will hope to labour with success.

One we have already instanced in, whereof all men that reflect have so general a knowledge, and so often an experience in themselves, that nobody doubts of it. A prevailing passion so pins down our thoughts to the object and concern of it, that a man passionately in love cannot bring himself to think of his ordinary affairs, or a kind mother drooping under the loss of a child, is not able to bear a part as she was wont in the discourse of the company or conversation of her friends.

But though passion be the most obvious and general, yet it is not the only cause that binds up the understanding, and confines it for the time to one object, from which it will not be taken off.

Besides this, we may often find that the understanding, when it has a while employed itself upon a subject which either chance or some slight accident offered to it, without the interest or recommendation of any passion, works itself into a warmth, and by degrees gets into a career, wherein, like a bowl down a hill, it increases its motion by going, and will not be stopped or diverted; though, when the heat is over, it sees all this earnest application was about a trifle not worth a thought, and all the pains employed about it lost labour.

There is a third sort, if I mistake not, yet lower than this; it is a sort of childishness, if I may so say, of the understanding, wherein, during the fit, it plays with and dandles some insignificant puppet to no end, nor with any design at all, and yet cannot easily be got off from it. Thus some trivial sentence, or a scrap of poetry, will sometimes get into men's heads, and make such a chiming there, that there is no stilling of it; no peace to be obtained, nor attention to anything else, but this impertinent guest will take up the mind and possess the thoughts in spite of all endeavours to get rid of it. Whether every one hath experimented in themselves this troublesome intrusion of some frisking ideas which thus importune the understanding, and hinder it from being better employed, I know not. But persons of very good parts, and those more than one, I have heard speak and complain of it themselves. The reason I have to make this doubt, is from what I have known in a case something of kin to this, though much odder, and that is of a sort of visions that some people have lying quiet, but perfectly awake, in the dark, or with their eyes shut. It is a great variety of faces, most commonly very odd ones, that appear to them in a train one after another; so that having had just the sight of the one, it immediately passes away to give place to another, that the same instant succeeds, and has as quick an exit as its leader; and so they march on in a constant succession; nor can any one of them by any endeavour be stopped or restrained beyond the instant of its appearance, but is thrust out by its follower, which will have its turn. Concerning this fantastical phenomenon I have talked with several people, whereof some have been perfectly acquainted with it, and others have been so wholly strangers to it that they could hardly be brought to conceive or believe it. I knew a lady of excellent parts, who had got past thirty without having ever had the least notice of any such thing; she was so great a stranger to it, that when she heard me and another talking of it, could scarcely forbear thinking we bantered her; but some time after, drinking a large dose of dilute tea (as she was ordered by a physician) going to bed, she told us at next meeting, that she had now experimented what our discourse had much ado to persuade her of. She had seen a great variety of faces in a long train, succeeding one another, as we had described;

they were all strangers and intruders, such as she had no acquaintance with before, nor sought after then; and as they came of themselves, they went too; none of them stayed a moment, nor could be detained by all the endeavours she could use, but went on in their solemn procession, just appeared and then vanished. This odd phenomenon seems to have a mechanical cause, and to depend upon the matter and motion of the blood or animal spirits.

When the fancy is bound by passion, I know no way to set the mind free and at liberty to prosecute what thoughts the man would make choice of, but to allay the present passion, or counterbalance it with another; which is an art to be got by study, and acquaintance with the passions.

Those who find themselves apt to be carried away with the spontaneous current of their own thoughts, not excited by any passion or interest, must be very wary and careful in all the instances of it to stop it, and never humour their minds in being thus triflingly busy.* Men know the value of their corporeal liberty, and therefore suffer not willingly fetters and chains to be put upon them. To have the mind captivated is, for the time, certainly the greater evil of the two, and deserves our utmost care and endeavours to preserve the freedom of our better part. In this case our pains will not be lost; striving and struggling will prevail, if we constantly on all such occasions make use of it. We must never indulge these trivial attentions of thought; as soon as we find the mind makes itself the business of nothing, we should immediately disturb and check it, introduce new and more serious considerations, and not leave till we have beaten it off from the pursuit it was upon. This, at first, if we have let the contrary practice grow to a habit, will perhaps be difficult; but constant endeavours will by degrees prevail, and at last make it easy. And when a man is pretty well advanced, and can command his mind off at pleasure from incidental and undesigned pursuits, it may not be amiss for him to go on further, and make attempts upon meditations of greater moment, that at the last he may have a full power over his own

* In my story of Lucifer, I have endeavoured to describe the state of mind arising out of the neglect of this caution. One train of ideas constantly operating on the fancy, produces first, a distaste for all ordinary and healthy pleasures; next, deranges the health, and then the intellect, and terminates by causing a premature and violent death.

mind, and be so fully master of his own thoughts as to be able to transfer them from one subject to another, with the same ease that he can lay by anything he has in his hand, and take something else that he has a mind to in the room of it. This liberty of mind is of great use both in business and study, and he that has got it will have no small advantage of ease and despatch in all that is the chosen and useful employment of his understanding.

The third and last way which I mentioned the mind to be sometimes taken up with, I mean the chiming of some particular words or sentence in the memory, and, as it were, making a noise in the head, and the like, seldom happens but when the mind is lazy, or very loosely and negligently employed. It were better indeed to be without such impertinent and useless repetitions: any obvious idea, when it is roving carelessly at a venture, being of more use, and apter to suggest something worth consideration, than the insignificant buzz of purely empty sounds. But since the rousing of the mind, and setting the understanding on work with some degree of vigour, does for the most part presently set it free from these idle companions, it may not be amiss whenever we find ourselves troubled with them, to make use of so profitable a remedy that is always at hand.

AN ESSAY

CONCERNING

HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.

INTRODUCTION.

[The Essay on the Human Understanding is the most important offspring of modern philosophy. No other work has exercised so extensive an influence over the thoughts and opinions of mankind, which have received from it an impress never to be effaced. This has been partly owing to the truth of the doctrines, partly to the sincerity and earnestness of the author's manner, which in all cases render it evident, that, whether right or wrong he is unquestionably most conscientious in whatever he advances. Besides, though there may be errors and imperfections in the work, it still offers the largest and most complete view of the Understanding ever presented to the public in one composition; indeed, we know of no body of writings, however voluminous, in which so minute and exact a chart is traced of all the powers, affections, and operations of the mind, as in this single treatise. Nay, it is scarcely to be expected that any man will hereafter arise endued with greater genius, greater patience, or a purer love of truth than Locke; and therefore the probability is, that the Essay on the Human Understanding will very long, if not for ever, occupy the place which it has vindicated to itself from the very moment of its appearance, that is to say, the first rank among philosophical treatises. In the general Preliminary Discourse, I have frankly pointed out most of the weak points, as they appear to me, to be found in this incomparable treatise; but they are commonly only such blemishes as appear, upon a minute scrutiny, like the roughness observable on the surface of some Colossus, which disappear as we recede a little to take in the grandeur and majestic proportions of the whole. They are, in fact, faults of execution, of detail, or at most belong only to particular parts, while the design and character of the whole inquiry are so vast, so novel, and so sublime, that they may well be excused who warm into enthusiasm while contemplating them. We have here, in truth, the noblest fruit of a mind confessedly of the first order, devoted through a long series of years to meditation on subjects of the deepest importance to mankind. His object was to diffuse tranquillity and contentment through the realms of philosophy, and even over common life, by ascertaining, once for all, in what department of knowledge our understanding is capable of arriving at certainty, and where we must be content to remain in

doubt. He seeks, at the same time, to create the salutary persuasion that, with respect to things beyond our reach, it is our duty to rest satisfied with a modest scepticism, since, however resolutely we may dogmatise, we can only be right by accident, and even then, never be sure that we are so. No doubt the spirit in which a man philosophizes is traceable, in great part, to nature. We are born fiery, or phlegmatic. Whatever is external to our own being, takes some colour from the knot of idiosyncrasies through which its image penetrates to the speculum of our minds, so that we are not absolute masters of the light in which things shall appear to us. But, nevertheless, philosophy being an art, if we pursue the study of it faithfully, according to the true principles of all art, we must generally arrive at correct conclusions, and invent, meanwhile, for ourselves a system of discipline suitable to our own character, and calculated to quicken and develop all the powers of our understanding. In the chief work of Locke we have an example of how this may most effectually be done. He did not enter upon his researches with a ready-made theory in his hand, determined to compel all nature to conform to it; but commencing his studies with a mind unoccupied, he allowed his theory to grow up gradually out of his observations. It therefore took the form which the sum of his knowledge and the characteristics of his mental constitution were adapted to impart to it. That it did not comprehend all truths, is owing simply to this, that the mind of Locke was not commensurate with the greatness of nature; but it undoubtedly comprehended as much of truth as lay within the reach of a most searching, patient, and vigorous intellect, and was compatible with its sympathies, partialities, and antipathies. We can consequently conceive no study more beneficial than that of the work now under consideration. Its literary blemishes are nothing to us, if we desire to enlarge our minds and elevate our conceptions. Or rather, if there be any crabbedness, so much, in this view, the better, since, if we can conquer our repugnance to it, nay, render it by reverential familiarity sweet and pleasant, we may be sure that our hearts are set upon the possession of truth, and that we are not allured forward through the solemn walks of philosophy by the brilliant lights of rhetoric. If, however, the reader have perused the Conduct of the Understanding, he will advance to the study of the Essay with a mind thoroughly prepared to relish its peculiarities, so that it may suffice to have thrown out these few hints by the way. We will now, therefore, no longer detain him from the glorious vision which is about to unfold itself before his sight.—EDITOR.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THOMAS, EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY,

BARON HERBERT OF CARDIFF,

LORD ROSS, OF KENDAL, PAR, FITZHUGH, MARMION, ST. QUINTIN, AND SHURLAND
LORD PRESIDENT OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,
AND LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS, AND OF SOUTH WALES.

My Lord,

This Treatise, which is grown up under your lordship's eye, and has ventured into the world by your order, does now, by a natural kind of right, come to your lordship for that protection which you several years since promised it. It is not that I think any name, how great soever, set at the beginning of a book, will be able to cover the faults that are to be found in it. Things in print must stand and fall by their own worth, or the reader's fancy. But there being nothing more to be desired for truth than a fair unprejudiced hearing, nobody is more likely to procure me that than your lordship, who are allowed to have got so intimate an acquaintance with her, in her more retired recesses. Your ordship is known to have so far advanced your speculations in the most abstract and general knowledge of things, beyond the ordinary reach or common methods, that your allowance and approbation of the design of this treatise will at least preserve it from being condemned without reading, and will prevail to have those parts a little weighed, which might otherwise perhaps be thought to deserve no consideration, for being somewhat out of the common road. The imputation of novelty is a terrible charge amongst those who judge of men's heads, as they do of their perukes, by the fashion, and can allow none to be right but the received doctrines. Truth scarce ever yet carried it by vote anywhere at its first appearance: new opinions are always suspected and usually opposed, without any other reason but because they are not already common. But truth, like gold, is not the less so for being newly brought out of the mine. It is trial and examination must give it price, and not any antique fashion; and though it be not yet current by the public stamp, yet it may, for all that, be as old as nature, and is certainly not the less genuine. Your lordship can give great and convincing instances of this, whenever you please to oblige the public with some of those large and comprehensive discoveries you have made of truths hitherto unknown, unless to some few, from whom your lordship has been pleased not wholly to conceal them. This alone were a sufficient reason, were there no other, why I should dedicate this Essay to your lordship; and its having some little correspondence with some parts of that nobler and vast system of the sciences your lordship has made so new, exact, and instructive a draught of, I think it glory enough, if your lordship permit me to boast, that here and there I have fallen into some thoughts not wholly different from yours. If your lordship think fit that, by your encouragement, this should appear in the world, I hope it may be a reason, some time or other, to lead your lordship further; and you will allow me to say, that you here

give the world an earnest of something that, if they can bear with this, will be truly worth their expectation. This, my lord, shows what a present I here make to your lordship; just such as the poor man does to his rich and great neighbour, by whom the basket of flowers or fruit is not ill taken, though he has more plenty of his own growth, and in much greater perfection. Worthless things receive a value when they are made the offerings of respect, esteem, and gratitude: these you have given me so mighty and peculiar reasons to have, in the highest degree, for your lordship, that if they can add a price to what they go along with, proportionable to their own greatness, I can with confidence brag, I here make your lordship the richest present you ever received. This I am sure, I am under the greatest obligations to seek all occasions to acknowledge a long train of favours I have received from your lordship; favours, though great and important in themselves, yet made much more so by the forwardness, concern, and kindness, and other obliging circumstances, that never failed to accompany them. To all this you are pleased to add that which gives yet more weight and relish to all the rest: you vouchsafe to continue me in some degrees of your esteem, and allow me a place in your good thoughts; I had almost said friendship. This, my lord, your words and actions so constantly show on all occasions, even to others when I am absent, that it is not vanity in me to mention what everybody knows; but it would be want of good manners not to acknowledge what so many are witnesses of, and every day tell me I am indebted to your lordship for. I wish they could as easily assist my gratitude, as they convince me of the great and growing engagements it has to your lordship. This I am sure, I should write of the understanding without having any, if I were not extremely sensible of them, and did not lay hold on this opportunity to testify to the world how much I am obliged to be, and how much I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dorset Court,
24th of May, 1689.

THE

EPISTLE TO THE READER.

READER,

I HERE put into thy hands what has been the diversion of some of my idle and heavy hours: if it has the good luck to prove so of any of thine, and thou hast but half so much pleasure in reading as I had in writing it,* thou wilt as little think thy money, as I do my pains, ill bestowed. Mistake not this for a commendation of my work; nor conclude, because I was pleased with the doing of it, that therefore I am fondly taken with it now it is done. He that hawks at larks and sparrows has no less sport, though a much less considerable quarry, than he that flies at nobler game: and he is little acquainted with the subject of this treatise, the UNDERSTANDING, who does not know that as it is the most elevated faculty of the soul, so it is employed with a greater and more constant delight than any of the other. Its searches after truth are a sort of hawking and hunting, wherein the very pursuit makes a great part of the pleasure. Every step the mind takes in its progress towards knowledge, makes

* In the language of Shakspeare, who had observed almost the whole of nature with a philosophic eye,

"The labour we delight in, physics pain;"

though comparatively few can ever be brought to delight in the labour of study. Here, however, we find Locke professing to have derived from the composition of his essay a degree of pleasure sufficient to compensate for the labour it imposed; but much of this pleasure arose, it is quite evident, from anticipations of fame, which after all constitute one of the chief solaces of the noblest and brightest minds. Among the vulgar of old, as now, whom no ray of glory warms or cheers, philosophy was regarded merely as the parent of headache and ennui. (Plato de Repub. vi. 146, Bekk.) The "Essay on the Human Understanding," however, as even the facts recorded in this preface will show, found immediately on its publication "fit audience," not few, but the whole enlightened and civilized world, which perceived that its appearance constituted a new era in the annals of philosophy. Indeed, by the intellectually ambitious, it was quickly found to be a work teeming with interest and pleasure, the reading of which, dull perhaps to the grovelling and indolent, had more charms than those popular fictions, supposed commonly to enjoy a monopoly of whatever is preeminently amusing.—TR.

some discovery, which is not only new, but the best too, for the time at least.*

For the understanding, like the eye, judging of objects only by its own sight, cannot but be pleased with what it discovers, having less regret for what has escaped it, because it is unknown. Thus he who has raised himself above the alms-basket, and not content to live lazily on scraps of begged opinions, sets his own thoughts on work, to find and follow truth, will (whatever he lights on) not miss the hunter's satisfaction; every moment of his pursuit will reward his pains with some delight, and he will have reason to think his time not ill spent, even when he cannot much boast of any great acquisition.†

This, Reader, is the entertainment of those who let loose their own thoughts, and follow them in writing; which thou oughtest not to envy them, since they afford thee an opportunity of the like diversion, if thou wilt make use of thy own thoughts in reading. It is to them, if they are thy own, that I refer myself: but if they are taken upon trust from others, it is no great matter what they are; they are not following truth, but some meaner consideration; and it is not worth while to be concerned what he says or thinks, who says or thinks only as he is directed by another. If thou judgest for thyself I know thou wilt judge candidly, and then I shall not be harmed or offended, whatever be thy censure. For though it be certain that there is nothing in this treatise of the truth whereof I am not fully persuaded, yet I

* This thought, expanded and modified to meet the apprehension of ordinary readers, has been adopted by Lord Brougham in his popular essay on the "Advantages and Pleasures of Science." "It may be easily demonstrated," says his lordship, "that there is an advantage in learning, both for the usefulness and the pleasure of it. There is something positively agreeable to all men, to all at least whose nature is not most grovelling and base, in gaining knowledge for its own sake. When you see anything for the first time, you at once derive some gratification from the sight being new; your attention is awakened, and you desire to know more about it," &c. (p. 2 et seq.) A poet places the matter on higher grounds, exclaiming,

"For 't is a Godlike attribute to know." ED.

† Plato, who loved to impart the colours of poetry to his philosophical disquisitions, has frequent comparisons of the search after knowledge to the chase; and it is in truth a chase, furnishing both mental exercise and mental health, in addition to the noble game which the courageous and persevering obtain.—ED.

consider myself as liable to mistakes as I can think thee, and know that this book must stand or fall with thee, not by any opinion I have of it, but thy own. If thou findest little in it new or instructive to thee, thou art not to blame me for it. It was not meant for those that had already mastered this subject, and made a thorough acquaintance with their own understandings; but for my own information, and the satisfaction of a few friends, who acknowledged themselves not to have sufficiently considered it.

Were it fit to trouble thee with the history of this essay, I should tell thee, that five or six friends meeting at my chamber,* and discoursing on a subject very remote from this, found themselves quickly at a stand, by the difficulties that rose on every side. After we had awhile puzzled ourselves, without coming any nearer a resolution of those doubts which perplexed us, it came into my thoughts that we took a wrong course, and that before we set ourselves upon inquiries of that nature, it was necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were, or were not, fitted to deal with. This I proposed to the company, who all readily assented; and thereupon it was agreed that this should be our first inquiry. Some hasty and undigested thoughts on a subject I had never before considered, which I set down against our next meeting, gave the first entrance into this discourse; which having been thus begun by chance, was continued by intreaty; written by incoherent parcels; and after long intervals of neglect, resumed again, as my humour or occasions permitted; and at last, in a retirement, where an attendance on my health gave me leisure, it was brought into that order thou now seest it.

This discontinued way of writing may have occasioned, besides others, two contrary faults, viz., that too little and too much may be said in it. If thou findest anything wanting, I shall be glad that what I have written gives thee any desire that I should have gone further: if it seems too much to thee, thou must blame the subject; for when I put

* From the history of the philosopher's life, he would seem to have delighted in forming clubs of this kind. Thus, when at Amsterdam, in 1647, he collected together a little knot of friends, among others, Limborch and Le Clerc; and on his return to England, after the Revolution, he again constructed a club, the rules of which have been preserved.—ED.

pen to paper, I thought all I should have to say on this matter would have been contained in one sheet of paper; but the further I went the larger prospect I had; new discoveries led me still on, and so it grew insensibly to the bulk it now appears in. I will not deny, but possibly it might be reduced to a narrower compass than it is, and that some parts of it might be contracted, the way it has been written in, by catches and many long intervals of interruption, being apt to cause some repetitions. But to confess the truth, I am now too lazy, or too busy, to make it shorter.

I am not ignorant how little I herein consult my own reputation, when I knowingly let it go with a fault, so apt to disgust the most judicious, who are always the nicest readers. But they who know sloth is apt to content itself with any excuse, will pardon me if mine has prevailed on me, where I think I have a very good one. I will not therefore allege in my defence, that the same notion, having different respects, may be convenient or necessary to prove or illustrate several parts of the same discourse, and that so it has happened in many parts of this: but waiving that, I shall frankly avow that I have sometimes dwelt long upon the same argument, and expressed it different ways, with a quite different design. I pretend not to publish this essay for the information of men of large thoughts and quick apprehensions; to such masters of knowledge I profess myself a scholar, and therefore warn them beforehand not to expect anything here, but what, being spun out of my own coarse thoughts, is fitted to men of my own size; to whom, perhaps, it will not be unacceptable that I have taken some pains to make plain and familiar to their thoughts some truths which established prejudice or the abstractedness of the ideas themselves might render difficult. Some objects had need be turned on every side; and when the notion is new, as I confess some of these are to me, or out of the ordinary road, as I suspect they will appear to others, it is not one simple view of it that will gain it admittance into every understanding, or fix it there with a clear and lasting impression.

There are few, I believe, who have not observed in themselves or others, that what in one way of proposing was very obscure, another way of expressing it has made very clear and intelligible; though afterwards the mind found little

difference in the phrases, and wondered why one failed to be understood more than the other. But everything does not hit alike upon every man's imagination. We have our understandings no less different than our palates; and he that thinks the same truth shall be equally relished by every one in the same dress, may as well hope to feast every one with the same sort of cookery: the meat may be the same, and the nourishment good, yet every one not be able to receive it with that seasoning; and it must be dressed another way, if you will have it go down with some, even of strong constitutions. The truth is, those who advised me to publish it, advised me, for this reason, to publish it as it is: and since I have been brought to let it go abroad, I desire it should be understood by whoever gives himself the pains to read it. I have so little affection to be in print, that if I were not flattered this essay might be of some use to others, as I think it has been to me, I should have confined it to the view of some friends, who gave the first occasion to it. My appearing therefore in print being on purpose to be as useful as I may, I think it necessary to make what I have to say as easy and intelligible to all sorts of readers as I can. And I had much rather the speculative and quick-sighted should complain of my being in some parts tedious, than that any one, not accustomed to abstract speculations, or prepossessed with different notions, should mistake or not comprehend my meaning.

It will possibly be censured as a great piece of vanity or insolence in me, to pretend to instruct this our knowing age; it amounting to little less, when I own, that I publish this essay with hopes it may be useful to others. But if it may be permitted to speak freely of those who with a feigned modesty condemn as useless what they themselves write, methinks it savours much more of vanity or insolence to publish a book for any other end; and he fails very much of that respect he owes the public, who prints, and consequently expects men should read, that wherein he intends not they should meet with anything of use to themselves or others: and should nothing else be found allowable in this treatise, yet my design will not cease to be so; and the goodness of my intention ought to be some excuse for the worthlessness of my present. It is that chiefly which secures me from the

fear of censure, which I expect not to escape more than better writers. Men's principles, notions, and relishes are so different, that it is hard to find a book which pleases or displeases all men. I acknowledge the age we live in is not the least knowing, and therefore not the most easy to be satisfied. If I have not the good luck to please, yet nobody ought to be offended with me. I plainly tell all my readers, except half a dozen, this treatise was not at first intended for them; and therefore they need not be at the trouble to be of that number. But yet if any one thinks fit to be angry and rail at it, he may do it securely, for I shall find some better way of spending my time than in such kind of conversation.* I shall always have the satisfaction to have aimed sincerely at truth and usefulness, though in one of the meanest ways. The commonwealth of learning is not at this time without master-builders, whose mighty designs, in advancing the sciences, will leave lasting monuments to the admiration of posterity; but every one must not hope to be a Boyle or a Sydenham: and in an age that produces such masters as the great Huygenius and the incomparable Mr. Newton, with some others of that strain, it is ambition enough to be employed as an under-labourer in clearing the ground a little, and removing some of the rubbish that lies in the way to knowledge; which certainly had been very much more advanced in the world, if the endeavours of ingenious and industrious men had not been much cumbered with the learned but frivolous use of uncouth, affected, or unintelligible terms, introduced into the sciences, and there made an art of, to that degree that philosophy, which is nothing but the true knowledge of things,† was thought unfit or incapable

* When Locke made the above resolution, and profession of stoicism, he was no doubt sincere, but when Stillingfleet attacked the Essay, and professed to discover in it the germs of most dangerous tenets, the philosopher found it impossible to mail his breast with apathy, entered warmly into a controversy with him, and defended both himself and his work with a vivacity, a logical subtilty, and with a strain sometimes of keen and biting irony, which the reader cannot fail to admire in perusing the letters to the Bishop of Worcester. It may generally indeed be remarked, that in proportion to the strength of a man's convictions will be his ardour in defending them, unless his resolution be overborne by other considerations.—Ed.

† Abraham Tucker, with a view substantially the same, but narrower, observes that "philosophy may be styled the art of marshalling the

to be brought into well-bred company and polite conversation. Vague and insignificant forms of speech and abuse of language have so long passed for mysteries of science, and hard and misapplied words, with little or no meaning, have, by prescription, such a right to be mistaken for deep learning and height of speculation, that it will not be easy to persuade either those who speak or those who hear them that they are but the covers of ignorance, and hindrance of true knowledge.* To break in upon the sanctuary of vanity and ignorance will be, I suppose, some service to human understanding; though so few are apt to think they deceive or are deceived in the use of words, or that the language of the sect they are of has any faults in it which ought to be examined or corrected, that I hope I shall be pardoned if I have in the third book dwelt long on this subject, and endeavoured to make it so plain, that neither the inveterateness of the mischief nor the prevalence of the fashion shall be any excuse for those who will not take care about the meaning of their own words, and will not suffer the significancy of their expressions to be inquired into.

I have been told that a short epitome of this treatise, which was printed in 1688, was by some condemned without

ideas in the understanding." This is a definition of logic, an important branch of philosophy, which excludes, however, that other art, whose business it is to introduce ideas into the understanding. The ideas once there, the object of philosophy is what Tucker states it to be; his definition, therefore, though imperfect, is not false.—ED.

* Hobbes had already, in his controversy with Bishop Bramhall, exposed the folly and absurdity of this learned jargon. The passages, however, in which this is done are too many to be here quoted; but for the reader's amusement I subjoin a single specimen, remarking by the way that some of the terms to which he objects have since been allowed to become part of our language. "Let the natural philosopher no more mention his *intentional species*, his *understanding agent and patient*, his *receptive and eductive power of the matter*, his *qualities infusæ or influxæ*, *symbolæ or dissymbolæ*, his *temperament ad pondus* and *ad justitiam*. He may keep his *parts homogeneous and heterogeneous*; but his *sympathies and antipathies*, his *antiperistasis*, and the like, names of excuses rather than of causes, I would have him fling away. And for the astrologer (unless he means astronomer), I would have him throw away his whole trade; but if he mean astronomer, then the terms of *apogæum* and *perigæum*, *arctic*, *antarctic*, *æquator*, *zodiac*, *zenith*, *meridian*, *horizon*, *zones*, are no more terms of art in astronomy than a saw or a hatchet in the art of a carpenter." (Treatise on Liberty and Necessity. Lond. 1812. Supplement, p. 196 et seq.; see too p. 117.)—ED.

reading, because innate ideas were denied in ; they too hastily concluding, that if innate ideas were not supposed, there would be little left either of the notion or proof of spirits. If any one take the like offence at the entrance of this treatise, I shall desire him to read it through; and then I hope he will be convinced that the taking away false foundations is not to the prejudice but advantage of truth, which is never injured or endangered so much as when mixed with or built on falsehood. In the second edition I added as followeth:—

The bookseller will not forgive me if I say nothing of this second edition, which he has promised, by the correctness of it, shall make amends for the many faults committed in the former.* He desires too, that it should be known that it has one whole new chapter concerning identity, and many additions and amendments in other places. These I must inform my reader are not all new matter, but most of them either further confirmations of what I had said, or explications, to prevent others being mistaken in the sense of what was formerly printed, and not any variation in me from it: I must only except the alterations I have made in Book ii. chap. 21.

What I had there written concerning liberty and the will, I thought deserved as accurate a view as I am capable of; those subjects having in all ages exercised the learned part of the world with questions and difficulties that have not a little perplexed morality and divinity, those parts of knowledge that men are most concerned to be clear in. Upon a closer inspection into the working of men's minds, and a stricter examination of those motives and views they are turned by, I have found reason somewhat to alter the thoughts I formerly had concerning that which gives the last determination to the will in all voluntary actions. This I cannot forbear to acknowledge to the world with as much freedom and readiness as I at first published what then seemed to me to be right; thinking myself more concerned to quit and renounce any opinion of my own, than oppose that of another, when truth appears against it. For it is truth alone I seek, and that

* On the incorrect printing of the first edition, see Locke's correspondence with Molineux, § 1.—Ed.

will always be welcome to me, when or from whencesoever it comes.*

But what forwardness soever I have to resign any opinion I have, or to recede from anything I have written, upon the first evidence of any error in it; yet this I must own, that I have not had the good luck to receive any light from those exceptions I have met with in print against any part of my book, nor have, from anything that has been urged against it, found reason to alter my sense in any of the points that have been questioned. Whether the subject I have in hand requires often more thought and attention than cursory readers, at least such as are prepossessed, are willing to allow; or whether any obscurity in my expressions casts a cloud over it, and these notions are made difficult to others' apprehensions in my way of treating them; so it is, that my meaning, I find, is often mistaken, and I have not the good luck to be everywhere rightly understood. There are so many instances of this, that I think it justice to my reader and myself to conclude, that either my book is plainly enough written to be rightly understood by those who peruse it with that attention and indifferency,† which every one who will give himself the pains to read ought to employ in reading; or else that I have written mine so obscurely that it is in vain to go about to mend it. Whichever of these be the truth, it is myself only am affected thereby; and therefore I shall be far from troubling my

* In this most honourable course of pleading guilty to error, and exhibiting a readiness to be corrected, Locke was preceded by two very great men, Quintilian and Hippocrates, the former of whom, in confessing some mistakes into which he had been once betrayed, adduces as his example the physician of Cos: "Nam et Hippocrates clarus arte medicinæ, videtur honestissime fecisse, qui quosdam errores suos, ne posteri errarent, confessus est." (B. iii. c. vi.) Stobæus has preserved a fine distich of Philippides, expressing the advantage to be derived from being convicted of error:—

"Οτ' ἂν ἁμαρτάνῃς τι, χαῖρ' ἡττώμενος,
μάλιστα γὰρ αὕτω σώζεται τὸ συμφέρον.

i. 13. *Gaisf.*

This Grotius has elegently rendered as follows:—

"Ne turpe vinci, si quid erraris, puta:
Hæc namque vera est ad bonam frugem via."—Ed.

† By this he means simply a freedom from prejudice or prepossession. He who comes to the consideration of a subject without having adopted any theory on the question under consideration, may be said to be *indifferent;* that is, to have no leaning to either side.—Ed.

reader with what I think might be said in answer to those several objections I have met with, to passages here and there of my book; since I persuade myself that he who thinks them of moment enough to be concerned whether they are true or false, will be able to see that what is said is either not well founded, or else not contrary to my doctrine, when I and my opposer come both to be well understood.

If any, careful that none of their good thoughts should be lost, have published their censures of my Essay, with this honour done to it, that they will not suffer it to be an essay, I leave it to the public to value the obligation they have to their critical pens, and shall not waste my reader's time in so idle or ill-natured an employment of mine, as to lessen the satisfaction any one has in himself, or gives to others, in so hasty a confutation of what I have written.

The booksellers preparing for the fourth edition of my Essay, gave me notice of it, that I might, if I had leisure, make any additions or alterations I should think fit. Whereupon I thought it convenient to advertise the reader, that besides several corrections I had made here and there, there was one alteration which it was necessary to mention, because it ran through the whole book, and is of consequence to be rightly understood. What I thereupon said was this:—

Clear and distinct ideas are terms which, though familiar and frequent in men's mouths, I have reason to think every one who uses does not perfectly understand. And possibly it is but here and there one who gives himself the trouble to consider them so far as to know what he himself or others precisely mean by them: I have therefore in most places chosen to put determinate or determined, instead of clear and distinct, as more likely to direct men's thoughts to my meaning in this matter. By those denominations I mean some object in the mind, and consequently determined, i. e., such as it is there seen and perceived to be. This, I think, may fitly be called a determinate or determined idea, when such as it is at any time objectively in the mind, and so determined there, it is annexed, and without variation determined to a name or articulate sound, which is to be steadily the sign of that very same object of the mind, or determinate idea.

To explain this a little more particularly. By determinate,

when applied to a simple idea, I mean that simple appearance which the mind has in its view, or perceives in itself, when that idea is said to be in it: by determinate, when applied to a complex idea, I mean such an one as consists of a determinate number of certain simple or less complex ideas, joined in such a proportion and situation as the mind has before its view, and sees in itself, when that idea is present in it, or should be present in it, when a man gives a name to it: I say should be, because it is not every one, nor perhaps any one, who is so careful of his language as to use no word till he views in his mind the precise determined idea which he resolves to make it the sign of. The want of this is the cause of no small obscurity and confusion in men's thoughts and discourses.

I know there are not words enough in any language to answer all the variety of ideas that enter into men's discourses and reasonings.* But this hinders not but that when any one uses any term, he may have in his mind a determined idea, which he makes it the sign of, and to which he should keep it steadily annexed during that present discourse. Where he does not, or cannot do this, he in vain pretends to clear or distinct ideas: it is plain his are not so; and therefore there can be expected nothing but obscurity and confusion, where such terms are made use of as have not such a precise determination.

Upon this ground I have thought determined ideas a way of speaking less liable to mistakes, than clear and distinct: and where men have got such determined ideas of all that they reason, inquire, or argue about, they will find a great part of their doubts and disputes at an end. The greatest part of the questions and controversies that perplex mankind depending on the doubtful and uncertain use of words, or (which is the same) indetermined ideas, which they are made to stand for, I have made choice of these terms to signify: 1. Some immediate object of the mind, which it perceives and has before it, distinct from the sound it uses as a sign of

* Compare on this subject the remarks of Sir James Mackintosh (Ethical Philosophy, Introduction, p. 49 et seq.), where he justly complains of the coarseness and poverty of our philosophical vocabulary. Perhaps, however, in this, as in other things, it is in a great measure our indolence that is the cause of our poverty.—Ed.

it. 2. That this idea, thus determined, i. e., which the mind has in itself, and knows, and sees there, be determined without any change to that name, and that name determined to that precise idea. If men had such determined ideas in their inquiries and discourses, they would both discern how far their own inquiries and discourses went, and avoid the greatest part of the disputes and wranglings they have with others.

Besides this, the bookseller will think it necessary I should advertise the reader that there is an addition of two chapters wholly new; the one of the association of ideas, the other of enthusiasm. These, with some other larger additions never before printed, he has engaged to print by themselves after the same manner, and for the same purpose, as was done when this Essay had the second impression.

In the sixth edition there is very little added or altered; the greatest part of what is new is contained in the twenty-first chapter of the second book, which any one, if he thinks it worth while, may, with a very little labour, transcribe into the margin of the former edition.

OF

HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

1. *An Inquiry into the Understanding, pleasant and useful* —SINCE it is the understanding that sets man above the rest of sensible beings, and gives him all the advantage and dominion which he has over them, it is certainly a subject, even for its nobleness, worth our labour to inquire into. The understanding, like the eye, whilst it makes us see and perceive all other things, takes no notice of itself; and it requires art and pains to set it at a distance, and make it its own object.* But whatever be the difficulties that lie in the way of this inquiry; whatever it be that keeps us so much in the dark to ourselves; sure I am that all the light we can let in upon our minds, all the acquaintance we can make with our own understandings, will not only be very pleasant, but bring us great advantage in directing our thoughts in the search of other things.

2. *Design.*—This, therefore, being my purpose, to inquire into the original, certainty, and extent of human knowledge, together with the grounds and degrees of belief, opinion, and assent, I shall not at present meddle with the physical consideration of the mind, or trouble myself to examine wherein its essence consists, or by what motions of our spirits or alterations of our bodies† we come to have any sensation by

* Compare with this the opinion of Arrian, who, in his Commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus, remarks, that the reasoning power in man (ἡ δύναμις ἡ λογική) is the only faculty which takes cognizance of itself, and comprehends its own nature, office, and worth, as well as those of all the other faculties. (Com. in Epict. Ench. b. i. p. 2.)—ED.

† Locke, though he does not here name Hobbes, nevertheless refers to his speculations, almost making use of the very language of that

our organs, or any ideas in our understandings; and whether those ideas do in their formation, any or all of them, depend on matter or not. These are speculations which, however curious and entertaining, I shall decline, as lying out of my way in the design I am now upon.* It shall suffice to my present purpose, to consider the discerning faculties of a man, as they are employed about the objects which they have to do with. And I shall imagine I have not wholly misemployed myself in the thoughts I shall have on this occasion, if, in this historical, plain method, I can give any account of the ways whereby our understandings come to attain those notions of things we have, and can set down any measures of the certainty of our knowledge, or the grounds of those persuasions which are to be found amongst men, so various, different, and wholly contradictory; and yet asserted somewhere or other with such assurance and confidence, that he that shall take a view of the opinions of mankind, observe their opposition, and at the same time consider the fondness and devotion wherewith they are embraced, the resolution and eagerness wherewith they are maintained, may perhaps have reason to suspect, that either there is no such thing as truth at all, or that mankind hath no sufficient means to attain a certain knowledge of it.†

philosopher in his treatise on Human Nature, where he says, "Image or colour is but an apparition unto us of the motion, agitation, or alteration which the object worketh in the brain, or spirits, or some internal substance of the head." (Ch. ii. 4.)—ED.

* Dugald Stewart, whose philosophical reading was very extensive, observes upon this passage, "It is much to be wished that Mr. Locke had adhered invariably to this wise resolution." (Phil. Essays, Prel. Dissert. p. 5.)—ED.

† This was the opinion of those sophists who maintained that men may dispute equally well on both sides of a question; for if truth can be discovered, and we be able to know with certainty when we possess it, the moment this discovery is made must be the term of all honest disputation; but if probability be all we can attain to on any subject, there will ever be room for differing opinions. (Vid. Geel. Hist. Soph. cap. vi. p. 25.) Montaigne has in his Essays a very fine passage on the search after truth, and the question whether it be possible or not to discover it. "Si me faut-il voir enfin, s'il est en la puissance de l'homme de trouver ce qu'il cherche: et si cette quête, qu'il y a employé depuis tant de siècles, l'a enrichy de quelque nouvelle force, et de quelque vérité solide; je crois qu'il me confessera, s'il parle en conscience, que tout l'acquêt qu'il a

3. *Method.*—It is therefore worth while to search out the bounds between opinion and knowledge, and examine by what measures in things, whereof we have no certain knowledge, we ought to regulate our assent and moderate our persuasions. In order whereunto I shall pursue this following method.

First, I shall inquire into the original of those ideas, notions, or whatever else you please to call them, which a man observes, and is conscious to himself he has in his mind; and the ways whereby the understanding comes to be furnished with them.

Secondly, I shall endeavour to show what knowledge the understanding hath by those ideas, and the certainty, evidence, and extent of it.

Thirdly, I shall make some inquiry into the nature and grounds of faith, or opinion; whereby I mean that assent which we give to any proposition as true, of whose truth yet we have no certain knowledge: and here we shall have occasion to examine the reasons and degrees of assent.

4. *Useful to know the Extent of our Comprehension.*—If by this inquiry into the nature of the understanding, I can discover the powers thereof, how far they reach, to what things they are in any degree proportionate, and where they fail us, I suppose it may be of use to prevail with the busy mind of man to be more cautious in meddling with things exceeding its comprehension; to stop when it is at the utmost extent of its tether; and to sit down in a quiet ignorance of those things which, upon examination, are found to be beyond the reach of our capacities.* We should not then perhaps be so

retiré d'une si longue poursuite, c'est d'avoir appris à recognoître sa foiblesse. L'ignorance qui estoit naturellement en nous, nous l'avons par longue étude confirmée et averée. Il est advenu aux gens véritablement scavans, ce que advient aux épis de bled: ils vont s'élevant et se haussant la tête droite et fière, tant qu'ils sont vuides; mais quand ils ont pleins et grossis de grain en leur maturité, ils commenceroit à s'humilier et baisser les cornes. Pareillement, les hommes, ayant tout essayé, tout sondé, et n'ayant trouvé en cet amas de science et provision de tant de choses diverses, rien de massif et de ferme, et rien que vanité, il sont renoncé à leur présomption et reconnu leur condition naturelle." (t. v. p. 10 et seq.)—ED.

* That, with the history of philosophy before him, Locke should have hoped so much, is scarcely to be credited. Indeed, to sit down in quiet ignorance of anything is contrary to our nature; though it is quite possible

forward, out of an affectation of an universal knowledge, to raise questions, and perplex ourselves and others with disputes about things to which our understandings are not suited, and of which we cannot frame in our minds any clear or distinct perceptions, or whereof (as it has perhaps too often happened) we have not any notions at all. If we can find out how far the understanding can extend its view, how far it has faculties to attain certainty, and in what cases it can only judge and guess, we may learn to content ourselves with what is attainable by us in this state.

5. *Our Capacity suited to our State and Concerns.*—For though the comprehension of our understandings comes exceeding short of the vast extent of things, yet we shall have cause enough to magnify the bountiful Author of our being, for that proportion and degree of knowledge he has bestowed on us, so far above all the rest of the inhabitants of this our mansion. Men have reason to be well satisfied with what God hath thought fit for them, since he hath given them (as St. Peter* says) *πάντα πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν*, whatsoever is necessary for the conveniences of life and information of virtue; and has put within the reach of their discovery the comfortable provision for this life, and the way that leads to a better. How short soever their knowledge may come of an universal or perfect comprehension of whatsoever is, it yet secures their great concernments, that they have light enough to lead them to the knowledge of their Maker and the sight of their own duties. Men may find matter sufficient to busy their heads, and employ their hands with variety, delight, and satisfaction, if they will not boldly quarrel with their own constitution, and throw away the blessings their hands are filled with because they are not big enough to grasp everything. We shall not have much reason to complain of the narrowness of our minds, if we will but employ them about what may be of use to us; for of that they are very capable: and it will be an unpardonable, as well as childish peevishness, if we undervalue the advantages of our

wastefully to expend in mere curious investigation a world of industry and ingenuity.—ED.

* Epist. ii. 3, where consult the excellent note of the Rev. Mr. Trollope, in his Greek Testament, p. 500 — ED.

knowledge, and neglect to improve it to the ends for which it was given us, because there are some things that are set out of the reach of it. It will be no excuse to an idle and untoward servant, who would not attend his business by candle-light, to plead that he had not broad sunshine. The candle that is set up in us shines bright enough for all our purposes.* The discoveries we can make with this ought to satisfy us; and we shall then use our understandings right, when we entertain all objects in that way and proportion that they are suited to our faculties, and upon those grounds they are capable of being proposed to us; and not peremptorily or intemperately require demonstration, and demand certainty, where probability only is to be had, and which is sufficient to govern all our concernments. If we will disbelieve everything because we cannot certainly know all things, we shall do muchwhat as wisely as he who would not use his legs, but sit still and perish, because he had no wings to fly.

6. *Knowledge of our Capacity a Cure of Scepticism and Idleness.*—When we know our own strength, we shall the better know what to undertake with hopes of success;† and when we have well surveyed the powers of our own mind, and made some estimate what we may expect from them, we shall not be inclined either to sit still, and not set our thoughts on work at all, in despair of knowing anything; or on the other side, question everything, and disclaim all knowledge, because some things are not to be understood. It is of great use to the sailor to know the length of his line, though

* On the sufficiency, in a religious point of view, of reason and conscience, Bishop Butler has a fine passage, which the reader will not be sorry to find inserted here. "Nothing," observes his lordship, "can be more evident than that, exclusive of revelation, man cannot be considered as a creature left by his Maker to act at random, and live at large up to the extent of his natural powers, as passion, humour, wilfulness happen to carry him; which is the condition brute creatures are in; but that, from his make, constitution, or nature, he is, in the strictest and most proper sense, a law to himself. He hath the rule of right within; what is wanting is only that he honestly attend to it." (3rd Sermon on Human Nature, p. 65.)—ED.

† Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam
Viribus, et versate diu quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri."—HOR. *Ars Poet.* 38—40.—ED.

he cannot with it fathom all the depths of the ocean. It is well he knows that it is long enough to reach the bottom, at such places as are necessary to direct his voyage, and caution him against running upon shoals that may ruin him. Our business here is not to know all things, but those which concern our conduct. If we can find out those measures, whereby a rational creature, put in that state in which man is in this world, may and ought to govern his opinions, and actions depending thereon, we need not to be troubled that some other things escape our knowledge.

7. *Occasion of this Essay.*—This was that which gave the first rise to this essay concerning the understanding. For I thought that the first step towards satisfying several inquiries the mind of man was very apt to run into, was to take a view of our own understandings, examine our own powers, and see to what things they were adapted. Till that was done I suspected we began at the wrong end, and in vain sought for satisfaction in a quiet and sure possession of truths that most concerned us, whilst we let loose our thoughts into the vast ocean of being; as if all that boundless extent were the natural and undoubted possession of our understandings, wherein there was nothing exempt from its decisions, or that escaped its comprehension. Thus men extending their inquiries beyond their capacities, and letting their thoughts wander into those depths where they can find no sure footing, it is no wonder that they raise questions and multiply disputes, which, never coming to any clear resolution, are proper only to continue and increase their doubts, and to confirm them at last in perfect scepticism. Whereas, were the capacities of our understandings well considered, the extent of our knowledge once discovered, and the horizon found which sets the bounds between the enlightened and dark parts of things, between what is and what is not comprehensible by us, men would perhaps, with less scruple, acquiesce in the avowed ignorance of the one, and employ their thoughts and discourse with more advantage and satisfaction in the other.

8. *What Idea stands for.*—Thus much I thought necessary to say concerning the occasion of this inquiry into human understanding. But, before I proceed on to what I have thought on this subject, I must here in the entrance beg

pardon of my reader for the frequent use of the word "idea,"* which he will find in the following treatise. It being that term which, I think, serves best to stand for whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks, I have used it to express whatever is meant by phantasm, notion, species, or whatever it is which the mind can be employed about in thinking; and I could not avoid frequently using it.†

I presume it will be easily granted me, that there are such ideas in men's minds; every one is conscious of them in himself, and men's words and actions will satisfy him that they are in others.

Our first inquiry then shall be, how they come into the mind.

CHAPTER II.

NO INNATE PRINCIPLES IN THE MIND.

1. *The way shown how we come by any Knowledge, sufficient to prove it not innate.*—It is an established opinion amongst some men,‡ that there are in the understanding certain innate

* Locke was not, however, the first writer who employed the term "idea" with such a signification in our language. Hobbes had used it, (Human Nature, c. i. § 7.) and so had Sir Thomas Browne (Religio Medici, p. 24.); but as in them it occurred but casually, and was visibly connected with no system, the world allowed it to pass unquestioned. The reader will find Locke's own defence of the word in his Letters to the Bishop of Worcester. In Milton it is synonymous with form. (Apology for his Early Life and Writings, p. 72.)

† See Appendix at end of vol. ii.—Ed.

‡ By "some men" Locke here appears to allude more particularly to Descartes and his followers, De la Forge, Claude de Clerselier, Rohault, Regis, &c. Descartes, it is well known, divided our ideas into three classes; those acquired through the medium of the senses, those created by the mind by reflection, and those which are born with us or are innate. Of these, Locke, it will be seen, rejects the last, proving sensation and reflection to be the only fountains of all we know. They who desire to enter historically or otherwise into a thorough investigation of this subject may consult Tennemann's "Manual of the History of Philosophy," § 335 et seq.; "Buhle, Histoire de la Philosophie Moderne," t. iv. p. 201—380, but more particularly p. 204 et seq.; Hume's Essays, 4to, p. 269—272, particularly the note *(a)*, which the reader will find in page 89, and compare with them Berkeley's "Three Dialogues, between

principles; some primary notions, κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι, characters, as it were, stamped upon the mind of man, which the soul receives in its very first being, and brings into the world with it. It would be sufficient to convince unprejudiced readers of the falseness of this supposition, if I should only show (as I hope I shall in the following parts of this discourse) how men, barely by the use of their natural faculties, may attain to all the knowledge they have, without the help of any innate impressions, and may arrive at certainty, without any such original notions or principles. For I imagine any one will easily grant that it would be impertinent to suppose the ideas of colours innate in a creature to whom God hath given sight, and a power to receive them by the eyes from external objects: and no less unreasonable would it be to attribute several truths to the impressions of nature and innate characters, when we may observe in ourselves faculties fit to attain as easy and certain knowledge of them, as if they were originally imprinted on the mind.

But because a man is not permitted without censure to follow his own thoughts in the search of truth, when they lead him ever so little out of the common road, I shall set down the reasons that made me doubt of the truth of that opinion, as an excuse for my mistake, if I be in one; which I leave to be considered by those who, with me, dispose themselves to embrace truth wherever they find it.

2. *General Assent the great Argument.*—There is nothing more commonly taken for granted than that there are certain principles, both speculative and practical, (for they speak of both,) universally agreed upon by all mankind, which therefore, they argue, must needs be constant impressions, which the souls of men receive in their first beings, and which they bring into the world with them, as necessarily and really as they do any of their inherent faculties.

3. *Universal Consent proves nothing innate.*—This argument, drawn from universal consent, has this misfortune in it, that if it were true in matter of fact, that there were certain truths wherein all mankind agreed, it would not prove them

Hylas and Philonous," Works, vol. i. p. 109 et seq. with Buhle's admirable Analysis of his Philosophy, t. v. p. 76—176, and Tennemann's Manual, § 340.—Ed

innate, if there can be any other way shown how men may come to that universal agreement in the things they do consent in, which I presume may be done.

4. *"What is, is," and "it is impossible for the same Thing to be and not to be," not universally assented to.*—But, which is worse, this argument of universal consent, which is made use of to prove innate principles, seems to me a demonstration that there are none such; because there are none to which all mankind give an universal assent. I shall begin with the speculative, and instance in those magnified principles of demonstration, "whatsoever is, is," and "it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be;" which, of all others,* I think have the most allowed title to innate. These have so settled a reputation of maxims universally received, that it will no doubt be thought strange if any one should seem to question it. But yet I take liberty to say, that these propositions are so far from having an universal assent, that there are a great part of mankind to whom they are not so much as known.

5. *Not on the Mind naturally imprinted, because not known to Children, Idiots, &c.*—For, first, it is evident that all children and idiots have not the least apprehension or thought of them; and the want of that is enough to destroy that universal assent which must needs be the necessary concomitant of all innate truths: it seeming to me near a contradiction to say that there are truths imprinted on the soul which it perceives or understands not; imprinting, if it signify anything, being nothing else but the making certain truths to be perceived. For to imprint anything on the mind without the mind's perceiving it, seems to me hardly intelligible. If therefore children and idiots have souls, have minds, with those impressions upon them, they must unavoidably perceive them, and necessarily know and assent to these truths; which since they do not, it is evident that there are no such impressions. For if they are not notions naturally imprinted, how can they be innate? and if they are notions imprinted, how can they be unknown? To say a notion is imprinted on the mind, and yet at the same time to say that the mind is

* A solecism found in most persons' mouths, not unlike that of Milton:—
"Adam, the noblest man of men since born,
His sons, the fairest of her daughters, Eve." Ed.

ignorant of it, and never yet took notice of it, is to make this impression nothing. No proposition can be said to be in the mind which it never yet knew, which it was never yet conscious of. For if any one may, then, by the same reason, all propositions that are true, and the mind is capable of ever assenting to, may be said to be in the mind, and to be imprinted: since, if any one can be said to be in the mind, which it never yet knew, it must be only because it is capable of knowing it, and so the mind is of all truths it ever shall know. Nay, thus truths may be imprinted on the mind which it never did nor ever shall know; for a man may live long, and die at last in ignorance of many truths which his mind was capable of knowing, and that with certainty. So that if the capacity of knowing be the natural impression contended for, all the truths a man ever comes to know will, by this account, be every one of them innate; and this great point will amount to no more, but only to a very improper way of speaking; which, whilst it pretends to assert the contrary, says nothing different from those who deny innate principles. For nobody, I think, ever denied that the mind was capable of knowing several truths. The capacity, they say, is innate, the knowledge acquired. But then to what end such contest for certain innate maxims? If truths can be imprinted on the understanding without being perceived, I can see no difference there can be between any truths the mind is capable of knowing in respect of their original: they must all be innate or all adventitious; in vain shall a man go about to distinguish them. He therefore that talks of innate notions in the understanding, cannot (if he intend thereby any distinct sort of truths) mean such truths to be in the understanding as it never perceived, and is yet wholly ignorant of. For if these words (to be in the understanding) have any propriety, they signify to be understood; so that to be in the understanding and not to be understood, to be in the mind and never to be perceived, is all one as to say anything is and is not in the mind or understanding. If therefore these two propositions, "Whatsoever is, is," and "it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be," are by nature imprinted, children cannot be ignorant of them; infants, and all that have souls, must necessarily have them in their understandings, know the truth of them, and assent to it

6. *That Men know them when they come to the Use of Reason, answered.*—To avoid this, it is usually answered, that all men know and assent to them, when they come to the use of reason, and this is enough to prove them innate. I answer:

7. Doubtful expressions, that have scarce any signification, go for clear reasons to those who, being prepossessed, take not the pains to examine even what they themselves say. For, to apply this answer with any tolerable sense to our present purpose, it must signify one of these two things; either that as soon as men come to the use of reason these supposed native inscriptions come to be known and observed by them, or else that the use and exercise of men's reason assists them in the discovery of these principles, and certainly makes them known to them.

8. *If Reason discovered them, that would not prove them innate.*—If they mean, that by the use of reason men may discover these principles, and that this is sufficient to prove them innate, their way of arguing will stand thus, viz., that whatever truths reason can certainly discover to us, and make us firmly assent to, those are all naturally imprinted on the mind; since that universal assent, which is made the mark of them, amounts to no more but this, that by the use of reason we are capable to come to a certain knowledge of and assent to them; and, by this means, there will be no difference between the maxims of the mathematicians, and theorems they deduce from them: all must be equally allowed innate, they being all discoveries made by the use of reason, and truths that a rational creature may certainly come to know, if he apply his thoughts rightly that way.

9. *It is false that Reason discovers them.*—But how can these men think the use of reason necessary to discover principles that are supposed innate, when reason (if we may believe them) is nothing else but the faculty of deducing unknown truths from principles or propositions that are already known? That certainly can never be thought innate which we have need of reason to discover; unless, as I have said, we will have all the certain truths that reason ever teaches us, to be innate. We may as well think the use of reason necessary to make our eyes discover visible objects, as that there should be need of reason, or the exercise thereof, to make the understanding see what is originally engraven

on it, and cannot be in the understanding before it be perceived by it. So that to make reason discover those truths thus imprinted, is to say that the use of reason discovers to a man what he knew before: and if men have those innate impressed truths originally, and before the use of reason, and yet are always ignorant of them till they come to the use of reason, it is in effect to say, that men know and know them not at the same time.

10. It will here perhaps be said that mathematical demonstrations, and other truths that are not innate, are not assented to as soon as proposed, wherein they are distinguished from these maxims and other innate truths. I shall have occasion to speak of assent, upon the first proposing, more particularly by and by. I shall here only, and that very readily, allow, that these maxims and mathematical demonstrations are in this different: that the one have need of reason, using of proofs, to make them out and to gain our assent; but the other, as soon as understood, are, without any the least reasoning, embraced and assented to. But I withal beg leave to observe, that it lays open the weakness of this subterfuge, which requires the use of reason for the discovery of these general truths; since it must be confessed that in their discovery there is no use made of reasoning at all.* And I think those who give this answer will not be forward to affirm that the knowledge of this maxim, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be," is a deduction of our reason. For this would be to destroy that bounty of nature they seem so fond of, whilst they make the knowledge of those principles to depend on the labour of our thoughts. For all reasoning is search, and casting about, and requires pains and application. And how can it with any tolerable sense be supposed, that what was imprinted by nature, as the foundation and guide of our reason, should need the use of reason to discover it?

11. Those who will take the pains to reflect with a little attention on the operations of the understanding, will find that this ready assent of the mind to some truths, depends

* This is, I think, a mistake: the reason is consulted, but the matter being easy, it decides rapidly. Otherwise they would be as evident to persons irrational as to those endued with reason, which they are not.—ED.

not either on native inscription or the use of reason, but on a faculty of the mind quite distinct from both of them, as we shall see hereafter. Reason, therefore, having nothing to do in procuring our assent to these maxims, if by saying, that men know and assent to them, when they come to the use of reason, be meant, that the use of reason assists us in the knowledge of these maxims, it is utterly false; and were it true, would prove them not to be innate.

12. *The coming to the Use of Reason not the Time we come to know these Maxims.*—If by knowing and assenting to them when we come to the use of reason, be meant, that this is the time when they come to be taken notice of by the mind; and that as soon as children come to the use of reason, they come also to know and assent to these maxims; this also is false and frivolous. First, it is false, because it is evident these maxims are not in the mind so early as the use of reason; and therefore the coming to the use of reason is falsely assigned as the time of their discovery. How many instances of the use of reason may we observe in children, a long time before they have any knowledge of this maxim, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be"! And a great part of illiterate people and savages pass many years, even of their rational age, without ever thinking on this and the like general propositions.* I grant, men come not to the knowledge of these general and more abstract truths, which are thought innate, till they come to the use of reason; and I add, nor then neither. Which is so because, till after they come to the use of reason, those general

* Wolf, countenanced by Leibnitz, maintained in Germany, long after the death of Locke, the doctrine of innate ideas, and invented a very ingenious system in support of it. In his Logic, however, he states the question hypothetically, observing, "Whether our notions of external things are conveyed into the soul, as into an empty receptacle, or whether rather they lie not buried, as it were, in the essence of the soul, and are brought forth barely by his own powers, on occasion of the changes produced in our bodies by external objects, is a question at present foreign to this place. In my 'Thoughts on God and the Human Soul,' chap. v., I shall there only be able to show, that the last opinion is the more agreeable to truth." (Logic, c. i. § 6.) Wolf would probably, consistently with the above passage, have explained the ignorance of the savages in the text, by supposing that the ideas originally imprinted on their minds can only be brought to light by circumstances, as secret characters or writing sometimes become not visible until they have been breathed upon or exposed to the fire.—ED.

abstract ideas are not framed in the mind, about which those general maxims are, which are mistaken for innate principles, but are indeed discoveries made and verities introduced and brought into the mind by the same way, and discovered by the same steps, as several other propositions, which nobody was ever so extravagant as to suppose innate. This I hope to make plain in the sequel of this discourse. I allow therefore, a necessity that men should come to the use of reason before they get the knowledge of those general truths, but deny that men's coming to the use of reason is the time of their discovery.

13. *By this they are not distinguished from other knowable Truths.*—In the mean time it is observable, that this saying, that men know and assent to these maxims when they come to the use of reason, amounts in reality of fact to no more but this, that they are never known nor taken notice of before the use of reason, but may possibly be assented to some time after, during a man's life; but when is uncertain: and so may all other knowable truths, as well as these, which therefore have no advantage nor distinction from others by this note of being known when we come to the use of reason, nor are thereby proved to be innate, but quite the contrary.

14. *If coming to the Use of Reason were the Time of their Discovery, it would not prove them innate.*—But, secondly, were it true, that the precise time of their being known and assented to were when they come to the use of reason, neither would that prove them innate. This way of arguing is as frivolous as the supposition itself is false. For by what kind of logic will it appear that any notion is originally by nature imprinted in the mind in its first constitution, because it comes first to be observed and assented to when a faculty of the mind, which has quite a distinct province, begins to exert itself? And therefore the coming to the use of speech, if it were supposed the time that these maxims are first assented to, (which it may be with as much truth as the time when men come to the use of reason,) would be as good a proof that they were innate, as to say they are innate because men assent to them when they come to the use of reason. I agree then with these men of innate principles, that there is no knowledge of these general and self-evident maxims in the mind till it comes to the exercise of reason;

but I deny that the coming to the use of reason is the precise time when they are first taken notice of; and if that were the precise time, I deny that it would prove them innate. All that can with any truth be meant by this proposition, that men assent to them when they come to the use of reason, is no more but this, that the making of general abstract ideas and the understanding of general names being concomitant of the rational faculty, and growing up with it, children commonly get not those general ideas, nor learn the names that stand for them, till, having for a good while exercised their reason about familiar and more particular ideas, they are, by their ordinary discourse and actions with others, acknowledged to be capable of rational conversation. If assenting to these maxims when men come to the use of reason can be true in any other sense, I desire it may be shown; or at least, how in this, or any other sense, it proves them innate.

15. *The Steps by which the Mind attains several Truths.*— The senses at first let in particular ideas, and furnish the yet empty cabinet;* and the mind by degrees growing familiar

* Dr. Whewell having remarked that the comparison of the mind to a sheet of white paper (elsewhere employed by Locke) is not just, quotes from Professor Sedgwick a metaphor which he considers "much more apt and beautiful." "Man's soul at first is one unvaried blank, till it has received the *impressions of external experience*. Yet has this blank been already touched by a celestial hand, and when plunged in the colours which surround it, it takes not its tinge from accident, but design, and comes out covered with a glorious pattern." (Discourse on the Studies of the University, p. 54. Preface to Sir J. Mackintosh's Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, p. 36.) I confess I do not perceive the superiority of the new figure over the old, nor, in fact, in what circumstances they differ. Locke, in the text, suggests another image—that of an "empty cabinet." But neither this, nor any other that I have seen, helps us at all to comprehend the true nature of the mind. Mackintosh says, "How many ultimate facts of that nature (i.e., which are presupposed by the doctrine of association) are contained and involved in Aristotle's celebrated comparison of the mind in its first state *to a sheet of unwritten paper!*" (Dissert. § 6. p. 249.) He then quotes from Aristotle the passage in which the comparison is made: Δει δ' ὑυτως, ὡσπερ εν γραμματειῳ ᾧ μηδεν ὑπαρχει εντελεχειᾳ γεγραμμενον· ὑπερ συμβαινει επι τοῦ νοῦ. (De Anima, iii. iv. 14. l. vii. p. 71. Tauchnitz.) Sir James modernizes the language of Aristotle, however, for γραμματεῖον does not mean "a sheet of unwritten paper," but a waxed tablet, which had sometimes two or more leaves. (Pol. Onomast. iv. 18.) But what is more curious, it

with some of them, they are lodged in the memory, and names got to them. Afterwards, the mind proceeding further, abstracts them, and by degrees learns the use of general names. In this manner the mind comes to be furnished with ideas and language, the materials about which to exercise its discursive faculty; and the use of reason becomes daily more visible, as these materials that give it employment increase. But though the having of general ideas and the use of general words and reason usually grow together, yet I see not how this any way proves them innate. The knowledge of some truths, I confess, is very early in the mind; but in a way that shows them not to be innate. For if we will observe, we shall find it still to be about ideas not innate but acquired; it being about those first which are imprinted by external things, with which infants have earliest to do, which make the most frequent impressions on their senses. In ideas thus got, the mind discovers that some agree and others differ, probably as soon as it has any use of memory, as soon as it is able to retain and perceive distinct ideas. But whether it be then or no, this is certain, it does so long before it has the use of words, or comes to that which we commonly call "the use of reason." For a child knows as certainly before it can speak the difference between the ideas of sweet and bitter (i.e., that sweet is not bitter), as it knows afterwards (when it comes to speak) that wormwood and sugarplums are not the same thing.

16. A child knows not that three and four are equal to seven, till he comes to be able to count seven, and has got the name and idea of equality; and then, upon explaining those words, he presently assents to, or rather perceives the truth of that proposition. But neither does he then readily assent because it is an innate truth, nor was his assent wanting till then because he wanted the use of reason; but the truth of it appears to him as soon as he has settled in his mind the clear and distinct ideas that these names stand for; and then he knows the truth of that proposition upon the same grounds

also signified "a cabinet," and may have suggested to Locke the comparison in the text. *γραμματεῖον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἀργύριον ἀπέκειτο.* (Poll. Onomast. iv. 19. On which consult the notes of Kühn and Jungermann, t. iv. p. 661, and Harpocrat. in *ν. ἀργυροθήκη*, ϖ 33. Bekk.)—ED

and by the same means that he knew before that a rod and cherry are not the same thing; and upon the same ground also that he may come to know afterwards "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be," as shall be more fully shown hereafter. So that the later it is before any one comes to have those general ideas about which those maxims are, or to know the signification of those general terms that stand for them, or to put together in his mind the ideas they stand for, the later also will it be before he comes to assent to those maxims, whose terms, with the ideas they stand for, being no more innate than those of a cat or a weasel, he must stay till time and observation have acquainted him with them; and then he will be in a capacity to know the truth of these maxims, upon the first occasion that shall make him put together those ideas in his mind, and observe whether they agree or disagree, according as is expressed in those propositions. And therefore it is that a man knows that eighteen and nineteen are equal to thirty-seven, by the same self-evidence that he knows one and two to be equal to three: yet a child knows this not so soon as the other; not for want of the use of reason, but because the ideas the words eighteen, nineteen, and thirty-seven stand for, are not so soon got as those which are signified by one, two, and three.

17. *Assenting as soon as proposed and understood, proves them not innate.*—This evasion therefore of general assent, when men come to the use of reason, failing as it does, and leaving no difference between those supposed innate and other truths that are afterwards acquired and learnt, men have endeavoured to secure an universal assent to those they call maxims, by saying they are generally assented to as soon as proposed, and the terms they are proposed in understood: seeing all men, even children, as soon as they hear and understand the terms assent to these propositions, they think it is sufficient to prove them innate. For since men never fail after they have once understood the words, to acknowledge them for undoubted truths, they would infer that certainly these propositions were first lodged in the understanding which, without any teaching, the mind, at the very first proposal, immediately closes with and assents to, and after that never doubts again.

18. *If such an Assent be a Mark of Innate, then "that one and two are equal to three, that Sweetness is not Bitterness," and a thousand the like, must be innate.*—In answer to this, I demand "whether ready assent given to a proposition, upon first hearing and understanding the terms, be a certain mark of an innate principle?" If it be not, such a general assent is in vain urged as a proof of them: if it be said that it is a mark of innate, they must then allow all such propositions to be innate which are generally assented to as soon as heard, whereby they will find themselves plentifully stored with innate principles. For upon the same ground, viz., of assent at first hearing and understanding the terms, that men would have those maxims pass for innate, they must also admit several propositions about numbers to be innate; and thus, that one and two are equal to three, that two and two are equal to four, and a multitude of other the like propositions in numbers, that everybody assents to at first hearing and understanding the terms, must have a place amongst these innate axioms. Nor is this the prerogative of numbers alone, and propositions made about several of them; but even natural philosophy, and all the other sciences, afford propositions which are sure to meet with assent as soon as they are understood. That two bodies cannot be in the same place, is a truth that nobody any more sticks at than at these maxims, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be, that white is not black, that a square is not a circle, that bitterness is not sweetness:" these and a million of such other propositions, as many at least as we have distinct ideas of, every man in his wits, at first hearing and knowing what the names stand for, must necessarily assent to. If these men will be true to their own rule, and have assent at first hearing and understanding the terms to be a mark of innate, they must allow not only as many innate propositions as men have distinct ideas, but as many as men can make propositions wherein different ideas are denied one of another. Since every proposition, wherein one different idea is denied of another, will as certainly find assent at first hearing and understanding the terms as this general one, "it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be," or that which is the foundation of it, and is the easier understood of the two, "the same is not different;" by which account they will have

legions of innate propositions of this one sort, without mentioning any other. But since no proposition can be innate unless the ideas about which it is be innate, this will be to suppose all our ideas of colours, sounds, tastes, figure, &c. innate, than which there cannot be anything more opposite to reason and experience.* Universal and ready assent upon

* Hume, in a note to his section on the origin of ideas, already referred to, speaks of the question which is the subject of this first book, in a somewhat light and trifling manner. His supposition that "innate" may be synonymous with "natural," in any sense in which the latter term can be employed, appears to me highly unphilosophical. What Descartes and Locke understood by the word "innate" it does not seem difficult to determine: it signifies in their works "impressed on the original substance of the mind, from the first moment of its existence, by the Creator," consequently born with us, wholly independent of our senses, and referrible to no material source. This is true of our primary passions and affections, which in their elementary state are congenital or coeval with the mind; but passions and affections are not ideas, but sources of action, laid deep among the simplest principles of our nature. I admit that throughout this first book Locke's language is not sufficiently exact; but whether it be so loose and ambiguous as Hume pretends, I leave the reader to decide. "'Tis probable," observes this writer, "that no more was meant by those who denied innate ideas, than that all ideas were copies of our impressions; though it must be confessed that the terms which they employed were not chosen with such caution, nor so exactly defined, as to prevent all mistakes about their doctrine. For what is meant by *innate?* If innate be equivalent to natural, then all the perceptions and ideas of the mind must be allowed to be innate, or natural, in whatever sense we take the latter word, whether in opposition to what is uncommon, artificial, or miraculous. If by innate be meant contemporary to our birth, the dispute seems to be frivolous; nor is it worth while to inquire at what time thinking begins, whether before, at, or after our birth. Again, the word *idea* seems to be commonly taken in a very loose sense, even by Mr. Locke himself, as standing for any of our perceptions, our sensations and passions, as well as thoughts. Now in this sense I should desire to know what can be meant by asserting that self-love, or resentment of injuries, or the passion betwixt the sexes is not innate?

"But admitting these terms, *impressions* and *ideas*, in the sense above explained, and understanding by *innate* what is original or copied from no precedent perception, then may we assert that all our impressions are innate, and our ideas not innate.

"To be ingenuous, I must own it to be my opinion that Mr. Locke was betrayed into this question by the schoolmen, who, making use of undefined terms, draw out their disputes to a tedious length, without ever touching the point in question. A like ambiguity and circumlocution seem to run through all that great philosopher's reasonings on this subject." (Inquiry concerning Human Understanding, Sect 11. note a.)—ED.

hearing and understanding the terms is, I grant, a mark of self-evidence; but self-evidence, depending not on innate impressions, but on something else, (as we shall show hereafter,) belongs to several propositions which nobody was yet so extravagant as to pretend to be innate.

19. *Such less general Propositions known before these universal Maxims.*—Nor let it be said, that those more particular self-evident propositions, which are assented to at first hearing, as that one and two are equal to three, that green is not red, &c., are received as the consequences of those more universal propositions which are looked on as innate principles; since any one, who will but take the pains to observe what passes in the understanding, will certainly find that these, and the like less general propositions, are certainly known and firmly assented to by those who are utterly ignorant of those more general maxims; and so, being earlier in the mind than those (as they are called) first principles, cannot owe to them the assent wherewith they are received at first hearing.

20. *One and One equal to Two, &c., not general nor useful, answered.*—If it be said that "these propositions, viz., two and two are equal to four, red is not blue, &c., are not general maxims, nor of any great use," I answer that makes nothing to the argument of universal assent upon hearing and understanding. For if that be the certain mark of innate, whatever proposition can be found that receives general assent as soon as heard and understood, that must be admitted for an innate proposition, as well as this maxim, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be," they being upon this ground equal. And as to the difference of being more general, that makes this maxim more remote from being innate; those general and abstract ideas being more strangers to our first apprehensions than those of more particular self-evident propositions, and therefore it is longer before they are admitted and assented to by the growing understanding. And as to the usefulness of these magnified maxims, that perhaps will not be found so great as is generally conceived, when it comes in its due place to be more fully considered.

21. *These Maxims not being known sometimes till proposed, proves them not innate.*—But we have not yet done with

assenting to propositions at first hearing and understanding their terms; it is fit we first take notice that this, instead of being a mark that they are innate, is a proof of the contrary; since it supposes that several, who understand and know other things, are ignorant of these principles till they are proposed to them, and that one may be unacquainted with these truths till he hears them from others. For if they were innate, what need they be proposed in order to gaining assent, when, by being in the understanding by a natural and original impression, (if there were any such,) they could not but be known before? Or doth the proposing them print them clearer in the mind than nature did? If so, then the consequence will be that a man knows them better after he has been thus taught them than he did before. Whence it will follow that these principles may be made more evident to us by others' teaching than nature has made them by impression; which will ill agree with the opinion of innate principles, and give but little authority to them; but, on the contrary, makes them unfit to be the foundations of all our other knowledge, as they are pretended to be. This cannot be denied, that men grow first acquainted with many of these self-evident truths upon their being proposed; but it is clear that whosoever does so, finds in himself that he then begins to know a proposition which he knew not before, and which from thenceforth he never questions; not because it was innate, but because the consideration of the nature of the things contained in those words would not suffer him to think otherwise, how or whensoever he is brought to reflect on them. And if whatever is assented to at first hearing and understanding the terms must pass for an innate principle, every well-grounded obversation, drawn from particulars into a general rule, must be innate; when yet it is certain that not all, but only sagacious heads light at first on these observations, and reduce them into general propositions, not innate, but collected from a preceding acquaintance and reflection on particular instances. These, when observing men have made them, unobserving men, when they are proposed to them, cannot refuse their assent to.

22. *Implicitly known before proposing, signifies that the Mind is capable of understanding them, or else signifies nothing.*—If it be said, "the understanding hath an implicit

knowledge of these principles, but not an explicit, before this first hearing," (as they must who will say "that they are in the understanding before they are known,") it will be hard to conceive what is meant by a principle imprinted on the understanding implicitly; unless it be this, that the mind is capable of understanding and assenting firmly to such propositions. And thus all mathematical demonstrations, as well as first principles, must be received as native impressions on the mind; which I fear they will scarce allow them to be, who find it harder to demonstrate a proposition than assent to it when demonstrated. And few mathematicians will be forward to believe that all the diagrams they have drawn, were but copies of those innate characters which nature had engraven upon their minds.

23. *The Argument of assenting on first hearing, is upon a false Supposition of no precedent teaching.*—There is, I fear, this further weakness in the foregoing argument, which would persuade us that therefore those maxims are to be thought innate, which men admit at first hearing, because they assent to propositions which they are not taught, nor do receive from the force of any argument or demonstration, but a bare explication or understanding of the terms. Under which there seems to me to lie this fallacy, that men are supposed not to be taught nor to learn anything *de novo;* when, in truth, they are taught, and do learn something they were ignorant of before. For, first, it is evident that they have learned the terms, and their signification; neither of which was born with them. But this is not all the acquired knowledge in the case: the ideas themselves, about which the proposition is, are not born with them, no more than their names, but got afterwards. So that in all propositions that are assented to at first hearing, the terms of the proposition, their standing for such ideas, and the ideas themselves that they stand for, being neither of them innate, I would fain know what there is remaining in such propositions that is innate. For I would gladly have any one name that proposition whose terms or ideas were either of them innate. We by degrees get ideas and names, and learn their appropriated connexion one with another; and then to propositions made in such terms, whose signification we have learnt, and wherein the agreement or disagreement we can perceive in

our ideas when put together is expressed, we at first hearing assent; though to other propositions, in themselves as certain and evident, but which are concerning ideas not so soon or so easily got, we are at the same time no way capable of assenting. For though a child quickly assents to this proposition, "that an apple is not fire," when by familiar acquaintance he has got the ideas of those two different things distinctly imprinted on his mind, and has learnt that the names apple and fire stand for them; yet it will be some years after, perhaps, before the same child will assent to this proposition, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be;" because that, though perhaps the words are as easy to be learnt, yet the signification of them being more large, comprehensive, and abstract than of the names annexed to those sensible things the child hath to do with, it is longer before he learns their precise meaning, and it requires more time plainly to form in his mind those general ideas they stand for. Till that be done, you will in vain endeavour to make any child assent to a proposition made up of such general terms; but as soon as ever he has got those ideas, and learned their names, he forwardly closes with the one as well as the other of the forementioned propositions, and with both for the same reason; viz., because he finds the ideas he has in his mind to agree or disagree, according as the words standing for them are affirmed or denied one of another in the proposition. But if propositions be brought to him in words which stand for ideas he has not yet in his mind, to such propositions, however evidently true or false in themselves, he affords neither assent nor dissent, but is ignorant. For words being but empty sounds, any further than they are signs of our ideas, we cannot but assent to them as they correspond to those ideas we have, but no further than that. But the showing by what steps and ways knowledge comes into our minds, and the grounds of several degrees of assent, being the business of the following discourse, it may suffice to have only touched on it here, as one reason that made me doubt of those innate principles.

24. *Not innate because not universally assented to.*—To conclude this argument of universal consent, I agree with these defenders of innate principles, that if they are innate they must needs have universal assent. For that a truth

should be innate and yet not assented to, is to me as unintelligible as for a man to know a truth and be ignorant of it at the same time. But then, by these men's own confession, they cannot be innate, since they are not assented to by those who understand not the terms, nor by a great part of those who do understand them, but have yet never heard nor thought of those propositions; which, I think, is at least one half of mankind. But were the number far less, it would be enough to destroy universal assent, and thereby show these propositions not to be innate, if children alone were ignorant of them.

25. *These Maxims not the first known.*—But that I may not be accused to argue from the thoughts of infants, which are unknown to us, and to conclude from what passes in their understandings before they express it, I say next, that these two general propositions are not the truths that first possess the minds of children, nor are antecedent to all acquired and adventitious notions; which, if they were innate, they must needs be. Whether we can determine it or no, it matters not, there is certainly a time when children begin to think, and their words and actions do assure us that they do so. When therefore they are capable of thought, of knowledge, of assent, can it rationally be supposed they can be ignorant of those notions that nature has imprinted, were there any such? Can it be imagined with any appearance of reason, that they perceive the impressions from things without, and be at the same time ignorant of those characters which nature itself has taken care to stamp within? Can they receive and assent to adventitious notions, and be ignorant of those which are supposed woven into the very principles of their being, and imprinted there in indelible characters, to be the foundation and guide of all their acquired knowledge and future reasonings? This would be to make nature take pains to no purpose; or at least, to write very ill, since its characters could not be read by those eyes which saw other things very well; and those are very ill supposed the clearest parts of truth, and the foundations of all our knowledge, which are not first known, and without which the undoubted knowledge of several other things may be had. The child certainly knows that the nurse that feeds it is neither the cat it plays with, nor the blackmoor it is

afraid of; that the wormseed or mustard it refuses, is not the apple or sugar it cries for, this it is certainly and undoubtedly assured of: but will any one say, it is by virtue of this principle, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be," that it so firmly assents to these and other parts of its knowledge? Or that the child has any notion or apprehension of that proposition at an age, wherein yet, it is plain, it knows a great many other truths? He that will say, children join in these general abstract speculations with their sucking-bottles and their rattles, may perhaps, with justice, be thought to have more passion and zeal for his opinion, but less sincerity and truth, than one of that age.

26. *And so not innate.*—Though therefore there be several general propositions that meet with constant and ready assent, as soon as proposed to men grown up, who have attained the use of more general and abstract ideas, and names standing for them; yet they not being to be found in those of tender years, who nevertheless know other things, they cannot pretend to universal assent of intelligent persons, and so by no means can be supposed innate; it being impossible that any truth which is innate (if there were any such) should be unknown, at least to any one who knows anything else; since, if they are innate truths, they must be innate thoughts; there being nothing a truth in the mind that it has never thought on. Whereby it is evident, if there be any innate truths in the mind, they must necessarily be the first of any thought on; the first that appear there.

27. *Not innate, because they appear least, where what is innate shows itself clearest.*—That the general maxims we are discoursing of are not known to children, idiots, and a great part of mankind, we have already sufficiently proved; whereby it is evident they have not an universal assent, nor are general impressions. But there is this further argument in it against their being innate, that these characters, if they were native and original impressions, should appear fairest and clearest in those persons in whom yet we find no footsteps of them; and it is, in my opinion, a strong presumption that they are not innate, since they are least known to those, in whom, if they were innate, they must needs exert themselves with most force and vigour. For children, idiots, savages, and illiterate people, being of all others the least corrupted

by custom or borrowed opinions, learning and education having not cast their native thoughts into new moulds, nor by superinducing foreign and studied doctrines, confounded those fair characters nature had written there, one might reasonably imagine that in their minds these innate notions should lie open fairly to every one's view, as it is certain the thoughts of children do. It might very well be expected that these principles should be perfectly known to naturals, which being stamped immediately on the soul, (as these men suppose,) can have no dependence on the constitutions or organs of the body, the only confessed difference between them and others. One would think, according to these men's principles, that all these native beams of light (were there any such) should, in those who have no reserves, no arts of concealment, shine out in their full lustre, and leave us in no more doubt of their being there, than we are of their love of pleasure and abhorrence of pain. But alas, amongst children, idiots, savages, and the grossly illiterate, what general maxims are to be found? what universal principles of knowledge? Their notions are few and narrow, borrowed only from those objects they have had most to do with, and which have made upon their senses the frequentest and strongest impressions. A child knows his nurse and his cradle, and by degrees the playthings of a little more advanced age; and a young savage has, perhaps, his head filled with love and hunting, according to the fashion of his tribe. But he that from a child untaught, or a wild inhabitant of the woods, will expect these abstract maxims and reputed principles of science, will, I fear, find himself mistaken. Such kind of general propositions are seldom mentioned in the huts of Indians, much less are they to be found in the thoughts of children, or any impressions of them on the minds of naturals. They are the language and business of the schools and academies of learned nations, accustomed to that sort of conversation or learning, where disputes are frequent; these maxims being suited to artificial argumentation and useful for conviction, but not much conducing to the discovery of truth or advancement of knowledge. But of their small use for the improvement of knowledge I shall have occasion to speak more at large, l. 4, c. 7.

28. *Recapitulation.*—I know not how absurd this may

seem to the masters of demonstration; and probably it will hardly go down with anybody at first hearing. I must therefore beg a little truce with prejudice, and the forbearance of censure, till I have been heard out in the sequel of this discourse, being very willing to submit to better judgments. And since I impartially search after truth, I shall not be sorry to be convinced that I have been too fond of my own notions; which I confess we are all apt to be when application and study have warmed our heads with them.

Upon the whole matter, I cannot see any ground to think these two speculative maxims innate, since they are not universally assented to; and the assent they so generally find is no other than what several propositions, not allowed to be innate, equally partake in with them; and since the assent that is given them is produced another way, and comes not from natural inscription, as I doubt not but to make appear in the following discourse. And if these first principles of knowledge and science are found not to be innate, no other speculative maxims can, I suppose, with better right pretend to be so.

CHAPTER III.

NO INNATE PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES.

1. *No moral Principles so clear and so generally received as the forementioned speculative Maxims.*—If those speculative maxims, whereof we discoursed in the foregoing chapter, have not an actual universal assent from all mankind, as we there proved, it is much more visible concerning practical principles, that they come short of an universal reception; and I think it will be hard to instance any one moral rule which can pretend to so general and ready an assent as, "what is, is;" or to be so manifest a truth as this, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be." Whereby it is evident that they are further removed from a title to be innate; and the doubt of their being native impressions on the mind is stronger against those moral principles than the other. Not that it brings their truth at all in question; they are equally true, though not equally evident. Those speculative maxims carry their own evidence with them; but moral principles

require reasoning and discourse, and some exercise of the mind, to discover the certainty of their truth. They lie not open as natural characters engraven on the mind; which, if any such were, they must needs be visible by themselves, and by their own light be certain and known to everybody. But this is no derogation to their truth and certainty, no more than it is to the truth or certainty of the three angles of a triangle being equal to two right ones; because it is not so evident as "the whole is bigger than a part," nor so apt to be assented to at first hearing. It may suffice that these moral rules are capable of demonstration;* and therefore it is our

* Those philosophers who maintain the principles of morals to be innate, do in reality convert them into instincts, in the teeth, as Locke proceeds to show, of all reasoning and experience. The hints which he here and elsewhere throws out respecting the demonstrable nature of the principles of morality, induced his able correspondent Mr. Molyneux to urge upon him the task of following up the idea, and composing a complete system of ethics. Writing to him on the subject of the Essay in general, his correspondent observes: "One thing I must needs insist on to you, which is, that you would think of obliging the world with a treatise of morals, drawn up according to the hints you frequently give in your Essay, of their being demonstrable according to the mathematical method. This is most certainly true; but then the task must be undertaken only by so clear and distinct a thinker as you are. This were an attempt worthy your consideration. And there is nothing I should more ardently wish for than to see it. And therefore, good sir, let me beg of you to turn your thoughts this way; and if so young a friendship as mine have any force, let me prevail upon you." (Works, iii. 502.) To which Locke replies, "Though by the view I had of moral ideas, while I was considering that subject, I thought I saw that morality might be demonstratively made out; yet whether I am able so to make it out is another question. Every one could not have demonstrated what Mr. Newton's book hath shown to be demonstrable: but to show my readiness to obey your commands, I shall not decline the first leisure I can get, to employ some thoughts that way; unless I find what I have said in my Essay shall have stirred up some abler man to prevent me, and effectually do that service to the world." (p. 504.) With this half-promise Mr. Molyneux was not content, but in a letter written shortly after again urges the philosopher to set about a system of ethics. "There remains only," he says, "that I again put you in mind of the second member of your division of sciences, that is, Practica, or ethics: you cannot imagine what an earnest desire and expectation I have raised in those that are acquainted with your writings, by the hopes I have given them, from your promise of endeavourng something on that subject. Good sir, let me renew my requests to you therein; for believe me, sir, 't will be one of the most useful and glorious undertakings that can employ you. The touches you give in many places of your book on this subject are wonderfully curious, and do largely testify your great

own fault if we come not to a certain knowledge of them. But the ignorance wherein many men are of them, and the slowness of assent wherewith others receive them, are manifest proofs that they are not innate, and such as offer themselves to their view without searching.

2. *Faith and Justice not owned as Principles by all Men.*— Whether there be any such moral principles wherein all men do agree, I appeal to any who have been but moderately conversant in the history of mankind, and looked abroad beyond the smoke of their own chimneys. Where is that practical truth that is universally received without doubt or question, as it must be if innate? Justice, and keeping of contracts, is that which most men seem to agree in. This is a principle which is thought to extend itself to the dens of thieves, and the confederacies of the greatest villains; and

abilities that way, and I am sure the pravity of men's morals does mightily require the most powerful means to reform them. Be as large as 't is possible on this subject, and by all means let it be in English. He that reads the 45th section in your 129th page, will be inflamed to read more of the same kind from the same incomparable pen. Look therefore on yourself as obliged by God Almighty to undertake this task (pardon me, sir, that I am so free with you, as to insist to yourself on your duty, who, doubtless, understand it better than I can tell you): suffer not therefore your thoughts to rest till you have finished it." (p. 506.) Locke, however, after further solicitation from his friend, finally excused himself in the following terms for not entering upon the undertaking: "As to a treatise on morals, I must own to you, that you and Mr. Burridge are not the only persons who have been for putting me upon it; neither have I wholly laid by the thoughts of it. Nay I so far incline to comply with your desires, that I every now and then lay by some materials for it, as they occasionally occur in the rovings of my mind. But when I consider that a book of offices, as you call it, ought not to be slightly done, especially by me, after what I have said of that science in my Essay, and that *nonum prematus in annum* is a rule more necessary to be observed in a subject of that consequence than in anything Horace speaks of, I am in doubt whether it would be prudent, in one of my age and health, not to mention other disabilities in me, to set about it. Did the world want a rule, I confess there could be no work so necessary, nor so commendable. But the Gospel contains so perfect a body of ethics, that reason may be excused from that inquiry, since she may find man's duty clearer and easier in revelation than in herself. Think not this the excuse of a lazy man, though it be, perhaps, of one, who, having a sufficient rule for his actions, is content therewith, and thinks he may, perhaps, with more profit to himself, employ the little time and strength he has in other researches, wherein he finds himself more in the dark." (p. 546.)—Ed.

they who have gone furthest towards the putting off of humanity itself, keep faith and rules of justice one with another. I grant that outlaws themselves do this one amongst another; but it is without receiving these as the innate laws of nature. They practice them as rules of convenience within their own communities: but it is impossible to conceive that he embraces justice as a practical principle, who acts fairly with his fellow-highwayman, and at the same time plunders or kills the next honest man he meets with. Justice and truth are the common ties of society; and therefore even outlaws and robbers, who break with all the world besides, must keep faith and rules of equity amongst themselves, or else they cannot hold together. But will any one say, that those that live by fraud or rapine have innate principles of truth and justice which they allow and assent to?

3. *Objection. Though Men deny them in their Practice, yet they admit them in their Thoughts, answered.*—Perhaps it will be urged, that the tacit assent of their minds agrees to what their practice contradicts. I answer, first, I have always thought the actions of men the best interpreters of their thoughts. But since it is certain that most men's practices, and some men's open professions, have either questioned or denied these principles, it is impossible to establish an universal consent, (though we should look for it only amongst grown men,) without which it is impossible to conclude them innate. Secondly, it is very strange and unreasonable to suppose innate practical principles, that terminate only in contemplation. Practical principles derived from nature are there for operation, and must produce conformity of action, not barely speculative assent to their truth, or else they are in vain distinguished from speculative maxims. Nature, I confess, has put into man a desire of happiness and an aversion to misery:* these indeed are innate practical prin-

* Plato thus, in his eloquent manner, expresses the same idea, which has of course presented itself to every mind. "Pleasure and pain are two fountains set flowing by nature, and according to the degree of prudence and moderation with which men draw from them they are happy or otherwise. Their channels run parallel, but not on the same level; so that if the sluices of the former be too lavishly opened, they overflow and mingle with the bitter waters of the neighbouring stream, which never assimilate with this finer fluid." (De Legibus, t. viii. p. 203 et seq.—Ed.

ciples which (as practical ought) do continue constantly to operate and influence all our actions without ceasing; these may be observed in all persons and all ages, steady and universal; but these are inclinations of the appetite to good, not impressions of truth on the understanding. I deny not that there are natural tendencies imprinted on the minds of men; and that from the very first instances of sense and perception, there are some things that are grateful and others unwelcome to them; some things that they incline to and others that they fly; but this makes nothing for innate characters on the mind, which are to be the principles of knowledge regulating our practice. Such natural impressions on the understanding are so far from being confirmed hereby, that this is an argument against them; since, if there were certain characters imprinted by nature on the understanding, as the principles of knowledge, we could not but perceive them constantly operate in us and influence our knowledge, as we do those others on the will and appetite; which never cease to be the constant springs and motives of all our actions, to which we perpetually feel them strongly impelling us.

4. *Moral Rules need a Proof, ergo not innate.*—Another reason that makes me doubt of any innate practical principles is, that I think there cannot any one moral rule be proposed whereof a man may not justly demand a reason; which would be perfectly ridiculous and absurd if they were innate, or so much as self-evident; which every innate principle must needs be, and not need any proof to ascertain its truth, nor want any reason to gain it approbation. He would be thought void of common sense who asked on the one side, or on the other side went to give a reason, why it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be. It carries its own light and evidence with it, and needs no other proof: he that understands the terms assents to it for its own sake, or else nothing will ever be able to prevail with him to do it. But should that most unshaken rule of morality and foundation of all social virtue, "that one should do as he would be done unto," be proposed to one who never heard of it before, but yet is of capacity to understand its meaning, might he not without any absurdity ask a reason why? And were not he that proposed it bound to make out the truth and reasonableness of it to him? Which plainly shows it not to be innate;

for if it were it could neither want nor receive any proof; but must needs (at least as soon as heard and understood) be received and assented to as an unquestionable truth, which a man can by no means doubt of. So that the truth of all these moral rules plainly depends upon some other antecedent to them, and from which they must be deduced; which could not be if either they were innate or so much as self-evident.

5. *Instance in keeping Compacts.*—That men should keep their compacts is certainly a great and undeniable rule in morality. But yet, if a Christian, who has the view of happiness and misery in another life, be asked why a man must keep his word, he will give this as a reason: Because God, who has the power of eternal life and death, requires it of us.* But if a Hobbist be asked why, he will answer, Because the public requires it, and the Leviathan will punish you if you do not.† And if one of the old philosophers had been

* Paley was possibly misled by some vague recollection of this passage, when he drew up his definition of virtue, (Moral and Political Philosophy, i. 7,) on which Mackintosh has remarked with so much severity. "Virtue," he says, "is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness." Mackintosh insists that these words, which he will not allow to be a definition at all, "contain a false account of virtue." "According to this doctrine, every action not done *for the sake* of the agent to happiness is vicious. Now it is plain that an act cannot be said to be done for the sake of anything which is not present to the mind of the agent at the moment of action. It is a contradiction in terms to affirm that a man acts for the sake of any object, of which, however it may be the necessary consequence of his act, he is not at the time fully aware. The *unfelt* consequences of his act can no more influence his will than its *unknown* consequences. Nay, further, a man is only with any propriety said to act for the sake of his chief object; nor can he with entire correctness be said to act for the sake of anything but his sole object. So that it is a necessary consequence of Paley's proposition, that every act which flows from generosity or benevolence is a vice. So also of every act of obedience to the will of God, if it arises from any motive but a desire of the reward which he will bestow. Any act of obedience influenced by gratitude and affection and veneration towards supreme benevolence and perfection, is so far imperfect; and if it arises solely from these motives it becomes a vice. It must be owned that this excellent and most enlightened man has laid the foundations of religion and virtue in a more intense and exclusive selfishness than was avowed by the Catholic enemies of Fenelon, when they persecuted him for his doctrine of a pure and disinterested love of God." (Ethic. Phil. p. 278 et seq. See Whewell, preface, p. 20 et seq.)—ED.

† There is something very humorous in this sarcastic allusion to Hobbes

asked, he would have answered, because it was dishonest, below the dignity of a man, and opposite to virtue, the highest perfection of human nature, to do otherwise.

6. *Virtue generally approved, not because innate, but because profitable.*—Hence naturally flows the great variety of opinions concerning moral rules which are to be found among men, according to the different sorts of happiness they have a prospect of, or propose to themselves; which could not be if practical principles were innate, and imprinted in our minds immediately by the hand of God. I grant the existence of God is so many ways manifest, and the obedience we owe him so congruous to the light of reason, that a great part of mankind give testimony to the law of nature; but yet I think it must be allowed that several moral rules may receive from mankind a very general approbation, without either knowing or admitting the true ground of morality; which can only be the will and law of a God, who sees men in the dark, has in his hand rewards and punishments, and power enough to call to account the proudest offender. For God having, by an inseparable connexion, joined virtue and public happiness together, and made the practice thereof necessary to the preservation of society, and visibly beneficial to all with whom the virtuous man has to do, it is no wonder that every one should not only allow, but recommend and magnify those rules to others, from whose observance of them he is sure to reap advantage to himself. He may out of interest, as well as conviction, cry up that for sacred, which if once trampled on and profaned, he himself cannot be safe nor secure. This, though it takes nothing from the moral and eternal obligation which these rules evidently have, yet it shows that the outward acknowledgment men pay to them in their words, proves not that they are innate principles; nay, it proves not so much as that men assent to them inwardly in their own minds, as the inviolable rules of their own practice; since we find that self-interest, and the conveniences of this life, make many men own an outward

The great sophist explains in many places his theory of compacts, but nowhere perhaps more concisely or clearly than in his treatise De Cive, i. 2. 9. et seq. For the true theory, with the principles on which it is based, see Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, ii. 12. 7. et seq., and in other parts of that great work.—ED.

profession and approbation of them, whose actions sufficiently prove that they very little consider the Lawgiver that prescribed these rules, nor the hell that he has ordained for the punishment of those that transgress them.

7. *Men's Actions convince us, that the Rule of Virtue is not their internal Principle.*—For if we will not in civility allow too much sincerity to the professions of most men, but think their actions to be the interpreters of their thoughts, we shall find that they have no such internal veneration for these rules, nor so full a persuasion of their certainty and obligation. The great principle of morality, "to do as one would be done to," is more commended than practised. But the breach of this rule cannot be a greater vice, than to teach others that it is no moral rule, nor obligatory, would be thought madness, and contrary to that interest men sacrifice to, when they break it themselves. Perhaps conscience will be urged as checking us for such breaches, and so the internal obligation and establishment of the rule be preserved.

8. *Conscience no Proof of any innate Moral Rule.*—To which I answer, that I doubt not but, without being written on their hearts, many men may, by the same way that they come to the knowledge of other things, come to assent to several moral rules, and be convinced of their obligation. Others also may come to be of the same mind, from their education, company, and customs of their country; which persuasion, however got, will serve to set conscience on work, which is nothing else but our own opinion or judgment of the moral rectitude or pravity of our own actions.* And if

* Compare, on the notion at present prevailing of the nature and elements of conscience, the remarks of Mackintosh, Dissertations, &c., p. 372, with the brief but lucid and interesting exposition of Whewell in the preface, p. 39 et seq. Butler, in his Dissertation on Virtue, p. 340, has touched briefly upon this subject, and again in his Sermons ii. and iii. Hobbes takes a very peculiar view of conscience. "It is," he says, "either science or opinion which we commonly mean by the word conscience; for men say that such and such a thing is true in or upon their conscience; which they never do when they think it doubtful, and therefore they know, or think they know it to be true. But men, when they say things upon their conscience, are not therefore presumed certainly to know the truth of what they say: it remaineth then that that word is used by them that have an opinion, not only of the truth of the thing, but also of their knowledge of it, to which the truth of the proposition is consequent. Conscience I therefore define to be *opinion of evidence.*" (Hum. Nat. c. vi. § 8.)—ED.

conscience be a proof of innate principles, contraries may be innate principles, since some men with the same bent of conscience prosecute what others avoid.

9. *Instances of Enormities practised without Remorse.*—But I cannot see how any men should ever transgress those moral rules, with confidence and serenity, were they innate, and stamped upon their minds. View but an army at the sacking of a town, and see what observation or sense of moral principles, or what touch of conscience for all the outrages they do. Robberies, murders, rapes, are the sports of men set at liberty from punishment and censure. Have there not been whole nations, and those of the most civilized people, amongst whom the exposing their children, and leaving them in the fields to perish by want or wild beasts, has been the practice, as little condemned or scrupled as the begetting them?* Do they not still, in some countries, put them into the same graves with their mothers, if they die in childbirth; or dispatch them, if a pretended astrologer declares them to have unhappy stars? And are there not places where, at a certain age, they kill or expose their parents without any remorse at all?"† In a part of Asia, the sick, when their

* On the subject of infanticide, as practised in antiquity, I have collected and arranged, in my work on the Character and Manners of the Greeks, nearly, or perhaps all the authorities of any value existing in ancient literature. The same crime is common, as is well known, in Hindùstan and China. The practice in the former country I have described in my work entitled "The Hindoos," vol. i. p. 245 et seq. The theory prevalent on the subject among the Chinese, may be understood from the following passage of Sir George Staunton: "Habit seems to have familiarized them with the notion that life only becomes truly precious, and inattention to it criminal, after it has continued long enough to be endowed with mind and sentiment; but that mere dawning existence may be suffered to be lost without scruple, though it cannot without reluctance." (Embassy to China, vol. ii. p. 158.)—ED.

† Or eat them, as described in the Pearl Merchant, among the "Tales of the Rhamadhan." This is still the practice of the Bhattas in the island of Sumatra, (see Marsden's history of that island,) and anciently prevailed among the natives of Hindùstan. Herodotus, in his naïve style, describes the manners of those ungodly savages, and relates in illustration a highly characteristic anecdote: "To the east are Indians, called Padæi, who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh, and are said to observe these customs: if any man among them be diseased, his nearest connexions put him to death, alleging in excuse that sickness would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction deprive him of

case comes to be thought desperate, are carried out and laid on the earth before they are dead; and left there, exposed to wind and weather, to perish without assistance or pity.* It is familiar among the Mingrelians, a people professing Christianity, to bury their children alive without scruple.† There are places where they eat their own children.‡ The Caribbees were wont to geld their children, on purpose to fat and eat them.|| And Garcilasso de la Vega tells us of a people in Peru, which were wont to fat and eat the children they got on their female captives, whom they kept as concubines for that purpose, and when they were past breeding, the mothers themselves were killed too and eaten.§ The virtues whereby the Toupinambos believed they merited paradise, were revenge, and eating abundance of their enemies. They have not so much as a name for God,¶ and have no religion, no worship.** The saints who are canonized amongst the

life. If a woman be ill, her female connexions treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten; but there are very few who arrive at old age, for in case of sickness they put every one to death." (iii 99.) In illustration of the force of custom, he observes, "Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their own observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed the best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent; no one therefore but a madman would treat such prejudices with contempt. That all men are really thus tenacious of their own customs, appears from this amongst other instances. Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they replied that no sum could prevail on them to commit such a deed. In the presence of the same Greeks, who by an interpreter were informed of what had passed, he sent also for the Callatiæ, a people of India, known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and entreated him to forbear such language. Such is the force of custom; and Pindar seems to me to have spoken with peculiar propriety, when he observed that custom was the universal sovereign." (iii. 38.)—ED.

* Gruber apud Thevenot, part iv. p. 13.

† Lambert apud Thevenot, p. 38.

‡ Vossius de Nili Origine, c. 18, 19.

|| P. Mart, Dec. 1.

§ Hist. des Incas, l. i. c. 12.

¶ Lery, c. 16. 216, 231.

** What then is the meaning of what is said about their meriting paradise? Locke is here somewhat too credulous, for, that a people who are represented to be believers in a future state, and to have formed

Turks, lead lives which one cannot with modesty relate. A remarkable passage to this purpose, out of the voyage of Baumgarten, which is a book not every day to be met with, I shall set down at large in the language it is published in. *Ibi (sc. prope* Belbes *in* Ægypto) *vidimus sanctum unum Saracenicum inter arenarum cumulos, ita ut ex utero matris prodiit, nudum sedentem. Mos est, ut didicimus, Mahometistis, ut eos, qui amentes et sine ratione sunt, pro sanctis colant et venerentur. Insuper et eos, qui cum diu vitam egerint inquinatissimam, voluntariam demum pœnitentiam et paupertatem, sanctitate venerandos deputant. Ejusmodi verò genus hominum libertatem quandam effrenem habent, domos quos volunt intrandi, edendi, bibendi, et quod majus est, concumbendi; ex quo concubitu si proles secuta fuerit, sancta similiter habetur. His ergo hominibus dum vivunt, magnos exhibent honores; mortuis verò vel templa vel monumenta extruunt amplissima, eosque contingere ac sepelire maximæ fortunæ ducunt loco. Audivimus hæc dicta et dicenda per interpretem à Mucrelo nostro. Insuper sanctum illum, quem eo loco vidimus, publicitus apprimè commendari, eum esse hominem sanctum, divinum ac integritate præcipuum; eo quod, nec fœminarum unquam esset, nec puerorum, sed tantummodo*

notions, however gross and absurd, respecting what actions admit or exclude from paradise, should have no name for the God in whom they believe, is wholly incredible. Perhaps, like the Pelasgi, and all civilized races, they may distinguish the Deity by no proper name, though they must have a substantive in their language signifying God. No language whatever, of which a complete vocabulary has been published, is found to want such a substantive; nor do I believe that any thus imperfect exists in the world. I am happy to observe that upon this point Dr. Whately's opinions nearly resemble my own: "Nations of Atheists, *if there are any such*, are confessedly among the rudest and most ignorant savages. Those who represent their god or gods as malevolent, capricious, or subject to human passions and vices, are invariably to be found (in the present day at least) among those who are brutal and uncivilized; and among the most civilized nations of the ancients, who professed a similar creed, the more enlightened members of society seem either to have rejected altogether, or to have explained away the popular belief. The Mahometan nations, again, of the present day, who are certainly more advanced in civilization than their Pagan neighbours, maintain the unity and the moral excellence of the Deity; but the nations of Christendom, whose notions of the Divine goodness are more exalted, are undeniably the most civilized part of the world, and possess, generally speaking, the most cultivated and improved intellectual powers." (Rhet. part i. c. 11. § 5.)—ED.

asellarum concubitor atque mularum. (Peregr. Baumgarten, l. ii. c. 1. p. 73.) More of the same kind concerning these precious saints amongst the Turks may be seen in Pietro della Valle, in his letter of the 25th of January, 1616. Where then are those innate principles of justice, piety, gratitude, equity, chastity?* Or where is that universal consent that assures us there are such inbred rules? Murders in duels, when fashion has made them honourable, are committed without remorse of conscience;† nay, in many places innocence in this case is the greatest ignominy. And if we look abroad to take a view of men as they are, we shall find that they have remorse in one place for doing or omitting that which others in another place think they merit by.

10. *Men have contrary practical Principles.*—He that will carefully peruse the history of mankind, and look abroad into the several tribes of men, and with indifferency survey their actions, will be able to satisfy himself that there is scarce that principle of morality to be named, or rule of virtue to be thought on, (those only excepted that are absolutely necessary to hold society together,‡ which commonly too are neglected betwixt distinct societies,) which is not somewhere or other slighted and condemned by the general fashion of whole societies of men governed by practical opinions and rules of living quite opposite to others.

11. *Whole Nations reject several Moral Rules.*—Here perhaps it will be objected, that it is no argument that the rule is not known, because it is broken. I grant the objection

* I miss in this whole passage the acuteness and subtilty of discrimination which usually distinguish the speculations of Locke. All that can be inferred from such examples is, that superstition operates more powerfully among the nations in question than the principles of justice, &c., which though not built upon innate ideas, spring naturally out of the constitution of the human mind. In proof of this I may remark, that if any other man should in Turkey be guilty of the turpitudes perpetrated by their pretended saints, he would run the risk of being impaled alive. Their notions of piety, justice, chastity, are confused and imperfect, but nevertheless exist, and in many cases influence their conduct. (Conf. Leo. African.)—Ed.

† Experience does not, I think, bear him out in this. Few duellists with blood upon their hands lead a tranquil or respectable life. They are unhappy in themselves, and secretly despised by their neighbours.—Ed.

‡ But in excepting these, we except all the fundamental principles of morality.—Ed.

good where men, though they transgress, yet disown not the law; where fear of shame, censure, or punishment carries the mark of some awe it has upon them. But it is impossible to conceive that a whole nation of men should all publicly reject and renounce what every one of them certainly and infallibly knew to be a law, for so they must who have it naturally imprinted on their minds. It is possible men may sometimes own rules of morality which in their private thoughts they do not believe to be true, only to keep themselves in reputation and esteem amongst those who are persuaded of their obligation. But it is not to be imagined that a whole society of men should publicly and professedly disown and cast off a rule which they could not in their own minds but be infallibly certain was a law; nor be ignorant that all men they should have to do with knew it to be such; and therefore must every one of them apprehend from others all the contempt and abhorrence due to one who professes himself void of humanity; and one who, confounding the known and natural measures of right and wrong, cannot but be looked on as the professed enemy of their peace and happiness. Whatever practical principle is innate, cannot but be known to every one to be just and good. It is therefore little less than a contradiction to suppose that whole nations of men should, both in their professions and practice, unanimously and universally give the lie to what, by the most invincible evidence, every one of them knew to be true, right, and good. This is enough to satisfy us that no practical rule which is anywhere universally, and with public approbation or allowance, transgressed, can be supposed innate. But I have something further to add in answer to this objection.

12. The breaking of a rule, say you, is no argument that it is unknown. I grant it: but the generally allowed breach of it anywhere, I say, is a proof that it is not innate. For example: let us take any of these rules, which being the most obvious deductions of human reason, and conformable to the natural inclination of the greatest part of men, fewest people have had the impudence to deny or inconsideration to doubt of. If any can be thought to be naturally imprinted, none, I think, can have a fairer pretence to be innate than this, "Parents, preserve and cherish your children." When, therefore, you say that this is an innate rule, what do you mean?

Either that it is an innate principle which upon all occasions excites and directs the actions of all men; or else, that it is a truth which all men have imprinted on their minds, and which therefore they know and assent to. But in neither of these senses is it innate. First, that it is not a principle which influences all men's actions, is what I have proved by the examples before cited; nor need we seek so far as Mingrelia or Peru to find instances of such as neglect, abuse, nay, and destroy their children, or look on it only as the more than brutality of some savage and barbarous nations, when we remember that it was a familiar and uncondemned practice amongst the Greeks and Romans to expose, without pity or remorse, their innocent infants. Secondly, that it is an innate truth, known to all men, is also false. For, "Parents, preserve your children," is so far from an innate truth, that it is no truth at all; it being a command, and not a proposition, and so not capable of truth or falsehood. To make it capable of being assented to as true, it must be reduced to some such proposition as this: "It is the duty of parents to preserve their children." But what duty is, cannot be understood without a law, nor a law be known or supposed without a lawmaker, or without reward and punishment; so that it is impossible that this or any other practical principle should be innate, i.e., be imprinted on the mind as a duty, without supposing the ideas of God, of law, of obligation, of punishment, of a life after this, innate: for that punishment follows not in this life the breach of this rule, and consequently that it has not the force of a law in countries where the generally allowed practice runs counter to it, is in itself evident. But these ideas (which must be all of them innate, if anything as a duty be so) are so far from being innate, that it is not every studious or thinking man, much less every one that is born, in whom they are to be found clear and distinct; and that one of them, which of all others seems most likely to be innate, is not so, (I mean the idea of God,) I think, in the next chapter, will appear very evident to any considering man.

13. From what has been said, I think we may safely conclude, that whatever practical rule is in any place generally and with allowance broken, cannot be supposed innate, it being impossible that men should, without shame or fear, confidently and serenely break a rule which they could not

but evidently know that God had set up, and would certainly punish the breach of, (which they must, if it were innate,) to a degree to make it a very ill bargain to the transgressor. Without such a knowledge as this, a man can never be certain that anything is his duty. Ignorance or doubt of the law, hopes to escape the knowledge or power of the law-maker, or the like, may make men give way to a present appetite; but let any one see the fault, and the rod by it, and with the transgression, a fire ready to punish it; a pleasure tempting, and the hand of the Almighty visibly held up and prepared to take vengeance, (for this must be the case where any duty is imprinted on the mind,) and then tell me whether it be possible for people with such a prospect, such a certain knowledge as this, wantonly, and without scruple, to offend against a law which they carry about them in indelible characters, and that stares them in the face whilst they are breaking it? whether men, at the same time that they feel in themselves the imprinted edicts of an Omnipotent Law-maker, can with assurance and gaiety slight and trample underfoot his most sacred injunctions? and lastly, whether it be possible that whilst a man thus openly bids defiance to this innate law and supreme Lawgiver, all the bystanders, yea, even the governors and rulers of the people, full of the same sense both of the law and Law-maker, should silently connive, without testifying their dislike or laying the least blame on it? Principles of actions indeed there are lodged in men's appetites, but these are so far from being innate moral principles, that if they were left to their full swing they would carry men to the overturning of all morality. Moral laws are set as a curb and restraint to these exorbitant desires, which they cannot be but by rewards and punishments that will overbalance the satisfaction any one shall propose to himself in the breach of the law. If, therefore, anything be imprinted on the minds of all men as a law, all men must have a certain and unavoidable knowledge, that certain and unavoidable punishment will attend the breach of it. For if men can be ignorant or doubtful of what is innate, innate principles are insisted on, and urged to no purpose; truth and certainty (the things pretended) are not at all secured by them; but men are in the same uncertain floating estate with as without them. An evident indubitable knowledge of unavoidable

punishment, great enough to make the transgression very uneligible, must accompany an innate law, unless with an innate law they can suppose an innate Gospel too. I would not here be mistaken, as if, because I deny an innate law, I thought there were none but positive laws. There is a great deal of difference between an innate law, and a law of nature; between something imprinted on our minds in their very original, and something that we being ignorant of, may attain to the knowledge of by the use and due application of our natural faculties.* And I think they equally forsake the truth who, running into contrary extremes, either affirm an innate law, or deny that there is a law knowable by the light of nature, i.e., without the help of positive revelation.

14. *Those who maintain innate practical Principles, tell us not what they are.*—The difference there is amongst men in their practical principles is so evident that I think I need say no more to evince that it will be impossible to find any innate moral rules by this mark of general assent; and it is enough to make one suspect that the supposition of such innate principles is but an opinion taken up at pleasure, since those who talk so confidently of them are so sparing to tell us which they are. This might with justice be expected from those men who lay stress upon this opinion; and it gives occasion to distrust either their knowledge or charity, who, declaring that God has imprinted on the minds of men the foundations of knowledge and the rules of living, are yet so little favourable to the information of their neighbours or the quiet of mankind, as not to point out to them which they are, in the variety men are distracted with. But, in truth, were there any such innate principles there would be no need to teach them. Did men find such innate propositions stamped on their minds, they would easily be able to distinguish them from other truths that they afterwards learned and deduced from them, and there would be nothing more easy than to know what and how many they were. There could be no more doubt about their number, than there is about the number of our fingers; and it is like then every system would be ready to give them us by tale. But since nobody, that I know, has ventured yet to give a cata-

* This is a refutation of the opinions mentioned by Hume, that "innate" is synonymous with "natural." See *ante*, note 1, p. 89.—ED.

logue of them, they cannot blame those who doubt of these innate principles, since even they who require men to believe that there are such innate propositions, do not tell us what they are. It is easy to foresee, that if different men of different sects should go about to give us a list of those innate practical principles, they would set down only such as suited their distinct hypotheses, and were fit to support the doctrines of their particular schools or churches; a plain evidence that there are no such innate truths. Nay, a great part of men are so far from finding any such innate moral principles in themselves, that by denying freedom to mankind, and thereby making men no other than bare machines, they take away not only innate, but all moral rules whatsoever, and leave not a possibility to believe any such to those who cannot conceive how anything can be capable of a law that is not a free agent; and upon that ground they must necessarily reject all principles of virtue who cannot put morality and mechanism together, which are not very easy to be reconciled or made consistent.*

15. *Lord Herbert's innate Principles examined.*—When I had written this, being informed that my Lord Herbert had, in his book *De Veritate*, assigned these innate principles, I presently consulted him, hoping to find in a man of so great parts, something that might satisfy me in this point, and put an end to my inquiry. In his chapter *De Instinctu Naturali*, p. 72, edit. 1656, I met with these six marks of his *Notitiæ Communes:* 1. *Prioritas.* 2. *Independentia.* 3. *Universa-*

* Compare with this idea the following passage of a very distinguished writer: "That law which, as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call eternal, receiveth, according unto the different kinds of things which are subject unto it, sundry and different kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth natural agents, we call usually nature's law; that which angels do clearly behold, and without any swerving observe, is a law celestial and heavenly; the law of reason, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this world, and with which by reason they most plainly perceive themselves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by special revelation from God, divine law. Human law, that which out of the law, either of reason or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a law. All things, therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto this second law eternal; and even those things which to this eternal law are not conformable, are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by the first eternal law." (Hooker, Eccles. Polit. book i. § 3.)—ED.

litas. 4. *Certitudo.* 5. *Necessitas,* i.e., as he explains it, *faciunt ad hominis conservationem.* 6. *Modus conformationis,* i.e., *Assensus nullâ interpositâ morâ.* And at the latter end of his little treatise *De Religioni Laici,* he says this of these innate principles: *Adeo ut non uniuscujusvis religionis confinio arcteutur quæ ubique vigent veritates. Sunt enim in ipsâ mente cœlitus descriptæ, nullisque traditionibus, sive scriptis, sive non scriptis, obnoxiæ,* p. 3. And *Veritates nostræ catholicæ quæ tanquam indubia Dei effata in foro interiori descriptæ.* Thus having given the marks of the innate principles or common notions, and asserted their being imprinted on the minds of men by the hand of God, he proceeds to set them down, and they are these: 1. *Esse aliquod supremum numen.* 2. *Numen illud coli debere.* 3. *Virtutem cum pietate conjunctam optimam esse rationem cultûs divini.* 4. *Resipiscendum esse à peccatis.* 5. *Dari præmium vel pœnam post hanc vitam transactam.* Though I allow these to be clear truths, and such as, if rightiy explained, a rational creature can hardly avoid giving his assent to, yet I think he is far from proving them innate impressions *in foro interiori descriptæ.* For I must take leave to observe,

16. First, that these five propositions are either not all, or more than all, those common notions written on our minds by the finger of God, if it were reasonable to believe any at all to be so written, since there are other propositions which, even by his own rules, have as just a pretence to such an original, and may be as well admitted for innate principles, as at least some of these five he enumerates, viz., "Do as thou wouldst be done unto," and perhaps some hundreds of others, when well considered.

17. Secondly, that all his marks are not to be found in each of his five propositions, viz., his first, second, and third marks agree perfectly to neither of them; and the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth marks agree but ill to his third, fourth, and fifth propositions. For besides that we are assured from history, of many men, nay, whole nations, who doubt or disbelieve some or all of them, I cannot see how the third, viz., "That virtue joined with piety is the best worship of God," can be an innate principle, when the name or sound, virtue, is so hard to be understood, liable to so much uncertainty in its signification, and the thing it stands

for so much contended about and difficult to be known. And therefore this cannot be but a very uncertain rule of human practice, and serve but very little to the conduct of our lives, and is therefore very unfit to be assigned as an innate practical principle.

18. For let us consider this proposition as to its meaning, (for it is the sense, and not sound, that is and must be the principle or common notion,) viz., "Virtue is the best worship of God," i.e., is most acceptable to him; which, if virtue be taken, as most commonly it is, for those actions which, according to the different opinions of several countries, are accounted laudable, will be a proposition so far from being certain, that it will not be true. If virtue be taken for actions conformable to God's will, or to the rule prescribed by God, which is the true and only measure of virtue when virtue is used to signify what is in its own nature right and good; then this proposition, "That virtue is the best worship of God," will be most true and certain, but of very little use in human life, since it will amount to no more but this, viz., "That God is pleased with the doing of what he commands;" which a man may certainly know to be true, without knowing what it is that God doth command, and so be as far from any rule or principle of his actions as he was before. And I think very few will take a proposition which amounts to no more than this, viz., "That God is pleased with the doing of what he himself commands," for an innate moral principle written on the minds of all men, (however true and certain it may be,) since it teaches so little. Whosoever does so will have reason to think hundreds of propositions innate principles, since there are many which have as good a title as this to be received for such, which nobody yet ever put into that rank of innate principles.

19. Nor is the fourth proposition (viz., "Men must repent of their sins") much more instructive, till what those actions are that are meant by sins be set down. For the word *peccata*, or sins, being put, as it usually is, to signify in general ill actions that will draw punishment upon the doers, what great principle of morality can that be to tell us we should be sorry, and cease to do that which will bring mischief upon us, without knowing what those particular actions are that will do so? Indeed, this is a very true proposition, and fit to be

inculcated on and received by those who are supposed to have been taught what actions in all kinds are sins; but neither this nor the former can be imagined to be innate principles, nor to be of any use if they were innate, unless the particular measures and bounds of all virtues and vices were engraven in men's minds, and were innate principles also, which I think is very much to be doubted. And therefore, I imagine, it will scarcely seem possible that God should engrave principles in men's minds in words of uncertain signification, such as virtues and sins, which amongst different men stand for different things; nay, it cannot be supposed to be in words at all, which being in most of these principles very general names, cannot be understood but by knowing the particulars comprehended under them. And in the practical instances the measures must be taken from the knowledge of the actions themselves and the rules of them, abstracted from words, and antecedent to the knowledge of names, which rules a man must know what language soever he chance to learn, whether English or Japan, or if he should learn no language at all, or never should understand the use of words, as happens in the case of dumb and deaf men. When it shall be made out that men ignorant of words, or untaught by the laws and customs of their country, know that it is part of the worship of God not to kill another man; not to know more women than one; not to procure abortion; not to expose their children; not to take from another what is his, though we want it ourselves, but on the contrary, relieve and supply his wants; and whenever we have done the contrary we ought to repent, be sorry, and resolve to do so no more; when, I say, all men shall be proved actually to know and allow all these and a thousand other such rules, all which come under these two general words made use of above, viz., "virtutes et peccata," virtues and sins, there will be more reason for admitting these and the like, for common notions and practical principles. Yet after all, universal consent (were there any in moral principles) to truths, the knowledge whereof may be attained otherwise, would scarce prove them to be innate, which is all I contend for.

20. *Objection, Innate Principles may be corrupted, answered.*— Nor will it be of much moment here to offer that very ready, but not very material answer, viz., that the innate principles of morality may, by education and custom, and the general

opinion of those amongst whom we converse, be darkened, and at last quite worn out of the minds of men. Which assertion of theirs, if true, quite takes away the argument of universal consent, by which this opinion of innate principles is endeavoured to be proved; unless those men will think it reasonable that their private persuasions, or that of their party, should pass for universal consent; a thing not unfrequently done, when men, presuming themselves to be the only masters of right reason, cast by the votes and opinions of the rest of mankind as not worthy the reckoning. And ther their argument stands thus: "The principles which all mankind allow for true, are innate; those that men of right reason admit, are the principles allowed by all mankind; we, and those of our mind, are men of reason; therefore, we agreeing, our principles are innate;" which is a very pretty way of arguing, and a short cut to infallibility. For otherwise it will be very hard to understand how there be some principles which all men do acknowledge and agree in; and yet there are none of those principles which are not, by depraved custom and ill education, blotted out of the minds of many men; which is to say, that all men admit, but yet many men do deny and dissent from them. And indeed the supposition of such first principles will serve us to very little purpose, and we shall be as much at a loss with as without them, if they may, by any human power, such as is the will of our teachers, or opinions of our companions, be altered or lost in us; and notwithstanding all this boast of first principles and innate light, we shall be as much in the dark and uncertainty, as if there were no such thing at all; it being all one to have no rule, and one that will warp any way; or amongst various and contrary rules, not to know which is the right. But concerning innate principles, I desire these men to say, whether they can or cannot by education and custom, be blurred and blotted out; if they cannot, we must find them in all mankind alike, and they must be clear in everybody; and if they may suffer variation from adventitious notions, we must then find them clearest and most perspicuous nearest the fountain, in children and illiterate people, who have received least impression from foreign opinions. Let them take which side they please, they will certainly find it inconsistent with visible matter of fact and daily observation.

21. *Contrary Principles in the World.*—I easily grant that

there are great numbers of opinions which, by men of different countries, educations, and tempers, are received and embraced as first and unquestionable principles, many whereof, both for their absurdity as well as oppositions to one another, it is impossible should be true. But yet all those propositions, how remote soever from reason, are so sacred somewhere or other, that men even of good understanding in other matters, will sooner part with their lives, and whatever is dearest to them, than suffer themselves to doubt, or others to question, the truth of them.

22. *How men commonly come by their Principles.*—This, however strange it may seem, is that which every day's experience confirms, and will not, perhaps, appear so wonderful, if we consider the ways and steps by which it is brought about; and how really it may come to pass that doctrines that have been derived from no better an original than the superstition of a nurse, or the authority of an old woman, may, by length of time and consent of neighbours, grow up to the dignity of principles in religion or morality. For such who are careful (as they call it) to principle children well, (and few there be who have not a set of those principles for them, which they believe in,) instil into the unwary, and as yet unprejudiced understanding, (for white paper receives any characters,) those doctrines they would have them retain and profess. These being taught them as soon as they have any apprehension, and still as they grow up confirmed to them, either by the open profession or tacit consent of all they have to do with, or at least by those of whose wisdom, knowledge, and piety they have an opinion, who never suffer these propositions to be otherwise mentioned but as the basis and foundation on which they build their religion and manners, come by these means to have the reputation of unquestionable, self-evident, and innate truths.

23. To which we may add, that when men so instructed are grown up, and reflect on their own minds, they cannot find anything more ancient there than those opinions which were taught them before their memory began to keep a register of their actions, or date the time when any new thing appeared to them; and therefore make no scruple to conclude that those propositions of whose knowledge they can find in themselves no original, were certainly the impress of God and nature

upon their minds, and not taught them by any one else. These they entertain and submit to, as many do to their parents, with veneration; not because it is natural, nor do children do it where they are not so taught, but because, having been always so educated, and having no remembrance of the beginning of this respect, they think it is natural.

24. This will appear very likely, and almost unavoidable to come to pass, if we consider the nature of mankind and the constitution of human affairs, wherein most men cannot live without employing their time in the daily labours of their callings, nor be at quiet in their minds without some foundation or principle to rest their thoughts on. There is scarcely any one so floating and superficial in his understanding, who hath not some reverenced propositions, which are to him the principles on which he bottoms his reasonings, and by which he judgeth of truth and falsehood, right and wrong; which some, wanting skill and leisure, and others the inclination, and some being taught that they ought not to examine, there are few to be found who are not exposed by their ignorance, laziness, education, or precipitancy, to take them upon trust.

25. This is evidently the case of all children and young folk; and custom, a greater power than nature, seldom failing to make them worship for divine what she hath inured them to bow their minds and submit their understandings to, it is no wonder that grown men, either perplexed in the necessary affairs of life, or hot in the pursuit of pleasures, should not seriously sit down to examine their own tenets, especially when one of their principles is, that principles ought not to be questioned. And had men leisure, parts, and will, who is there almost that dare shake the foundations of all his past thoughts and actions, and endure to bring upon himself the shame of having been a long time wholly in mistake and error? Who is there hardy enough to contend with the reproach which is everywhere prepared for those who dare venture to dissent from the received opinions of their country or party? And where is the man to be found that can patiently prepare himself to bear the name of whimsical, sceptical, or atheist, which he is sure to meet with, who does in the least scruple any of the common opinions? And he will be much more afraid to question those principles when he shall think them, as most men do, the standards set up by

God in his mind to be the rule and touchstone of all other opinions. And what can hinder him from thinking them sacred, when he finds them the earliest of all his own thoughts, and the most reverenced by others?*

26. It is easy to imagine how by these means it comes to pass that men worship the idols that have been set up in their minds, grow fond of the notions they have been long acquainted with there, and stamp the characters of divinity upon absurdities and errors; become zealous votaries to bulls and monkeys, and contend too, fight, and die in defence of their opinions:† "Dum solos credit habendos esse deos, quos

* This accounts for the perseverance of nations in false religions. But when men have early been accustomed to sift their own thoughts, and examine boldly the grounds of their belief, the probability is, that they will reject error, and maintain the truth. "Prove all things," says the Apostle, "hold fast that which is good;" a maxim grand and broad enough to serve as the foundation of all philosophy.—ED.

† Butler, in his version of this part of philosophy, very sagely and jocosely observes, that

"Grave men stand vouchers for the truth,
Of the elephant and monkey's tooth;
While some have worshipped rats, and some
For that church suffered martyrdom."

Sir Thomas Browne, too, in his "Religio Medici," dwells at length, and somewhat satirically, on this unhappy weakness of human nature. But nowhere is it held up so unmercifully to contempt and scorn as in the matchless picture of Isaiah: "They that make a graven image are all of them vanity; and their delectable things shall not profit; and they are their own witnesses; they see not, nor know; that they may be ashamed. Who hath formed a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for nothing? Behold, all his fellows shall be ashamed: and the workmen, they are of men: let them all be gathered together, let them stand up; yet they shall fear, and they shall be ashamed together. The smith with the tongs both worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with the strength of his arms: yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth; he drinketh no water, and is faint. The carpenter stretcheth out his rule; he marketh it with a line; he fitteth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man; that it may remain in the house. He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak, which he strengtheneth for himself among the trees of the forest: he planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it. Then shall it be for a man to burn: for he will take thereof, and warm himself; yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread; yea, he maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh it a graven image, and falleth down thereto. He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth meat, and is satisfied: yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, Aha, I am warm, I

ipse colit." For since the reasoning faculties of the soul, which are almost constantly, though not always warily nor wisely employed, would not know how to move for want of a foundation and footing in most men, who through laziness or avocation do not, or for want of time or true helps, or for other causes, cannot penetrate into the principles of knowledge, and trace truth to its fountain and original, it is natural for them, and almost unavoidable, to take up with some borrowed principles; which being reputed and presumed to be the evident proofs of other things, are thought not to need any other proofs themselves. Whoever shall receive any of these into his mind, and entertain them there, with the reverence usually paid to principles, never venturing to examine them, but accustoming himself to believe them, because they are to be believed, may take up from his education and the fashions of his country, any absurdity for innate principles; and by long poring on the same objects, so dim his sight as to take monsters lodged in his own brain for the images of the Deity, and the workmanship of his hands.

27. *Principles must be examined.*—By this progress, how many there are who arrive at principles which they believe innate, may be easily observed in the variety of opposite principles held and contended for by all sorts and degrees of men. And he that shall deny this to be the method wherein most men proceed to the assurance they have of the truth and evidence of their principles, will perhaps find it a hard matter any other way to account for the contrary tenets, which are firmly believed, confidently asserted, and which great numbers are ready at any time to seal with their blood. And, indeed, if it be the privilege of innate principles to be received upon their own authority, without examination, I know not what

have seen the fire. And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me; for thou art my god. They have not known nor understood: for he hath shut their eyes, that they cannot see; and their hearts, that they cannot understand. And none considereth in his heart, neither is there knowledge nor understanding to say, I have burned part of it in the fire; yea, also I have baked bread upon the coals thereof; I have roasted flesh, and eaten it: and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? shall I fall down to the stock of a tree? He feedeth on ashes: a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?" (Chap. xliv. ver. 9—20.)—ED.

may not be believed, or how any one's principles can be questioned. If they may and ought to be examined and tried, I desire to know how first and innate principles can be tried; or at least it is reasonable to demand the marks and characters whereby the genuine innate principles may be distinguished from others: that so, amidst the great variety of pretenders, I may be kept from mistakes in so material a point as this. When this is done, I shall be ready to embrace such welcome and useful propositions; and till then I may with modesty doubt, since I fear universal consent, which is the only one produced, will scarcely prove a sufficient mark to direct my choice, and assure me of any innate principles. From what has been said, I think it past doubt, that there are no practical principles wherein all men agree, and therefore none innate.

CHAPTER IV.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING INNATE PRINCIPLES, BOTH SPECULATIVE AND PRACTICAL.

1. *Principles not innate, unless their Ideas be innate.*—HAD those who would persuade us that there are innate principles, not taken them together in gross, but considered separately the parts out of which those propositions are made, they would not, perhaps, have been so forward to believe they were innate; since, if the ideas which made up those truths were not, it was impossible that the propositions made up of them should be innate, or the knowledge of them be born with us. For if the ideas be not innate, there was a time when the mind was without those principles; and then they will not be innate, but be derived from some other original. For where the ideas themselves are not, there can be no knowledge, no assent, no mental or verbal propositions about them.

2. *Ideas, especially those belonging to Principles, not born with Children.*—If we will attentively consider new-born children, we shall have little reason to think that they bring many ideas into the world with them. For bating, perhaps, some faint ideas of hunger, and thirst, and warmth, and some pains which they may have felt in the womb, there is not the least appearance of any settled ideas at all in them; especially

of ideas answering the terms which make up those universal propositions that are esteemed innate principles. One may perceive how, by degrees afterwards, ideas come into their minds; and that they get no other than what experience, and the observation of things that come in their way, furnish them with, which might be enough to satisfy us that they are not original characters stamped on the mind.

3. "It is impossible for the same thing to be, and not to be," is certainly (if there be any such) an innate principle. But can any one think, or will any one say, that impossibility and identity are two innate ideas? Are they such as all mankind have and bring into the world with them? And are they those which are the first in children, and antecedent to all acquired ones? If they are innate, they must needs be so. Hath a child an idea of impossibility and identity before it has of white or black, sweet or bitter? And is it from the knowledge of this principle that it concludes, that wormwood rubbed on the nipple hath not the same taste that it used to receive from thence? Is it the actual knowledge of "impossibile est idem esse, et non esse," that makes a child distinguish between its mother and a stranger? or that makes it fond of the one and flee the other? Or does the mind regulate itself and its assent by ideas that it never yet had? Or the understanding draw conclusions from principles which it never yet knew or understood? The names impossibility and identity stand for two ideas, so far from being innate, or born with us, that I think it requires great care and attention to form them right in our understandings. They are so far from being brought into the world with us, so remote from the thoughts of infancy and childhood, that I believe upon examination it will be found that many grown men want them.

4. *Identity, an Idea not innate.*—If identity (to instance that alone) be a native impression, and consequently so clear and obvious to us, that we must needs know it even from our cradles, I would gladly be resolved by any one of seven, or seventy years old, whether a man, being a creature consisting of soul and body, be the same man when his body is changed? Whether Euphorbus and Pythagoras, having had the same soul, were the same men, though they lived several ages asunder?*

* Of the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls here hinted at, most persons have heard, though few probably have been at

Nay, whether the cock too, which had the same soul, were not the same with both of them? Whereby, perhaps, it will appear that our idea of sameness is not so settled and clear as to

the pains to trace it through the various channels by which it flowed westward from the great fountain-head in Hindûstan. Tennemann, perhaps rightly, supposes Pythagoras to have borrowed it from the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 123); but to Egypt it probably came, at an early age, with many other dogmas, from the great Asiatic storehouse of superstition. In the Samian's mind it assumed some new features, along with the colours of poetry and philosophical grandeur characteristic of his speculations. "The soul, he taught, is a number, and an emanation from the central fire, resembling the constellations, to which it is allied by its immortality and its constant activity, capable of combining with any body, and compelled by destiny to pass successively through several." (Tenn. Man. Hist. Philos. § 93.) Aristotle speaks of this "Pythagorean mythos" in his treatise on the soul (De Anim. i. 3. 18); and Ovid in his Metamorphoses very naturally turns it to account. This philosophical passage Dryden has translated in his usual masterly manner, and the reader will not, I think, be displeased, if I subjoin some few of his noble verses:—

"What feels the body, when the soul expires,
By time corrupted, or consumed by fires?
Nor dies the spirit, but new life repeats
In other forms, and only changes seats.
Even I, who these mysterious truths declare,
Was once Euphorbus in the Trojan war;
My name and lineage I remember well,
And how in fight by Sparta's king I fell.
In Argive Juno's fane I late beheld
My buckler hung on high, and owned my former shield.
Then Death, so called, is but old matter dressed
In some new figure and a varied vest:
Thus all things are but altered, nothing dies,
And here and there the unbody'd spirit flies,
By time, or force, or sickness dispossessed,
And lodges where it lights, in man or beast;
Or hunts without, till ready limbs it find,
And actuates those according to their kind,
From tenement to tenement is tossed,
The soul is still the same, the figure only lost:
And as the softened wax new seals receives,
This face assumes, and the impression leaves;
Now called by one, now by another name,
The form is only changed, the wax is still the same;
So death, so called, can but the form deface,
Th' immortal soul flies out in empty space,
To seek her fortune in some other place."

B. xv. v. 227—253

In what Locke jocularly says of the cock, he alludes to Lucian's

deserve to be thought innate in us. For if those innate ideas are not clear and distinct so as to be universally known, and naturally agreed on, they cannot be subjects of universal and undoubted truths, but will be the unavoidable occasion of perpetual uncertainty. For I suppose every one's idea of identity will not be the same that Pythagoras and others of his followers have. And which then shall be true? Which innate? Or are there two different ideas of identity, both innate?

5. Nor let any one think that the questions I have here proposed about the identity of man, are bare empty speculations; which if they were, would be enough to show, that there was in the understandings of men no innate idea of identity. He that shall with a little attention reflect on the resurrection, and consider that divine justice will bring to judgment, at the last day, the very same persons to be happy or miserable in the other, who did well or ill in this life, will find it perhaps not easy to resolve with himself, what makes the same man, or wherein identity* consists; and will not be forward to think he, and every one, even children themselves, have naturally a clear idea of it.

6. *Whole and Part not innate Ideas.*—Let us examine that principle of mathematics, viz., "that the whole is bigger

well-known piece of that name, wherein the sarcastic satirist makes exceedingly free with Pythagoras, whose soul, he informs us, after many transmigrations, animated the body of a cobbler's chanticleer. This honest bird having on one occasion by his unseasonable crowing waked his master soon after midnight, and thus violently provoked his anger, tells, in order to pacify him, the long story of his adventures, which the reader will do well to peruse. According to this veracious chronicler, his soul on quitting its philosophical mansion animated the form of Aspasia. He then became Crates the cynic, next a king, then a beggar, then again a Persian satrap; afterwards a horse, a jay, a frog, and a thousand other things. In giving his master Micyllus some insight into his own history, which the blockhead had wholly forgotten, he tortures his miserly soul, by assuring him that he had formerly been an Indian emmet of a particular species, whose business it is to dig up gold out of the earth. Upon which the cobbler exclaims, "What an improvident blockhead must I have been, for not bringing away with me a few grains into this life, where I should have found so many uses for them! But since you so much abound in knowledge, what will become of me in the next life? If anything good, I will get up directly and hang myself on the very beam which you are now perched on."—ED.

* See on this subject, Bishop Butler's dissertations on Personal Identity, appended to the Analogy of Religion.—ED.

than a part." This, I take it, is reckoned amongst innate principles. I am sure it has as good a title as any to be thought so; which yet nobody can think it to be, when he considers the ideas it comprehends in it, "whole and part," are perfectly relative; but the positive ideas to which they properly and immediately belong, are extension and number, of which alone whole and part are relations. So that if whole and part are innate ideas, extension and number must be so too; it being impossible to have an idea of a relation, without having any at all of the thing to which it belongs and in which it is founded. Now whether the minds of men have naturally imprinted on them the ideas of extension and number, I leave to be considered by those who are the patrons of innate principles.

7. *Idea of Worship not innate.*—"That God is to be worshipped," is, without doubt, as great a truth as any that can enter into the mind of man, and deserves the first place amongst all practical principles. But yet it can by no means be thought innate, unless the ideas of God and worship are innate. That the idea the term worship stands for, is not in the understanding of children, and a character stamped on the mind in its first original, I think will be easily granted by any one that considers how few there be amongst grown men who have a clear and distinct notion of it. And, I suppose, there cannot be anything more ridiculous, than to say that children have this practical principle innate, "That God is to be worshipped," and yet that they know not what that worship of God is, which is their duty. But to pass by this:

8. *Idea of God not innate.*—If any idea can be imagined innate, the idea of God may, of all others,* for many reasons

* Into the use of this incorrect phrase, Locke is often betrayed. It has already occurred twice, in chap. ii. § 4. and again in this place. But, as Addison long ago remarked, a much greater writer than Locke has indulged in precisely the same solecism.

". . . . . God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valued he nor shunned."

Where, from the construction of the language, it would seem as if the poet considered God to be a created being. But a little reflection will suffice to show that, intending to enumerate the things dreaded by Satan, and having named the Almighty and the second person in the Godhead, he perceives there are no others, and breaks away into the general assertion, that he

be thought so; since it is hard to conceive how there should be innate moral principles, without an innate idea of a Deity: without a notion of a law-maker, it is impossible to have a notion of a law, and an obligation to observe it. Besides the atheists taken notice of amongst the ancients, and left branded upon the records of history, hath not navigation discovered in these later ages, whole nations at the bay of Soldania,* in Brazil,† in Boranday,‡ and in the Caribbee islands, &c., amongst whom there was to be found no notion of a God, no religion?‖ Nicholaus del Techo, in Literis ex

dreaded no created thing. See the remarks of Addison, Spectator, No. 285. Locke should have written, "The idea of God may, of all our ideas, for many reasons," &c.—ED.

* Roe apud Thevenot, p. 2. † Jo. de Lery, c. 16.

‡ Martinière $\frac{201}{324}$. Terry $\frac{17}{545}$ and $\frac{23}{545}$. Ovington $\frac{489}{606}$.

‖ No doubt it follows, from the principles explained in the early part of this book, that we have no innate ideas; but it is not the less true that man's mind is naturally fitted for the acquisition of certain ideas and principles, amongst which those constituting the foundation of religion, particularly the idea of God and of a future state, are the clearest and most evident. So much indeed is often acknowledged by Locke, who yet, both here and elsewhere, maintains the existence of whole nations to which the most obvious of all truths is unknown. This may serve to show how difficult it is even for the ablest minds, when supporting a favourite hypothesis, to guard against very palpable errors. To me, I own, the thought which always first suggested itself on reading these extraordinary relations was, that the travellers were too ignorant of the language, and consequently too little acquainted with the opinions of the barbarous nations about which they wrote, to decide as to what they did or did not believe. No traveller of modern times appears to have corroborated the relations of those credulous and hasty writers, who seem often to have libelled uncivilized nations that they and their countrymen might have some excuse for plundering them. The testimony of Sir Thomas Roe, on which Locke relies, for the opinions of the natives of Saldanha Bay, is as follows: "The land is fruitful, but divided by high inaccessible rocky mountains covered with snow, the River Dulce falling into the bay on the east side. The people are the most barbarous in the world, eating carrion, wearing the guts of sheep about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads, which are curled like the blacks, with the dung of beasts and birds; and having no clothes but skins wrapped about their shoulders, the flesh side next the body in summer, and the hair in winter. Their houses are but a mat rounded at the top like an oven, which they turn as the wind changes, having no door to keep it out. They have left off their custom of stealing, *but know no God or religion.* The air and water are very wholesome," &c. (Church. Coll. vol. i. 626.) To this heedless assertion of Sir Thomas Roe, we may oppose the testimony of Baldaus, whose opinion on the

Paraquaria de Caaiguarum Conversione, has these words: "Reperi eam gentem nullum nomen habere, quod Deum et

general question exactly coincides with my own: "The existence of a God, or Supreme Being, is so firmly rooted in the heart of mankind, that there is no nation in the world but has acknowledged the same. What is alleged to the contrary of the Chileses, Tapujars, Brazilians, Madagascarians, as also of the inhabitants of Florida, the Caribbee Islands, and especially at the Cape of Good Hope, must rather be attributed to the want of knowledge of those authors than real truth. Of this I was sufficiently convinced in 1666, when I tarried three months at the Cape of Good Hope, where I found these barbarians to perform their religious service in the night-time, which I had no opportunity to observe in 1665, when I came that way before." (Churchil's Coll. vol. iii. p. 733.) With respect to the religious opinions entertained by the aborigines of Brazil, no stress can be laid on the account of Lery, on which Locke depends. As a specimen of the confused and contradictory notions of travellers on subjects of this kind, I subjoin a passage from Nieuhoff: "The most barbarous of the Brazilians inhabiting the inland countries, scarce know anything of a religion, or an Almighty Being. They have some knowledge remaining of a general deluge, it being their opinion that the whole race of mankind were extirpated by a general deluge, except one man and his sister, who being with child before, they by degrees repeopled the world. They know not what God is, nay, they have no word expressing the same, unless it be Tuba, which signifies as much as something most excellent above the rest; thus they call the thunder Tubakununga, *i.e.*, a noise made by the supreme excellency, for Akununga implies as much as a noise. They are unacquainted with heaven or hell, though they have a tradition among them, that the souls don't die with the bodies, but that they are either transplanted into devils or spirits, or else enjoy a great deal of pleasure, with dancing and singing in some pleasant fields, which they say are beyond the mountains. These fields are enjoyed by all the brave men and women who have killed and eaten many of their enemies; but such as have been idle, and never did anything of moment, are tortured by the devil, unto whom they give many names. They have, however, some sort of priests among them, whose business is to sacrifice and to foretell things to come." (Church. Coll. ii. 132.) Compare with this the account of a Portuguese and a French traveller in Harris, vol. i. p. 730. Montaigne, who was a curious and diligent inquirer, and cannot well be charged with over credulity, obtained from a traveller who had resided ten or twelve years in Brazil, a most satisfactory account of the religion of its inhabitants. This man observes, that "Ils croyent les âmes éternelles: et celles qui ont bien mérité des dieux, estre logées à l'endroit du Ciel où le soleil se lève; les maudites, du costé de l'Occident." (Essais, ii. p. 230.) La Loubère's account of the religion of the Siamese is little better than what Nieuhoff writes of the Brazilians.

After speaking of their priests and monks, he describes them going "with their superiors to the temple to prayers for two hours, which they sing or repeat out of the Baby books. In these their morning prayers, which the people never miss, they call to mind three things: God, and

hominis animam significet, nulla sacra habet, nulla idola."* These are instances of nations where uncultivated nature

the law he hath left them to observe; their parents, and the benefits received from them; their priests, and the reverence they owe them." Again, of their commandments, the sixth is, "Adore God and those that imitate his virtues." Yet after all this, La Loubère does not scruple to assure us, "that they do not acknowledge a heaven and hell, nor any God a creator; yet they own a supreme felicity, as a recompense of good works, and the utmost degree of misery, as the punishment of the guilty." (Harris's Coll. ii. p. 482 et seq.)

On the religion of the Chinese, it was scarcely possible in Locke's age to obtain any very clear or distinct notion; and therefore, though it were to be wished that he had exhibited more scepticism on a point of this importance, it is not surprising that, believing what he read, his opinions should have been erroneous. Duhalde observes, that there are three principal sects in China, of which the first is that of the learned, who profess the primitive religion of the country, as taught by Confucius; the second is that of Lao-tzu, whose doctrines he denominates extravagant and impious; and the third that of Fo, or Buddha, introduced into the country about sixty-five years after the Christian era. This laborious but unphilosophical writer supposes the Chinese empire to have been founded, about two hundred years after the deluge, by the descendants of Noah, who preserved by tradition just notions of the power and grandeur of the Deity. These doctrines, together with a pure system of ethics, are supposed to have been taught by Confucius, whose opinions are those of the learned. Consult Duhalde, t. iii. pp. 13—20. Bohlen, treating of the religion of Buddha, observes very justly on this question, "Non dubitamus cum Runio contendere, nullum omnino religionis systema magis esse oppositum atheismi quam illud Tautamæ, et dementiam fere esse, universum aliquem populum atheismi accusare, quum vix ac ne vix quidem singulus homo existat qui omnem prorsus Dei existentiam negare velit.." (De Buddhismi Origine et Ætate Definiendis Tentamen, etc. p. 13 et seq.) I have in my work on the Hindoos (vol. i. p. 175 et seq.) given some account of the origin and progress of Buddhism in India, with the authorities to be consulted for a more complete investigation. Francesco Carletti, a Florentine traveller of the sixteenth century, gives a singular account of the three great sects of China: the first of which, he says, derived its origin from Pythagoras; the second, or sect of the Literati, worship, he says, the King of Heaven: "la seconda setta è di quelle che adorano il Re del Cielo e della Terra: e di questa fanno professione, quasi tutte gli uomini letterati, e filosofi." Of this sect he relates a curious circumstance, viz., that they erect on the tops of their houses, chapels without roofs, in order that they may behold the sky, which they worship as *the image of God*. The third sect he describes, is that of Buddha. (Ragionamenti di Fr. Carletti, ii. p. 156 et seq. See also Le Compte, Nouvelle Mém. sur la Chine, etc., ii. 101 et seq.; and a Memoir of Mr. Davis, Transact. Roy Asiat. Society, i. 5 et seq.)—ED.

* Relatio triplex de rebus Indicis Caaiguarum 4¾.

has been left to itself, without the help of letters and discipline, and the improvements of arts and sciences. But there are others to be found, who have enjoyed these in a very great measure, who yet, for want of a due application of their thoughts this way, want the idea and knowledge of God. It will, I doubt not, be a surprise to others, as it was to me, to find the Siamites of this number. But for this, let them consult the King of France's late envoy thither,* who gives no better account of the Chinese themselves.† And if we will not believe La Loubère, the missionaries of China, even the Jesuits themselves, the great encomiasts of the Chinese, do all to a man agree, and will convince us, that the sect of the literati, or learned, keeping to the old religion of China, and the ruling party there, are all of them atheists. Vid. Navarette, in the collection of voyages, vol. i., and Historia Cultus Sinensium. And perhaps, if we should with attention mind the lives and discourses of people not so far off, we should have too much reason to fear, that many in more civilized countries have no very strong and clear impressions of a Deity upon their minds; and that the complaints of atheism made from the pulpit are not without reason. And though only some profligate wretches own it too barefacedly now, yet perhaps we should hear more than we do of it from others, did not the fear of the magistrate's sword, or their neighbour's censure, tie up people's tongues; which, were the apprehensions of punishment or shame taken away, would as openly proclaim their atheism as their lives do.‡

9. But had all mankind everywhere a notion of a God, (whereof yet history tells us the contrary,) it would not from thence follow, that the idea of him was innate. For though no nation were to be found without a name, and some few dark notions of him, yet that would not prove them to be natural impressions on the mind, any more than the names of fire, or the sun, heat, or number, do prove the ideas they stand for to be innate, because the names of those things, and the ideas of them, are so universally received and known amongst mankind. Nor, on the contrary, is the want of

* La Loubère, du Royaume de Siam, t. i. c. 9, sect. 15; and c. 20, sect. 22; and c. 22, sect. 6.

† Ib. t. i. c. 20, sect. 4, and c. 23.

‡ See Locke's third letter to the Bishop of Worcester.—Ed.

such a name, or the absence of such a notion out of men's minds, any argument against the being of a God, any more than it would be a proof that there was no loadstone in the world, because a great part of mankind had neither a notion of any such thing nor a name for it; or be any show of argument to prove that there are no distinct and various species of angels, or intelligent beings above us, because we have no ideas of such distinct species, or names for them; for men being furnished with words by the common language of their own countries, can scarce avoid having some kind of ideas of those things, whose names those they converse with have occasion frequently to mention to them. And if they carry with it the notion of excellency, greatness, or something extraordinary; if apprehension and concernment accompany it; if the fear of absolute and irresistible power set it on upon the mind, the idea is likely to sink the deeper, and spread the further; especially if it be such an idea as is agreeable to the common light of reason, and naturally deducible from every part of our knowledge, as that of a God is. For the visible marks of extraordinary wisdom and power appear so plainly in all the works of the creation, that a rational creature who will but seriously reflect on them, cannot miss the discovery of a Deity. And the influence that the discovery of such a being must necessarily have on the minds of all that have but once heard of it is so great, and carries such a weight of thought and communication with it, that it seems stranger to me that a whole nation of men should be anywhere found so brutish as to want the notion of a God, than that they should be without any notion of number or fire.

10. The name of God being once mentioned in any part of the world, to express a superior, powerful, wise, invisible being, the suitableness of such a notion to the principles of common reason, and the interest men will always have to mention it often, must necessarily spread it far and wide, and continue it down to all generations; though yet the general reception of this name, and some imperfect and unsteady notions conveyed thereby to the unthinking part of mankind, prove not the idea to be innate, but only that they who made the discovery had made a right use of their reason, thought maturely of the causes of things, and traced them to their

original; from whom other less considering people having once received so important a notion, it could not easily be lost again.

11. This is all could be inferred from the notion of a God, were it to be found universally in all the tribes of mankind, and generally acknowledged by men grown to maturity in all countries. For the generality of the acknowledging of a God, as I imagine, is extended no further than that; which, if it be sufficient to prove the idea of God innate, will as well prove the idea of fire innate; since I think it may be truly said, that there is not a person in the world who has a notion of a God, who has not also the idea of fire. I doubt not but if a colony of young children should be placed in an island where no fire was, they would certainly neither have any notion of such a thing, nor name for it, how generally soever it were received and known in all the world besides;* and perhaps too their apprehensions would be as far removed from any name, or notion of a God, till some one amongst them had employed his thoughts to inquire into the constitution and causes of things, which would easily lead him to the notion of a God; which having once taught to others, reason, and the natural propensity of their own thoughts, would afterwards propagate, and continue amongst them.†

* See a former note on the nations ignorant of the use of fire, p. 30. —ED.

† That men widely separated from each other may arrive, by independent researches, at conclusions nearly the same, appears from many examples. Thus, in theology, we find Plato, the Hindoos, and the Africans of Fida, concurring in the belief that the Supreme God is too far removed from human knowledge to be to the people an object of worship. Among the Greeks accordingly, the multitude, neglecting the primary divinity, addicted themselves to the adoration of secondary and inferior powers. In Hindùstan, Brimha, or the Supreme Intelligence, has, I believe, but one temple in all the land, while the other gods, his servants and ministers, possess shrines and altars without number. Something very closely resembling this takes place among the people of Fida, who, "for the most part, have an imperfect notion of a Supreme Being, Almighty and Omnipresent, to whom they attribute the formation of the universe, and give him an infinite preference above their endless number of idol gods, to whom, because he is so highly exalted, they neither pray nor offer any sacrifices, alleging that they think his incomparable grandeur does not permit him to think of the human race, or be at the trouble of governing the world, which he has therefore committed to their idols, to rule as his vicegerents in all things; and therefore they direct all their religious worship to those inferior deities; amongst whom

12. *Suitable to God's Goodness, that all Men should have an Idea of Him, therefore naturally imprinted by Him, answered.*—Indeed it is urged, that it is suitable to the goodness of God to imprint upon the minds of men, characters and notions of himself, and not to leave them in the dark and doubt in so grand a concernment; and also by that means to secure to himself the homage and veneration due from so intelligent a creature as man; and therefore he has done it.

This argument, if it be of any force, will prove much more than those who use it in this case expect from it. For if we may conclude that God hath done for men all that men shall judge is best for them, because it is suitable to his goodness so to do, it will prove, not only that God has imprinted on the minds of men an idea of himself, but that he hath plainly stamped there, in fair characters, all that men ought to know or believe of him, all that they ought to do in obedience to

they reckon as the principal, first, a sort of reddish brown snake; next to it the high, lofty trees, of a beautiful form; and next to them, again, the sea." (Barbot's Decription of the Coasts of South Guinea, c. 111.) Brimha, or Brahm, the one incomprehensible god, must by no means be confounded with Brahmâ, one of the persons of the *Trimurti*. It is generally supposed, as is positively asserted by Ward, that no temple has ever been erected in India to the true God. Colonel Tod, however, informs us that there still exists entire, at Cheetore, an enormous and costly frabric dedicated to "Brimha," the creator, not "Brahmâ." Being to "the One," and consequently containing no idol, it may thus have escaped the ruthless fury of the invaders. (Annals of Rajast'han, vol. i. p. 275.) The same author also supposes that pure theism was once found in India. (p. 535.) He afterwards appears to lose sight of the above temple, when, speaking of the numerous shrines round lake Pohkur, he says, "By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator *Brimha*. . . . . This is the *sole tabernacle* dedicated to the One God, which I ever saw or have heard of in India." (p. 774.) Not unlike were the doctrines of the ancient Egyptians, who taught that the soul was a particle of the divine æther, which, without consciousness, animated successively myriads of sentient beings. They worshipped brute matter, and the elements; and, according to Herodotus, (lib. 11, cap. 123,) their eight greater divinities were the four elements, the sun, the moon, day, and night—mere pantheism. Diogenes Laertius likewise accuses them of pantheism. But Jablonski maintains that the more ancient Egyptian philosophers believed in one God. This infinite spirit, which, like the Brimha of the Hindoos, included both sexes, is supposed to have been a subtile fire, and was called *Phtha*. Yet the worship of this god, like that of Brimha in India, died away. He had, in fact, in all Egypt, but one single temple, which was at Memphis. (Jablonski, Panth. Ægypt. t. i. pp. 31-—52.)—Ed.

his will; and that he hath given them a will and affections conformable to it. This, no doubt, every one will think better for men, than that they should, in the dark, grope after knowledge, as St. Paul tells us all nations did after God, (Acts xvii. 27,) than that their wills should clash with their understandings, and their appetites cross their duty. The Romanists say it is best for men, and so suitable to the goodness of God, that there should be an infallible judge of controversies on earth, and therefore there is one. And I, by the same reason, say it is better for men that every man himself should be infallible. I leave them to consider, whether by the force of this argument they shall think that every man is so. I think it a very good argument to say, the infinitely wise God hath made it so, and therefore it is best. But it seems to me a little too much confidence of our own wisdom to say, "I think it best, and therefore God hath made it so;" and in the matter in hand, it will be in vain to argue from such a topic that God hath done so, when certain experience shows us that he hath not. But the goodness of God hath not been wanting to men without such original impressions of knowledge or ideas stamped on the mind, since he hath furnished man with those faculties which will serve for the sufficient discovery of all things requisite to the end of such a being; and I doubt not but to show, that a man, by the right use of his natural abilities, may, without any innate principles, attain a knowledge of a God, and other things that concern him. God having endued man with those faculties of knowledge which he hath, was no more obliged by his goodness to plant those innate notions in his mind, than that, having given him reason, hands, and materials, he should build him bridges or houses, which some people in the world, however, of good parts, do either totally want, or are but ill provided of, as well as others are wholly without ideas of God and principles of morality, or at least have but very ill ones; the reason in both cases being, that they never employed their parts, faculties, and powers industriously that way, but contented themselves with the opinions, fashions, and things of their country, as they found them, without looking any further. Had you or I been born at the Bay of Soldania, possibly our thoughts and notions had not exceeded those brutish ones of the Hottentots

that inhabit there; and had the Virginia king Apochancana been educated in England, he had been perhaps as knowing a divine and as good a mathematician as any in it; the difference between him and a more improved Englishman lying barely in this, that the exercise of his faculties was bounded within the ways, modes, and notions of his own country, and never directed to any other, or further inquiries; and if he had not any idea of a God, it was only because he pursued not those thoughts that would have led him to it.

13. *Ideas of God various in different Men.*—I grant, that if there were any idea to be found imprinted on the minds of men, we have reason to expect it should be the notion of his Maker, as a mark God set on his own workmanship, to mind man of his dependence and duty, and that herein should appear the first instances of human knowledge. But how late is it before any such notion is discoverable in children! And when we find it there, how much more does it resemble the opinion and notion of the teacher, than represent the true God! He that shall observe in children the progress whereby their minds attain the knowledge they have, will think that the objects they do first and most familiarly converse with, are those that make the first impressions on their understandings; nor will he find the least footsteps of any other. It is easy to take notice how their thoughts enlarge themselves, only as they come to be acquainted with a greater variety of sensible objects, to retain the ideas of them in their memories, and to get the skill to compound and enlarge them, and several ways put them together. How by these means they come to frame in their minds an idea men have of a Deity, I shall hereafter show.

14. Can it be thought that the ideas men have of God, are the characters and marks of himself, engraven on their minds by his own finger, when we see that, in the same country, under one and the same name, men have far different, nay, often contrary and inconsistent ideas and conceptions of him?*

* An excellent illustration of this truth is furnished by Pascal, in his Letters on the "Pouvoir prochain," and "La Grace suffisante," where he shows that the Jesuits and Dominicans, though employing the same terms, gave them each a different interpretation, in accordance with their peculiar theories. Speaking of "la grace suffisante" and "la grace efficace," he has the following sprightly colloquy between a Jansenist and a Dominican: "Mais enfin, mon père, cette grace donnée à tous

Their agreeing in a name, or a sound, will scarce prove an innate notion of him.

15. What true or tolerable notion of a Deity could they have, who acknowledged and worshipped hundreds? Every deity that they owned above one, was an infallible evidence of their ignorance of him, and a proof that they had no true notion of God, where unity, infinity, and eternity were excluded. To which, if we add their gross conceptions of corporeity, expressed in their images and representations of their deities, the amours, marriages, copulations, lusts, quarrels, and other mean qualities attributed by them to their gods, we shall have little reason to think that the heathen world, i. e., the greatest part of mankind, had such ideas of God in their minds, as he himself, out of care that they should not be mistaken about him, was author of.* And this universality of consent, so much argued, if it prove any native impressions, it will be only this, that God imprinted on the minds of all men speaking the same language, a name for himself, but not

les hommes est *suffisante?* Oui, dit-il.—Et néanmoins elle n'a nul effet *sans grace efficace?* Cela est vrai, dit-il.—Et tous n'ont pas l'*efficace?* Il est vrai, dit-il.—C'est-à-dire, lui dis-je, que tous ont assez de grace, et que tout n'en ont pas assez; c'est-à-dire, que cette grace suffit, quoiqu'elle ne suffice pas; c'est-à-dire, qu'elle est suffisante de nom, et insuffisante en effet. En bonne foi, mon père, cette doctrine est bien subtile. Avez-vous oublié, en quittant le monde, ce que le mot de *suffisant* y signifie? ne vous souvient-il pas qu'il enferme tout ce qui est nécessaire pour agir? Mais vous n'en avez pas perdu la mémoire; car, pour me servir d'une comparaison qui vous sera plus sensible, si l'on ne vous servoit à table que deux onces de pain et un verre d'eau par jour, seriez-vous content de votre prieur qui vous diroit que cela seroit suffisant pour vous nourrir, sous prétexte qu'avec autre chose qu'il ne vous donneroit pas, vous auriez tout ce qui vous seroit nécessaire pour vous nourrir?" (Lettres Provinciales, i. 23 et seq.)—ED.

* Plato had already, in his day, begun severely to animadvert on the unworthy notions which the pagans entertained of God. In his great work on the Republic, teeming with the noblest philosophical speculations, we find an extraordinary picture of the arts whereby the begging priests contrived to turn the follies of paganism to account. Like the mendicant friars, and other religious impostors of Christian Europe, they travelled about the country, besieging especially the houses of the rich, whose personal crimes, together with those of their ancestors, they professed themselves able to expiate by charms and incantations. According to their account of the matter, they had the gods completely under their thumb, and could compel them, not only to grant absolution for past offences, but indulgence for sins to come. See the whole passage, with the notes of Stallbaum, vol. i. p. 111 et seq.—ED.

any idea; since those people who agreed in the name, had, at the same time, far different apprehensions about the thing signified. If they say that the variety of deities worshipped by the heathen world, were but figurative ways of expressing the several attributes of that incomprehensible Being, or several parts of his providence, I answer, what they might be in the original I will not here inquire, but that they were so in the thoughts of the vulgar I think nobody will affirm. And he that will consult the voyage of the Bishop of Beryte, c. 13, (not to mention other testimonies,) will find that the theology of the Siamites professedly owns a plurality of gods; or, as the Abbé de Choisy more judiciously remarks in his Journal du Voyage de Siam, $\frac{107}{177}$, it consists properly in acknowledging no God at all.*

* Though I have already shown, even from La Loubère himself, that the Siamese believe, like all other nations, in the existence of a God, and it might, perhaps, have been sufficient to say that they are Buddhists, I will yet add two or three testimonies to show with how great injustice they are, by the Abbé de Choisy, accused of impiety. Sir Thomas Herbert observes, in his account of this people, that they "have groves and altars, on which they offer flesh, fruits, and flowers; and many times, when their Tallapoi tells them their Deumo is melancholy they make harmonious music to them to make them cheerful. Others, by break of day, run to their pagods with a basket of rice, hoping that day will be happier. The Tallapoi preach usually every Monday (their sabbath) in the market, and call the people together by the sound of a copper basin. They seem mendicants by profession; yet what by their policy, and what by their incantations, (for they foretell future events, and have great knowledge in things past, present, and to come, by magic, and moral observations, resolving, dissuading, applauding, and directing them,) they are had in very great estimation: these are their priests." (In Harris's Coll., where the text is somewhat modernized. See orig. p. 358.)

Tavernier having remarked on the great number of priests and pagodas, adds, that the Siamese "say that the God of the Christians and theirs are brothers, but theirs was the eldest." (In Harris's Coll. vol. ii. p. 388.) But the most positive testimony is that of Mandelslo, according to whom, "they believe one Creator of the universe, who governs the world by divers inferior gods. They say that the soul is immortal, and after it is purified, by passing through several bodies, is either condemned to eternal torments, or enjoys beatitude. They tell you that this has been transmitted to them by tradition, time out of mind; for the rest, they hold that good deeds, and especially charity, are the chief means to attain salvation; which is the reason they extend their charity even to beasts, such as birds and fish, which they buy to set them at liberty, as believing the transmigration of the soul. This is the reason, also, why they never condemn any other religion, or dispute with them." (In Harris's Coll. ii. 128.)—Ed.

If it be said, that wise men of all nations came to have true conceptions of the unity and infinity of the Deity, I grant it. But then this,

First, Excludes universality of consent in anything but the name; for those wise men being very few, perhaps one of a thousand, this universality is very narrow.

Secondly, It seems to me plainly to prove, that the truest and best notions men had of God were not imprinted, but acquired by thought and meditation, and a right use of their faculties: since the wise and considerate men of the world, by a right and careful employment of their thoughts and reason, attained true notions in this as well as other things; whilst the lazy and inconsiderate part of men, making far the greater number, took up their notions by chance, from common tradition and vulgar conceptions, without much beating their heads about them. And if it be a reason to think the notion of God innate, because all wise men had it, virtue too must be thought innate, for that also wise men have always had.

16. This was evidently the case of all Gentilism; nor hath even amongst Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, who acknowledge but one God, this doctrine, and the care taken in those nations to teach men to have true notions of a God, prevailed so far as to make men to have the same and the true ideas of him. How many even amongst us will be found upon inquiry to fancy him in the shape of a man sitting in heaven, and to have many other absurd and unfit conceptions of him! Christians as well as Turks have had whole sects owning and contending earnestly for it, and that the Deity was corporeal, and of human shape: and though we find few among us who profess themselves Anthropomorphites, (though some I have met with that own it,) yet I believe he that will make it his business may find amongst the ignorant and uninstructed Christians many of that opinion. Talk but with country people, almost of any age, or young people of almost any condition, and you shall find, that though the name of God be frequently in their mouths, yet the notions they apply this name to are so odd, low, and pitiful, that nobody can imagine they were taught by a rational man, much less that they were characters written by the finger of God himself. Nor do I see how it derogates more from the goodness of God, that he

has given us minds unfurnished with these ideas of himself, than that he hath sent us into the world with bodies unclothed, and that there is no art or skill born with us; for, being fitted with faculties to attain these, it is want of industry and consideration in us, and not of bounty in him, if we have them not. It is as certain that there is a God, as that the opposite angles made by the intersection of two straight lines are equal. There was never any rational creature that set himself sincerely to examine the truth of these propositions that could fail to assent to them, though yet it be past doubt that there are many men who, having not applied their thoughts that way, are ignorant both of the one and the other. If any one think fit to call this (which is the utmost of its extent) universal consent, such an one I easily allow; but such an universal consent as this, proves not the idea of God, any more than it does the idea of such angles, innate.

17. *If the Idea of God be not innate, no other can be supposed innate.*—Since then, though the knowledge of a God be the most natural discovery of human reason, yet the idea of him is not innate, as I think is evident from what has been said; I imagine there will scarcely be any other idea found that can pretend to it: since if God hath sent any impression, any character on the understanding of men, it is most reasonable to expect it should have been some clear and uniform idea of himself, as far as our weak capacities were capable to receive so incomprehensible and infinite an object. But our minds being at first void of that idea, which we are most concerned to have, it is a strong presumption against all other innate characters. I must own, as far as I can observe I can find none, and would be glad to be informed by any other.

18. *Idea of Substance not innate.*—I confess there is another idea which would be of general use for mankind to have, as it is of general talk, as if they had it; and that is the idea of substance, which we neither have nor can have by sensation or reflection. If nature took care to provide us any ideas, we might well expect they should be such as by our own faculties we cannot procure to ourselves; but we see, on the contrary, that since by those ways whereby our ideas are brought into our minds this is not, we have no such clear idea at all, and therefore signify nothing by the word substance, but only an uncertain supposition of we know not

what, i. e., of something whereof we have no particular distinct positive idea, which we take to be the substratum or support of those ideas we know.

19. *No Propositions can be innate, since no Ideas are innate.*—Whatever then we talk of innate, either speculative or practical, principles, it may with as much probability be said that a man hath £100 sterling in his pocket, and yet denied that he hath either penny, shilling, crown, or other coin out of which the sum is to be made up, as to think that certain propositions are innate when the ideas about which they are can by no means be supposed to be so. The general reception and assent that is given, doth not at all prove that the ideas expressed in them are innate; for in many cases, however the ideas came there, the assent to words expressing the agreement or disagreement of such ideas, will necessarily follow. Every one that hath a true idea of God and worship, will assent to this proposition, "that God is to be worshipped," when expressed in a language he understands; and every rational man that hath not thought on it to-day, may be ready to assent to this proposition to-morrow; and yet millions of men may be well supposed to want one or both those ideas to-day. For if we will allow savages and most country people to have ideas of God and worship, (which conversation with them will not make one forward to believe,) yet I think few children can be supposed to have those ideas, which therefore they must begin to have some time or other; and then they will also begin to assent to that proposition, and make very little question of it ever after. But such an assent upon hearing, no more proves the ideas to be innate, than it does that one born blind (with cataracts which will be couched to-morrow) had the innate ideas of the sun, or light, or saffron, or yellow, because when his sight is cleared he will certainly assent to this proposition, "that the sun is lucid, or that saffron is yellow;" and therefore if such an assent upon hearing cannot prove the ideas innate, it can much less the propositions made up of those ideas. If they have any innate ideas, I would be glad to be told what and how many they are.

20. *No innate Ideas in the Memory.*—To which let me add, if there be any innate ideas, any ideas in the mind, which the mind does not actually think on, they must be lodged in the

memory, and from thence must be brought into view by remembrance; i. e., must be known when they are remembered to have been perceptions in the mind before, unless remembrance can be without remembrance. For to remember is to perceive anything with memory, or with a consciousness that it was known or perceived before: without this, whatever idea comes into the mind is new, and not remembered; this consciousness of its having been in the mind before, being that which distinguishes remembering from all other ways of thinking. Whatever idea was never perceived by the mind, was never in the mind.* Whatever idea is in the mind, is either an actual perception, or else having been an actual perception, is so in the mind, that by the memory it can be made an actual perception again. Whenever there is the actual perception of an idea without memory, the idea appears perfectly new and unknown before to the understanding. Whenever the memory brings any idea into actual view, it is with a consciousness that it had been there before, and was not wholly a stranger to the mind. Whether this be not so, I appeal to every one's observation: and then I desire an instance of an idea pretended to be innate, which (before any impression of it by ways hereafter to be mentioned) any one could revive and remember as an idea he had formerly known; without which consciousness of a former perception there is no remembrance; and whatever idea comes into the mind without that consciousness is not remembered, or comes not out of the memory, nor can be said to be in the mind before that appearance; for what is not either actually in view or in the memory, is in the mind no way at all, and is all one as if it had never been there. Suppose a child had the use of his eyes till he knows and distinguishes colours; but then cataracts shut the windows, and he is forty or fifty years perfectly in the dark, and in that time perfectly loses all memory o the ideas of colours he once had. This was the case of a

* This point has been discussed with much perseverance by Condillac, who in some things a mere reflection of Locke, affects in others to differ from him, for the purpose, perhaps, of keeping up a show of originality. He observes on the question here treated of, "Les objets agiroient inutilement sur les sens, et l'âme n'en prendroit jamais connoissance si elle n'en avoit pas perception. Ainsi le premier et le moindre dégré de connoissance, c'est d'appercevoir." (Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines, Part 1. § 2. ch. 1. l. i. p. 21.)—Ed.

blind man I once talked with, who lost his sight by the small-pox when he was a child, and had no more notion of colours than one born blind. I ask whether any one can say this man had then any ideas of colours in his mind, any more than one born blind? And I think nobody will say that either of them had in his mind any idea of colours at all. His cataracts are couched, and then he has the ideas (which he remembers not) of colours, *de novo*, by his restored sight conveyed to his mind, and that without any consciousness of a former acquaintance: and these now he can revive and call to mind in the dark. In this case all these ideas of colours which, when out of view, can be revived with a consciousness of a former acquaintance, being thus in the memory, are said to be in the mind. The use I make of this is, that whatever idea, being not actually in view, is in the mind, is there only by being in the memory; and if it be not in the memory, it is not in the mind; and if it be in the memory, it cannot by the memory be brought into actual view without a perception that it comes out of the memory; which is this, that it had been known before, and is now remembered. If therefore there be any innate ideas, they must be in the memory, or else nowhere in the mind; and if they be in the memory, they can be revived without any impression from without; and whenever they are brought into the mind they are remembered, i. e., they bring with them a perception of their not being wholly new to it. This being a constant and distinguishing difference between what is and what is not in the memory or in the mind; that what is not in the memory, whenever it appears there, appears perfectly new and unknown before; and what is in the memory or in the mind, whenever it is suggested by the memory, appears not to be new, but the mind finds it in itself, and knows it was there before. By this it may be tried whether there be any innate ideas in the mind, before impression from sensation or reflection. I would fain meet with the man who, when he came to the use of reason, or at any other time, remembered any one of them; and to whom after he was born, they were never new. If any one will say there are ideas in the mind that are not in the memory, I desire him to explain himself, and make what he says intelligible.

21. *Principles not innate, because of little use or little cer-*

tainty.—Besides what I have already said, there is another reason why I doubt that neither these nor any other principles are innate. I that am fully persuaded that the infinitely wise God made all things in perfect wisdom, cannot satisfy myself why he should be supposed to print upon the minds of men some universal principles; whereof those that are pretended innate and concern speculation are of no great use; and those that concern practice, not self-evident; and neither of them distinguishable from some other truths not allowed to be innate. For to what purpose should characters be graven on the mind by the finger of God, which are not clearer there than those which are afterwards introduced, or cannot be distinguished from them? If any one thinks there are such innate ideas and propositions which by their clearness and usefulness are distinguishable from all that is adventitious in the mind and acquired, it will not be a hard matter for him to tell us which they are, and then every one will be a fit judge whether they be so or not; since if there be such innate ideas and impressions, plainly different from all other perceptions and knowledge, every one will find it true in himself. Of the evidence of these supposed innate maxims I have spoken already; of their usefulness I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

22. *Difference of Men's Discoveries depends upon the different Application of their Faculties.*—To conclude: some ideas forwardly offer themselves to all men's understandings; some sorts of truth result from any ideas as soon as the mind puts them into propositions; other truths require a train of ideas placed in order, a due comparing of them, and deductions made with attention, before they can be discovered and assented to. Some of the first sort, because of their general and easy reception, have been mistaken for innate; but the truth is, ideas and notions are no more born with us than arts and sciences, though some of them indeed offer themselves to our faculties more readily than others, and therefore are more generally received; though that too be according as the organs of our bodies and powers of our minds happen to be employed; God having fitted men with faculties and means to discover, receive, and retain truths, according as they are employed. The great difference that is to be found in the notions of mankind is from the different

use they put their faculties to: whilst some, (and those the most,) taking things upon trust, misemploy their power of assent by lazily enslaving their minds to the dictates and dominion of others in doctrines which it is their duty carefully to examine, and not blindly, with an implicit faith, to swallow; others, employing their thoughts only about some few things, grow acquainted sufficiently with them, attain great degrees of knowledge in them, and are ignorant of all other, having never let their thoughts loose in the search of other inquiries. Thus, that the three angles of a triangle are quite equal to two right ones, is a truth as certain as anything can be, and I think more evident than many of those propositions that go for principles; and yet there are millions however expert in other things, who know not this at all, because they never set their thoughts on work about such angles: and he that certainly knows this proposition, may yet be utterly ignorant of the truth of other propositions, in mathematics itself, which are as clear and evident as this; because in his search of those mathematical truths, he stopped his thoughts short and went not so far. The same may happen concerning the notions we have of the being of a Deity; for though there be no truth which a man may more evidently make out to himself than the existence of a God, yet he that shall content himself with things as he finds them in this world, as they minister to his pleasures and passions, and not make inquiry a little further into their causes, ends, and admirable contrivances, and pursue the thoughts thereof with diligence and attention, may live long without any notion of such a Being. And if any person hath by talk put such a notion into his head, he may perhaps believe it; but if he hath never examined it, his knowledge of it will be no perfecter than his, who having been told that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right ones, takes it upon trust, without examining the demonstration, and may yield his assent as a probable opinion, but hath no knowledge of the truth of it; which yet his faculties, if carefully employed, were able to make clear and evident to him. But this only, by the by, to show how much our knowledge depends upon the right use of those powers nature hath bestowed upon us, and how little upon such innate principles as are in vain supposed to be in all mankind

for their direction; which all men could not but know if they were there, or else they would be there to no purpose; and which since all men do not know, nor can distinguish from other adventitious truths, we may well conclude there are no such.

23. *Men must think and know for themselves.*—What censure, doubting thus of innate principles, may deserve from men, who will be apt to call it pulling up the old foundations of knowledge and certainty, I cannot tell; I persuade myself at least that the way I have pursued, being conformable to truth, lays those foundations surer. This I am certain, I have not made it my business either to quit or follow any authority in the ensuing discourse: truth has been my only aim, and wherever that has appeared to lead, my thoughts have impartially followed, without minding whether the footsteps of any other lay that way or not. Not that I want a due respect to other men's opinions; but, after all, the greatest reverence is due to truth: and I hope it will not be thought arrogance to say, that perhaps we should make greater progress in the discovery of rational and contemplative knowledge, if we sought it in the fountain, in the consideration of things themselves, and made use rather of our own thoughts than other men's to find it; for I think we may as rationally hope to see with other men's eyes, as to know by other men's understandings. So much as we ourselves consider and comprehend of truth and reason, so much we possess of real and true knowledge. The floating of other men's opinions in our brains, makes us not one jot the more knowing, though they happen to be true. What in them was science, is in us but opiniatrety; whilst we give up our assent only to reverend names, and do not, as they did, employ our own reason to understand those truths which gave them reputation. Aristotle was certainly a knowing man, but nobody ever thought him so because he blindly embraced or confidently vented the opinions of another. And if the taking up another's principles, without examining them, made not him a philosopher, I suppose it will hardly make anybody else so. In the sciences every one has so much as he really knows and comprehends. What he believes only, and takes upon trust, are but shreds; which, however well in the whole piece, make no considerable addition to his stock who

gathers them. Such borrowed wealth, like fairy money, though it were gold in the hand from which he received it, will be but leaves and dust when it comes to use.*

24. *Whence the Opinion of Innate Principles.*—When men have found some general propositions that could not be doubted of as soon as understood, it was, I know, a short and easy way to conclude them innate. This being once received, it eased the lazy from the pains of search, and stopped the inquiry of the doubtful concerning all that was once styled innate. And it was of no small advantage to those who affected to be masters and teachers, to make this the principle of principles, "that principles must not be questioned:" for having once established this tenet, that there are innate principles, it put their followers upon a necessity of receiving some doctrines as such; which was to take them off from the use of their own reason and judgment, and put them on believing and taking them upon trust without further examination: in which posture of blind credulity they might be more easily governed by and made useful to some sort of men who had the skill and office to principle and guide them. Nor is it a small power it gives one man over another to have the authority to be the dictator of principles and teacher of unquestionable truths; and to make a man swallow that for an innate principle, which may serve to his purpose who teacheth them: whereas had they examined the ways whereby men came to the knowledge of many universal truths, they would have found them to result in the minds of men from the being of things themselves when duly considered; and that they were discovered by the application of those

* Locke had possibly read in Galland's translation of the Arabian Nights the story of the barber's fourth brother, El-kooz-el-Aswánee, the butcher of Bagdad, of whom it is related, that "being in his shop one day, there accosted him an old man with a long beard, who handed to him some money, saying, Give me some meat for it. So he took the money, and gave him the meat. And when the old man had gone away, my brother looked at the money which he had paid him, and seeing that it was of a brilliant whiteness, put it aside by itself. This old man continued to repair to him during a period of five months, and my brother always threw his money into a chest by itself; after which period he desired to take it out for the purpose of buying some sheep; but on opening the chest, he found all the contents converted into white paper, clipped round." (Lane's Translation, vol. i. p. 396.)—Ed.

faculties that were fitted by nature to receive and judge of them when duly employed about them.

25. *Conclusion.*—To show how the understanding proceeds herein is the design of the following discourse, which I shall proceed to when I have first premised, that hitherto, to clear my way to those foundations which I conceive are the only true ones whereon to establish those notions we can have of our own knowledge, it hath been necessary for me to give an account of the reasons I had to doubt of innate principles. And since the arguments which are against them do some of them rise from common received opinions, I have been forced to take several things for granted, which is hardly avoidable to any one, whose task is to show the falsehood or improbability of any tenet; it happening in controversial discourses as it does in assaulting of towns, where, if the ground be but firm whereon the batteries are erected, there is no further inquiry of whom it is borrowed, nor whom it belongs to, so it affords but a fit rise for the present purpose. But in the future part of this Discourse, designing to raise an edifice uniform and consistent with itself, as far as my own experience and observation will assist me, I hope to erect it on such a basis that I shall not need to shore it up with props and buttresses, leaning on borrowed or begged foundations; or at least, if mine prove a castle in the air, I will endeavour it shall be all of a piece and hang together. Wherein I warn the reader not to expect undeniable cogent demonstrations, unless I may be allowed the privilege, not seldom assumed by others, to take my principles for granted, and then, I doubt not, but I can demonstrate too. All that I shall say for the principles I proceed on is, that I can only appeal to men's own unprejudiced experience and observation whether they be true or not; and this is enough for a man who professes no more than to lay down candidly and freely his own conjectures, concerning a subject lying somewhat in the dark, without any other design than an unbiassed inquiry after truth.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

OF IDEAS IN GENERAL, AND THEIR ORIGINAL.

1. *Idea is the Object of Thinking.*—EVERY man being conscious to himself that he thinks, and that which his mind is applied about whilst thinking, being the ideas that are there, it is past doubt that men have in their minds several ideas, such as are those expressed by the words whiteness, hardness, sweetness, thinking, motion, man, elephant, army, drunkenness, and others. It is in the first place then to be inquired how he comes by them. I know it is a received doctrine that men have native ideas and original characters stamped upon their minds in their very first being. This opinion I have at large examined already; and I suppose what I have said in the foregoing book will be much more easily admitted when I have shown whence the understanding may get all the ideas it has, and by what ways and degrees they may come into the mind; for which I shall appeal to every one's own observation and experience.

2. *All Ideas come from Sensation or Reflection.*—Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper,* void of all characters, without any ideas; how comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer in one word, from experience; in that all our knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself.† Our observation employed either

* Upon this comparison I have already remarked in a former note.—ED.

† It would at first sight, and to an unprejudiced person, appear that Locke in this passage had expressed himself with sufficient clearness, but Mr. Dugald Stewart found it to be either obscure in itself, or directly at variance with the comments which the philosopher has elsewhere made on the doctrine it contains. His remarks are too long to be introduced into a note, but the result to which he supposes them to lead is stated in the following sentences: "If the foregoing remarks be well-founded, they are fatal to a fundamental principle of Locke's philosophy, which has been assumed by most of his successors as a demonstrated

about external sensible objects, or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge from whence all the ideas we have or can naturally have do spring.

3. *The Objects of Sensation one Source of Ideas.*—First, our senses, conversant about particular sensible objects, do convey into the mind several distinct perceptions of things, according to those various ways wherein those objects do affect them: and thus we come by those ideas we have, of yellow, white, heat, cold, soft, hard, bitter, sweet, and all those which we call sensible qualities; which when I say the senses convey into the mind, I mean, they from external objects convey into the mind what produces there those perceptions. This great source of most of the ideas we have, depending wholly upon our senses, and derived by them to the understanding, I call SENSATION.*

truth, and which, under a form somewhat disguised, has served to Hume as the basis of all his sceptical theories. It appears to me, that the doctrines of both these eminent authors, with respect to the origin of our ideas, resolve into the supposition, that consciousness is exclusively the source of all our knowledge. Their language, indeed, particularly that of Locke, seems to imply the contrary; but that this was really their opinion, may, with certainty, be inferred from their own comments." (Phil. Essay, p. 82, et seq.)—ED.

* On this subject see Wolf's Logic, p. 11. Logique de Du Marsais, p. 20 et seq. This latter writer takes of the whole question the views of a mere materialist. "Elle (l'âme) sent immédiatement par les sens extérieurs, et elle sent médiatement par les organes du sens intérieur du cerveau." Descartes undertakes to explain the very manner in which ideas are obtained by sensation: "Les choses extérieures," says he, "mettant les esprits vitaux en mouvement par les impressions qu'elles produisent, ces esprits remontent au cerveau, et y forment un canal ou type, qui correspond aux impressions et a leur matière determinée. Ce type n'est pas l'idée de l'objet lui-même, mais l'âme en prend connaissance, et alors voit en elle-même l'idée, qui diffère donc totalement du type et de l'objet qui cause l'impression." (Buhle, Hist. de la Phil. Mod. vol. iii. p. 20.) Aristotle on this question appears to have entertained the same opinions as Locke. (See De Anima, ii. 5, 6, 12.) Though, as Dr. Gillies has already observed, the celebrated axiom, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuit prius in sensu," appears not to be at present found in the works of the Stagirite. (Ethics and Politics, Anal. I. 46.) This doctrine, before the time of Locke, had already been adopted by Hobbes. "Il n'y a dans l'âme aucune idée qui n'ait été précédemment produite, en toute ou en partie, par un des sens." (Buhle, Hist. Phil. Mod. vol. iii. 203.)—ED.

4. *The Operations of our Minds, the other Source of them.*—Secondly, the other fountain, from which experience furnisheth the understanding with ideas, is the perception of the operations of our own mind within us, as it is employed about the ideas it has got; which operations, when the soul comes to reflect on and consider, do furnish the understanding with another set of ideas, which could not be had from things without; and such are perception, thinking, doubting, believing, reasoning, knowing, willing, and all the different actings of our own minds; which we being conscious of, and observing in ourselves, do from these receive into our understandings as distinct ideas, as we do from bodies affecting our senses. This source of ideas every man has wholly in himself; and though it be not sense, as having nothing to do with external objects, yet it is very like it, and might properly enough be called internal sense.* But as I call the other Sensation, so I call this REFLECTION, the ideas it affords being such only as the mind gets by reflecting on its own operations within itself. By reflection then, in the following part of this discourse, I would be understood to mean that notice which the mind takes of its own operations, and the manner of them; by reason whereof there come to be ideas of these operations in the understanding. These two, I say, viz., external material things, as the objects of sensation; and the operations of our own minds within, as the objects of reflection; are to me the only originals from whence all our ideas take their beginnings. The term operations here I use in a large sense, as comprehending not barely the actions of the mind about its ideas, but some sort of passions arising sometimes from them, such as is the satisfaction or uneasiness arising from any thought.

5. *All our Ideas are of the one or the other of these.*—The understanding seems to me not to have the least glimmering of any ideas which it doth not receive from one of these two. External objects furnish the mind with the ideas of sensible qualities, which are all those different perceptions they produce in us; and the mind furnishes the understanding with ideas of its own operations.

These, when we have taken a full survey of them, and their several modes, combinations, and relations, we shall find to contain all our whole stock of ideas; and that we have

* See on this subject the writings of Stewart, Hutcheson, &c.—ED.

nothing in our minds, which did not come in one of these two ways. Let any one examine his own thoughts, and thoroughly search into his understanding; and then let him tell me, whether all the original ideas he has there, are any other than of the objects of his senses, or of the operations of his mind, considered as objects of his reflection: and how great a mass of knowledge soever he imagines to be lodged there, he will, upon taking a strict view, see that he has not any idea in his mind, but what one of these two have imprinted;* though, perhaps, with infinite variety compounded and enlarged by the understanding, as we shall see hereafter.

6. *Observable in Children.*—He that attentively considers the state of a child, at his first coming into the world, will have little reason to think him stored with plenty of ideas, that are to be the matter of his future knowledge: it is by degrees he comes to be furnished with them. And though the ideas of obvious and familiar qualities imprint themselves before the memory begins to keep a register of time or order,

* Mr. Dugald Stewart supposes himself to be controverting this doctrine in the following passage; but if such be really the case, I confess he does not carry my understanding along with him: "It is surely an intuitive truth, that the sensations of which I am now conscious, and all those of which I retain any remembrance, belong to one and the same being, which I call *myself*. Here is an intuitive judgment, involving the simple idea of *personal identity*. In like manner, the changes of which I am conscious in the state of my own mind, and those which I perceive in the external universe, impress me with a conviction that some *cause* must have operated to produce them. Here is an intuitive judgment, involving the simple idea of *causation*. To these, and other instances of the same kind, may be added our ideas of *time;* of *number;* of *truth;* of *certainty;* of *probability;*—all of which, while they are manifestly peculiar to a rational mind, necessarily arise in the human understanding, when employed in the exercise of its different faculties. To say, therefore, with Cudworth, and some of the Greek philosophers, that Reason, or the Understanding, is a source of new ideas, is not so exceptionable a mode of speaking as it may appear to be at first sight, to those whose reading has not extended beyond Locke's Essay. According to the system *there* taught, Sense furnishes our ideas, and Reason perceives their agreements or disagreements. But the fact is, that what Locke calls *agreements and disagreements* are, in many instances, simple ideas, of which no analysis can be given, and of which the origin must therefore be referred to reason, according to Locke's own doctrine." (Phil. Ess. p. 98 et seq.) Now in my judgment, these observations, designed to subvert Locke's doctrine, only tend more completely to establish it, for his term 'reflection' includes all those operations of the mind alluded to rather than described by Mr. Stewart.—Ed.

yet it is often so late before some unusual qualities come in the way, that there are few men that cannot recollect the beginning of their acquaintance with them; and if it were worth while, no doubt a child might be so ordered as to have but a very few, even of the ordinary ideas, till he were grown up to a man. But all that are born into the world being surrounded with bodies that perpetually and diversely affect them, variety of ideas, whether care be taken of it or not, are imprinted on the minds of children. Light and colours are busy at hand everywhere, when the eye is but open; sounds and some tangible qualities fail not to solicit their proper senses, and force an entrance to the mind; but yet, I think, it will be granted easily, that if a child were kept in a place where he never saw any other but black and white till he were a man,* he would have no more ideas of scarlet or green, than he that from his childhood never tasted an oyster or a pine-apple has of those particular relishes.

7. *Men are differently furnished with these, according to the different Objects they converse with.*—Men then come to be furnished with fewer or more simple ideas from without, according as the objects they converse with afford greater or less variety; and from the operations of their minds within, according as they more or less reflect on them. For though

* Plato has drawn a picture of men thus mewed up in a cavern and haunted by the shadows of external objects, imagining also what would be their feelings when first they should stumble forth into the light of the sun. (De Repub. l. vii. t. vi. p. 326. Bekk.) A similar picture has likewise been drawn by his great disciple, as we find him interpreted by Cicero. (De Nat. Deor. ii. 37.) "Si essent qui sub terra semper habitavissent, bonis et illustribus domiciliis, quæ essent ornata signis atque picturis, instructaque rebus iis omnibus, quibus abundant ii qui beati putantur, nec tamen exissent unquam supra terram: accepissent autem famâ et auditione esse quoddam numen, et vim deorum: deinde aliquo tempore, patefactis terræ faucibus, ex illis abditis sedibus evadere in hæc loca quæ nos incolimus, atque exire potuissent: cum repente terram, et maria, cœlumque vidissent: nubium magnitudinem, ventorumque vim cognovissent, aspexissentque solem, ejusque lucis magnitudinem, pulchritudinemque, tum etiam efficientiam cognovissent, quod is diem efficeret, toto cœlo luce diffusâ: cum autem terras nox opacasset, tum cœlum totum cernerent astris distinctum et ornatum, tumque luminum varietatem tum crescentis, tum senescentis, eorumque omnium ortus et occasus, atque in omni æternitate sc los immutabilesque cursus: hæc cum viderent, profecto et esse deos, et hæc tanta opera deorum esse arbitrarentur" ED.

ne that contemplates the operations of his mind, cannot but have plain and clear ideas of them; yet, unless he turns his thoughts that way, and considers them attentively, he will no more have clear and distinct ideas of all the operations of his mind, and all that may be observed therein, than he will have all the particular ideas of any landscape, or of the parts and motions of a clock, who will not turn his eyes to it, and with attention heed all the parts of it. The picture or clock may be so placed, that they may come in his way every day; but yet he will have but a confused idea of all the parts they are made up of, till he applies himself with attention to consider them each in particular.

8. *Ideas of Reflection later, because they need Attention.*— And hence we see the reason why it is pretty late before most children get ideas of the operations of their own minds; and some have not any very clear or perfect ideas of the greatest part of them all their lives; because, though they pass there continually, yet, like floating visions, they make not deep impressions enough to leave in their mind clear, distinct, lasting ideas, till the understanding turns inward upon itself, reflects on its own operations, and makes them the objects of its own contemplation. Children when they come first into it, are surrounded with a world of new things, which, by a constant solicitation of their senses, draw the mind constantly to them, forward to take notice of new, and apt to be delighted with the variety of changing objects. Thus the first years are usually employed and diverted in looking abroad. Men's business in them is to acquaint themselves with what is to be found without; and so growing up in a constant attention to outward sensations, seldom make any considerable reflection on what passes within them till they come to be of riper years, and some scarce ever at all.

9. *The Soul begins to have Ideas when it begins to perceive.*— To ask at what time a man has first any ideas, is to ask when he begins to perceive; having ideas, and perception, being the same thing. I know it is an opinion, that the soul always thinks,* and that it has the actual perception of ideas

* It has been seen above, that this was maintained by Pythagoras, and among the moderns, by Leibnitz and Descartes. Aristotle controverts the opinion of those who taught that the soul is a self-moving principle, (De Anim. i. 3,) and Locke here follows that

in itself constantly, as long as it exists, and that actual thinking is as inseparable from the soul as actual extension is from the body; which if true, to inquire after the beginning of a man's ideas, is the same as to inquire after the beginning of his soul: for by this account, soul and its ideas, as body and its extension, will begin to exist both at the same time.

10. *The Soul thinks not always; but this wants Proofs.*— But whether the soul be supposed to exist antecedent to, or coeval with, or some time after the first rudiments of organization, or the beginnings of life in the body, I leave to be disputed by those who have better thought of that matter. I confess myself to have one of those dull souls, that doth not perceive itself always to contemplate ideas; nor can conceive it any more necessary for the soul always to think, than for the body always to move; the perception of ideas being (as I conceive) to the soul, what motion is to the body, not its essence, but one of its operations; and therefore, though thinking be supposed ever so much the proper action of the soul, yet it is not necessary to suppose that it should be always thinking, always in action. That, perhaps, is the privilege of the Infinite Author and Preserver of things, who never slumbers nor sleeps; but it is not competent to any finite being, at least not to the soul of man. We know certainly, by experience, that we sometimes think, and thence draw this infallible consequence, that there is something in us that has a power to think; but whether that substance perpetually thinks or no, we can be no further assured than experience informs us; for to say that actual thinking is essential to the soul, and inseparable from it, is to beg what is in question, and not to prove it by reason, which is necessary to be done, if it be not a self-evident proposition. But whether this, "that the soul always thinks," be a self-evident proposition, that everybody assents to at first hearing, I appeal to mankind. It is doubted whether I thought at all last night or not; the question being about a matter of fact, it is begging it to bring, as a proof for it, an hypothesis, which is the

philosopher. On the opinion of Descartes, the reader who does not choose to toil through his crabbed and voluminous works, may consult Buhle, (Hist. de la Philosophie Moderne, l. iii. p. 10 et seq.) and Tennemann's manual. (§ 325 et seq.) This historian's bird's-eye view of Leibnitz's philosophy (§ 346 et seq.) may also be compared with Buhle's much longer account. (l. iv. p. 111 et seq.)—ED.

very thing in dispute; by which way one may prove anything: and it is but supposing that all watches, whilst the balance beats, think, and it is sufficiently proved, and past doubt, that my watch thought all last night. But he that would not deceive himself, ought to build his hypothesis on matter of fact, and make it out by sensible experience, and not presume on matter of fact, because of his hypothesis; that is, because he supposes it to be so; which way of proving amounts to this, that I must necessarily think all last night, because another supposes I always think, though I myself cannot perceive that I always do so.

But men in love with their opinions may not only suppose what is in question, but allege wrong matter of fact; how else could any one make it an inference of mine, that a thing is not, because we are not sensible of it in our sleep? I do not say there is no soul in a man, because he is not sensible of it in his sleep; but I do say, he cannot think at any time, waking or sleeping, without being sensible of it. Our being sensible of it is not necessary to anything but to our thoughts, and to them it is, and to them it always will be necessary, till we can think without being conscious of it.

11. *It is not always conscious of it.*—I grant that the soul, in a waking man, is never without thought, because it is the condition of being awake: but whether sleeping without dreaming be not an affection of the whole man, mind as well as body, may be worth a waking man's consideration, it being hard to conceive that anything should think and not be conscious of it. If the soul doth think in a sleeping man without being conscious of it, I ask whether, during such thinking, it has any pleasure or pain, or be capable of happiness or misery? I am sure the man is not, any more than the bed or earth he lies on; for to be happy or miserable without being conscious of it, seems to me utterly inconsistent and impossible. Or if it be possible that the soul can, whilst the body is sleeping, have its thinking, enjoyments, and concerns, its pleasures or pain, apart, which the man is not conscious of nor partakes in, it is certain that Socrates asleep and Socrates awake is not the same person: but his soul when he sleeps, and Socrates the man, consisting of body and soul when he is waking, are two persons; since waking Socrates has no knowledge of or concernment for that happi-

ness or misery of his soul, which it enjoys alone by itself whilst he sleeps, without perceiving anything of it, any more than he has for the happiness or misery of a man in the Indies, whom he knows not; for if we take wholly away all consciousness of our actions and sensations, especially of pleasure and pain, and the concernment that accompanies it, it will be hard to know wherein to place personal identity.*

* However awkwardly Locke may in this passage express himself, it seems very clear to me that he never meant to affirm, as Bishop Butler and Mr. Stewart suppose, that consciousness *constitutes* personal identity. Indeed, he teaches the direct contrary, contending that the sleeping man and the waking man are identical, though the waking man be conscious of nothing he may have performed in his sleep. Nevertheless, as the reader may desire to compare the remarks of his opponents with the passage in the text, I subjoin from each of these writers an extract containing the pith of his objections. "But though consciousness of what is past does thus ascertain our personal identity, to ourselves, yet, to say that it makes personal identity, or is necessary to our being the same persons, is to say that a person has not existed a single moment, nor done one action but what he can remember; indeed, none but what he reflects upon. And one should really think it self-evident, that consciousness of personal identity presupposes, and therefore cannot constitute, personal identity, any more than knowledge, in any other case, can constitute truth which it presupposes." (Butler, Ess. on Pers. Iden. p. 332.) "As the belief of our *present existence* necessarily accompanies every act of consciousness, so, from a comparison of the sensations and thoughts of which we are *now* conscious, with those of which we recollect to have been conscious formerly, we are impressed with an irresistible conviction of our personal identity. Notwithstanding the strange difficulties that have been raised upon the subject, I cannot conceive any conviction more complete than this, nor any truth more intelligible to all whose understandings have not been perplexed by metaphysical speculation. The objections founded on the change of substance in certain material objects to which we continue to apply the same name, are plainly not applicable to the question concerning the identity of the same person, or the same thinking being, inasmuch as the words sameness and identity are here used in different senses. Of the meaning of those words, when applied to persons, I confess I am not able to give a logical definition; but neither can I define sensation, memory, volition, nor even existence; and if any one should bring himself, by this and other scholastic subtilties, to conclude that he has no interest in making provision for to-morrow, because *personality is not a permanent, but a transient thing*, I can think of no argument to convince him of his error." (Stewart, Phil. Ess. p. 77.) Thucydides, in his account of the plague of Athens, speaks of persons who, when they recovered from the disorder, found that it had expunged from their memory all record of past transactions, and even of their own former existence, so that it was as if they had been born anew: "Τοὺς δὲ καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παρ' αὐτίκα ἀναστάντας τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως, καὶ ἠγνόησαν

12. *If a sleeping Man thinks without knowing it, the sleeping and waking Man are two Persons.*—"The soul, during sound sleep, thinks," say these men. Whilst it thinks and perceives, it is capable certainly of those of delight or trouble, as well as any other perceptions; and it must necessarily be conscious of its own perceptions. But it has all this apart; the sleeping man, it is plain, is conscious of nothing of all this. Let us suppose, then, the soul of Castor, while he is sleeping, retired from his body; which is no impossible supposition for the men I have here to do with, who so liberally allow life, without a thinking soul, to all other animals;*—these men cannot, then, judge it impossible, or a contradiction, that the body should live without the soul, nor that the soul should subsist, and think, or have perception, even perception of happiness or misery, without the body;—let us then, I say, suppose the soul of Castor separated, during his sleep, from his body, to think apart; let us suppose, too, that it chooses for its scene of thinking the body of another man, v. g. Pollux, who is sleeping without a soul (for if Castor's soul can think whilst Castor is asleep, what Castor is never conscious of, it is no matter what place it chooses to think in);†—we have here, then, the bodies of two men with only

σφᾶς ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους." (ii. 49.) That these were the same individuals who fell sick of the pestilence, no one can doubt; but for themselves, they had, upon their restoration to health, no consciousness of anything an hour old.—ED.

* He proceeds with his attacks on Cartesianism, which taught that animals were mere living machines. This doctrine appears likely to be revived in our own day, to judge from a paper in Blackwood's Magazine, in which insects are taught to be little else than machines. One of the most remarkable experiments undertaken to prove that insects are insensible to pain, is that described by Le Vaillant, who says: "Je pris une grande sauterelle à ailes rouges de Cap; je lui ouvris le ventre, lui enlevai les intestins, en les remplaçant par du coton, et, dans cet état, je l'attachai dans une boite avec une épingle qui lui traversait le corselet. Elle y resta cinq mois, et au bout de ce temps elle remuait encore et ses pates et ses antennes" (Voy. t. iv. p. 182, ed. Par. 1830.) It was once the fashion to consider man himself in this light, when La Mettrie pushed the thing so far as to contend that we are but so many plants endued with locomotive powers! Having proceeded thus far, philosophy, finding it impossible to descend any lower, began to look upwards, and man accordingly has ceased to be confounded with hops and potatoes —ED.

† Upon this notion, that souls can detach themselves from the bodies to which they belong, and travel about independently, I constructed my

one soul between them, which we will suppose to sleep and wake by turns; and the soul still thinking in the waking man, whereof the sleeping man is never conscious, has never the least perception. I ask, then, whether Castor and Pollux, thus with only one soul between them, which thinks and perceives in one what the other is never conscious of nor is concerned for, are not two as distinct persons as Castor and Hercules, or as Socrates and Plato were? and whether one of them might not be very happy, and the other very miserable? Just by the same reason they make the soul and the man two persons, who make the soul think apart what the man is not conscious of; for I suppose nobody will make identity of persons to consist in the soul's being united to the very same numerical particles of matter; for if that be necessary to identity, it will be impossible, in that constant flux of the particles of our bodies, that any man should be the same person two days or two moments together.

13. *Impossible to convince those that sleep without dreaming, that they think.*—Thus, methinks, every drowsy nod shakes their doctrine, who teach that the soul is always thinking. Those, at least, who do at any time sleep without dreaming, can never be convinced that their thoughts are sometimes for four hours busy without their knowing of it; and if they are taken in the very act, waked in the middle of that sleeping contemplation, can give no manner of account of it.

14. *That Men dream without remembering it, in vain urged.*—It will perhaps be said, "that the soul thinks even in the soundest sleep, but the memory retains it not." That the soul in a sleeping man should be this moment busy a thinking, and the next moment in a waking man not remember nor be able to recollect one jot of all those thoughts, is very hard to be conceived, and would need some better proof than bare assertion to make it be believed; for who can without any more ado, but being barely told so, imagine that the greatest part of men do, during all their lives, for several

story of the "Prophet of Clazomenæ," which relates to the adventures of a disembodied spirit. The belief was common among the ancient Greeks, and still prevails in Hindûstan, where the Sanyases and other religious devotees pretend to possess the power of detaching themselves from their bodies when they please.—ED.

hours every day, think of something, which if they were asked, even in the middle of these thoughts, they could remember nothing at all of! Most men, I think, pass a great part of their sleep without dreaming. I once knew a man that was bred a scholar, and had no bad memory, who told me he had never dreamed in his life till he had that fever he was then newly recovered of, which was about the five or six and twentieth year of his age. I suppose the world affords more such instances; at least every one's acquaintance will furnish him with examples enough of such as pass most of their nights without dreaming.*

15. *Upon this Hypothesis the Thoughts of a sleeping Man ought to be most rational.*—To think often, and never to retain it so much as one moment, is a very useless sort of thinking; and the soul, in such a state of thinking, does very little, if at all, excel that of a looking-glass, which constantly receives variety of images, or ideas, but retains none; they disappear and vanish, and there remain no footsteps of them; the looking-glass is never the better for such ideas, nor the soul for such thoughts. Perhaps it will be said, "that in a waking man the materials of the body are employed and made use of in thinking, and that the memory of thoughts is retained by the impressions that are made on the brain, and the traces there left after such thinking; but that in the thinking of the soul, which is not perceived in a sleeping man, there the soul thinks apart, and making no use of the organs of the body, leaves no impressions on it, and consequently no memory of such thoughts." Not to mention again the absurdity of two distinct persons, which follows from this supposition, I answer, further, that whatever ideas the mind can receive and contemplate without the help of the body, it is reasonable to conclude it can retain without the help of the body too; or else the soul, or any separate spirit, will have but little advantage by thinking. If it has no memory of its own thoughts; if it cannot lay them up for its own use, and be able to recall them upon occasion; if it cannot reflect upon what is past, and make use of its former experiences, reasonings, and contemplations, to what purpose does it think? They who make the soul a thinking

* I have myself known an instance of a person who, up to sixteen, scarcely ever dreamt at all.—ED.

thing, at this rate, will not make it a much more noble being than those do whom they condemn, for allowing it to be nothing but the subtilist parts of matter. Characters drawn on dust, that the first breath of wind effaces, or impressions made on a heap of atoms, or animal spirits, are altogether as useful, and render the subject as noble, as the thoughts of a soul that perish in thinking, that, once out of sight, are gone for ever, and leave no memory of themselves behind them. Nature never makes excellent things for mean or no uses: and it is hardly to be conceived that our infinitely wise Creator should make so admirable a faculty as the power of thinking, that faculty which comes nearest the excellency of his own incomprehensible being, to be so idly and uselessly employed, at least a fourth part of its time here, as to think constantly, without remembering any of those thoughts, without doing any good to itself or others, or being any way useful to any other part of the creation. If we will examine it, we shall not find, I suppose, the motion of dull and senseless matter, any where in the universe, made so little use of and so wholly thrown away.

16. *On this Hypothesis, the Soul must have Ideas not derived from Sensation or Reflection, of which there is no Appearance.*— It is true, we have sometimes instances of perception whilst we are asleep, and retain the memory of those thoughts; but how extravagant and incoherent for the most part they are, how little conformable to the perfection and order of a rational being, those acquainted with dreams need not be told.* This I would willingly be satisfied in, whether the soul, when it thinks thus apart, and as it were separate from the body, acts less rationally than when conjointly with it, or not. If its separate thoughts be less rational, then these

* On the nature and causes of dreams Hobbes has constructed a peculiarly ingenious theory, in which he attempts to explain, upon physiological principles, the reasons of their existence and variety. "When present sense is not," observes he, "as in sleep, there the images remaining after sense, (when there be many,) as in dreams, are not obscure, but strong and clear, as in sense itself. The reason is, that which obscured and made the conceptions weak, namely, sense, and present operation of the object, is removed; for *sleep is the privation of the act of sense*, (the power remaining,) and dreams are the imagination of them that sleep." (Human Nature, c. iii. § 2.) See the following sections for the remainder of this theory.—ED.

men must say that the soul owes the perfection of rational thinking to the body; if it does not, it is a wonder that our dreams should be, for the most part, so frivolous and irrational, and that the soul should retain none of its more rational soliloquies and meditations.

17. *If I think when I know it not, nobody else can know it.*—Those who so confidently tell us that "the soul always actually thinks," I would they would also tell us what those ideas are that are in the soul of a child, before, or just at the union with the body, before it has received any by sensation.* The dreams of sleeping men are, as I take it, all made up of the waking man's ideas, though for the most part oddly put together. It is strange, if the soul has ideas of its own that it derived not from sensation or reflection, (as it must have, if it thought before it received any impressions from the body,) that it should never, in its private thinking, (so private, that the man himself perceives it not,) retain any of them, the very moment it wakes out of them, and then make the man glad with new discoveries. Who can find it reasonable that the soul should, in its retirement, during sleep, have so many hours' thoughts, and yet never light on any of those ideas it borrowed not from sensation or reflection; or, at least, preserve the memory of none but such, which, being occasioned from the body, must needs be less natural to a spirit? It is strange

* Upon the doctrine alluded to in this passage, Mr. Stewart makes the following observations: "*Mr. Locke's quibbles (!)* founded on the word *innate*, were early remarked by Lord Shaftesbury. 'Innate is a word he poorly plays upon; the right word, though less used, is connatural; for what has birth, or the progress of the fœtus out of the womb, to do in this case? The question is not about the *time* the ideas entered, or the *moment* that one body came out of the other; but whether the constitution of man be such, that being adult or grown up, at such or such a time, sooner or later, (no matter when,) *certain ideas* will not infallibly, inevitably, necessarily spring up in him.'" (Letters to a Student at the University, lett. 8.) "I have," says Mr. Stewart, "substituted, in this quotation, the phrase *certain ideas*, instead of Shaftesbury's example,—*the ideas of order, administration, and a God*,—with the view of separating his general observation from the particular application which he wished to make of it, in the tract from which this quotation is borrowed." (Phil. Ess. p. 104 et seq.) This dangerous practice of tampering with the text of the authors he quotes, would have enabled Mr. Stewart to make them say whatever he pleased. Upon the opinions which he and his noble coadjutor put forward in this passage it is unnecessary to comment.—ED.

the soul should never once in a man's whole life recall over any of its pure native thoughts, and those ideas it had before it borrowed anything from the body; never bring into the waking man's view any other ideas but what have a tang of the cask, and manifestly derive their original from that union. If it always thinks, and so had ideas before it was united, or before it received any from the body, it is not to be supposed but that during sleep it recollects its native ideas; and during that retirement from communicating with the body, whilst it thinks by itself, the ideas it is busied about should be, sometimes at least, those more natural and congenial ones which it had in itself, underived from the body, or its own operations about them: which, since the waking man never remembers, we must from this hypothesis conclude, either that the soul remembers something that the man does not, or else that memory belongs only to such ideas as are derived from the body, or the mind's operations about them.

18. *How knows any one that the Soul always thinks? For if it be not a self-evident Proposition, it needs Proof.*—I would be glad also to learn from these men, who so confidently pronounce that the human soul, or, which is all one, that a man always thinks, how they come to know it; nay, how they come to know that they themselves think, when they themselves do not perceive it. This, I am afraid, is to be sure without proofs, and to know without perceiving; it is, I suspect, a confused notion taken up to serve an hypothesis, and none of those clear truths that either their own evidence forces us to admit, or common experience makes it impudence to deny. For the most that can be said of it is, that it is possible the soul may always think, but not always retain it in memory: and I say, it is as possible that the soul may not always think, and much more probable that it should sometimes not think, than that it should often think, and that a long while together, and not be conscious to itself the next moment after, that it had thought.

19. *That a Man should be busy in Thinking, and yet not retain it the next moment, very improbable.*—To suppose the soul to think, and the man not to perceive it, is, as has been said, to make two persons in one man: and if one considers well these men's way of speaking, one should be led into a suspicion that they do so; for they who tell us that the soul

always thinks, do never, that I remember, say that a man always thinks. Can the soul think, and not the man? or a man think, and not be conscious of it? This, perhaps, would be suspected of jargon in others. If they say the man thinks always, but is not always conscious of it, they may as well say his body is extended without having parts; for it is altogether as intelligible to say that a body is extended without parts, as that anything thinks without being conscious of it, or perceiving that it does so. They who talk thus may, with as much reason, if it be necessary to their hypothesis, say that a man is always hungry, but that he does not always feel it; whereas hunger consists in that very sensation, as thinking consists in being conscious that one thinks. If they say that a man is always conscious to himself of thinking, I ask how they know it? Consciousness is the perception of what passes in a man's own mind. Can another man perceive that I am conscious of anything, when I perceive it not myself? No man's knowledge here can go beyond his experience. Wake a man out of a sound sleep, and ask him what he was that moment thinking of. If he himself be conscious of nothing he then thought on, he must be a notable diviner of thoughts that can assure him that he was thinking: may he not, with more reason, assure him he was not asleep? This is something beyond philosophy; and it cannot be less than revelation, that discovers to another thoughts in my mind, when I can find none there myself; and they must needs have a penetrating sight who can certainly see that I think, when I cannot perceive it myself, and when I declare that I do not; and yet can see that dogs or elephants do not think, when they give all the demonstration of it imaginable, except only telling us that they do so. This some may suspect to be a step beyond the Rosicrucians;* it seeming easier to make one's self invisible to others, than to make another's thoughts visible to me, which are not visible to himself. But it is but defining the soul to be "a substance that always thinks," and the business is done. If such definition be of any authority, I know not what it can serve for, but to make many men suspect that they have no souls at all, since they find a good part of their lives pass away without thinking; for no

* On the system of these mystics, see Pope's Preface to the Rape of the Lock, and the Memoirs of the Comte de Gabalis, *passim*. — Ed.

definitions that I know, no suppositions of any sect, are of force enough to destroy constant experience; and perhaps it is the affectation of knowing beyond what we perceive, that makes so much useless dispute and noise in the world.

20. *No Ideas but from Sensation and Reflection, evident, if we observe Children.*—I see no reason, therefore, to believe that the soul thinks before the senses have furnished it with ideas to think on; and as those are increased and retained, so it comes, by exercise, to improve its faculty of thinking in the several parts of it, as well as, afterwards, by compounding those ideas and reflecting on its own operations; it increases its stock, as well as facility, in remembering, imagining, reasoning, and other modes of thinking.

21. He that will suffer himself to be informed by observation and experience, and not make his own hypothesis the rule of nature, will find few signs of a soul accustomed to much thinking in a new-born child, and much fewer of any reasoning at all; and yet it is hard to imagine that the rational soul should think so much, and not reason at all. And he that will consider that infants newly come into the world spend the greatest part of their time in sleep, and are seldom awake but when either hunger calls for the teat, or some pain (the most importunate of all sensations) or some other violent impression on the body forces the mind to perceive and attend to it; he, I say, who considers this, will perhaps find reason to imagine that a fœtus in the mother's womb differs not much from the state of a vegetable, but passes the greatest part of its time without perception or thought, doing very little in a place where it needs not seek for food, and is surrounded with liquor, always equally soft, and near of the same temper; where the eyes have no light, and the ears so shut up, are not very susceptible of sounds; and where there is little or no variety, or change of objects to move the senses.

22. Follow a child from its birth, and observe the alterations that time makes, and you shall find, as the mind by the senses comes more and more to be furnished with ideas, it comes to be more and more awake; thinks more, the more 't has matter to think on. After some time it begins to know the objects which, being most familiar with it, have made lasting impressions: thus it comes by degrees to know the

persons it daily converses with and distinguishes them from strangers, which are instances and effects of its coming to retain and distinguish the ideas the senses convey to it. And so we may observe how the mind, by degrees, improves in these, and advances to the exercise of those other faculties of enlarging, compounding, and abstracting its ideas,* and of reasoning about them, and reflecting upon all these; of which I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

23. If it shall be demanded, then, when a man begins to have any ideas, I think the true answer is, when he first has any sensation; for, since there appear not to be any ideas in the mind before the senses have conveyed any in, I conceive that ideas in the understanding are coeval with sensation, which is such an impression or motion made in some part of the body, as produces some perception in the understanding. It is about these impressions made on our senses by outward objects, that the mind seems first to employ itself in such operations as we call perception, remembering, consideration, reasoning, &c.

24. *The Original of all our Knowledge.*—In time the mind comes to reflect on its own operations about the ideas got by

* Berkeley, Hume, Tooke, and many others, deny the power of abstraction altogether. (See Berk., Works, i. 5—16.)—"It seems to me," observes Hume, "not impossible to avoid these absurdities and contradictions, (see his Essay on Sceptical Philosophy,) if it be admitted that there is no such thing as abstract in general ideas, properly speaking; but that all general ideas are, in reality, particular ones, attached to a general term, which recalls, upon occasion, other particular ones, that resemble, in certain circumstances, the idea present to the mind. Thus when the term 'horse' is pronounced, we immediately figure to ourselves the idea of a black or a white animal, of a particular size or figure; but as that term is also used to be applied to animals of other colours, figures, and sizes, these ideas, though not actually present to the imagination, are easily recalled, and our reasoning and conclusion proceed in the same way as if they were actually present. If this be admitted, (as seems reasonable,) it follows that all the ideas of quantity, upon which mathematicians reason, are nothing but particular, and such as are suggested by the senses and imagination, and consequently cannot be infinitely divisible. 'Tis sufficient to have dropped this hint at present, without prosecuting it any further. It certainly concerns all lovers of science not to expose themselves to the ridicule and contempt of the ignorant by their conclusions; and this seems the readiest solution of these difficulties." (Hume's Essays, p. 371, n. c., ed. 1758.) But why should philosophers seek to avoid the ridicule of the ignorant? It is the only compliment they can pay them.—Ed.

sensation, and thereby stores itself with a new set of ideas, which I call ideas of reflection. These are the impressions that are made on our senses by outward objects that are extrinsical to the mind, and its own operations, proceeding from powers intrinsical and proper to itself; which, when reflected on by itself, becoming also objects of its contemplation, are, as I have said, the original of all knowledge. Thus the first capacity of human intellect is, that the mind is fitted to receive the impressions made on it, either through the senses by outward objects, or by its own operations when it reflects on them. This is the first step a man makes towards the discovery of anything, and the groundwork whereon to build all those notions which ever he shall have naturally in this world. All those sublime thoughts which tower above the clouds, and reach as high as heaven itself, take their rise and footing here: in all that good extent wherein the mind wanders, in those remote speculations it may seem to be elevated with, it stirs not one jot beyond those ideas which sense or reflection has offered for its contemplation.*

25. *In the Reception of simple Ideas, the Understanding is for the most part passive.*—In this part the understanding is merely passive; and whether or not it will have these beginnings, and, as it were, materials of knowledge, is not in its own power: for the objects of our senses do, many of them, obtrude their particular ideas upon our minds whether we will or not; and the operations of our minds will not let us be without, at least, some obscure notions of them. No man can be wholly ignorant of what he does when he thinks.

* Hume has imitated and paraphrased this passage, but has fallen short of its vigour and sublimity. "Nothing," says he, "at first view, may seem more unbounded than the thought of man, which not only escapes all human power and authority, but is not even restrained within the limits of nature and reality. To form monsters, and join incongruous shapes and appearances, cost no more trouble than to conceive the most natural and familiar objects. And while the body is confined within one planet, along which it creeps with pain and difficulty, the thought can in an instant transport us into the most distant regions of the universe, or even beyond the universe, into the unbounded chaos, where nature is supposed to be in total confusion. What never was seen nor heard of, may yet be conceived; nor is anything beyond the power of thought, except what implies an absolute contradiction." (Essays, p. 290.) The same idea has been employed by the authors of the Système de la Nature to taunt and humiliate man.—Ed.

These simple ideas, when offered to the mind, the understanding can no more refuse to have, nor alter, when they are imprinted, nor blot them out, and make new ones itself, than a mirror can refuse, alter, or obliterate the images or ideas which the objects set before it do therein produce. As the bodies that surround us do diversely affect our organs, the mind is forced to receive the impressions, and cannot avoid the perception of those ideas that are annexed to them.

CHAPTER II.

OF SIMPLE IDEAS.

1. *Uncompounded Appearances.*—THE better to understand the nature, manner, and extent of our knowledge, one thing is carefully to be observed concerning the ideas we have; and that is, that some of them are simple and some complex.

Though the qualities that affect our senses are, in the things themselves, so united and blended, that there is no separation, no distance between them; yet it is plain, the ideas they produce in the mind enter by the senses simple and unmixed. For though the sight and touch often take in from the same object, at the same time, different ideas; as a man sees at once motion and colour; the hand feels softness and warmth in the same piece of wax; yet the simple ideas thus united in the same subject, are as perfectly distinct as those that come in by different senses: the coldness and hardness which a man feels in a piece of ice being as distinct ideas in the mind, as the smell and whiteness of a lily, or as the taste of sugar, and smell of a rose. And there is nothing can be plainer to a man, than the clear and distinct perception he has of those simple ideas; which being each in itself uncompounded, contains in it nothing but one uniform appearance or conception in the mind, and is not distinguishable into different ideas.

2. *The Mind can neither make nor destroy them.*—These simple ideas, the materials of all our knowledge, are suggested and furnished to the mind only by those two ways above mentioned, viz., sensation and reflection.* When the understanding is once stored with these simple ideas, it has the

* See Locke's first letter to the Bishop of Worcester.—ED.

power to repeat, compare, and unite them, even to an almost infinite variety, and so can make at pleasure new complex ideas. But it is not in the power of the most exalted wit, or enlarged understanding, by any quickness or variety of thought, to invent or frame one new simple idea in the mind, not taken in by the ways before mentioned: nor can any force of the understanding destroy those that are there. The dominion of man, in this little world of his own understanding, being muchwhat the same as it is in the great world of visible things; wherein his power, however managed by art and skill, reaches no farther than to compound and divide the materials that are made to his hand; but can do nothing towards the making the least particle of new matter, or destroying one atom of what is already in being. The same inability will every one find in himself, who shall go about to fashion in his understanding one simple idea, not received in by his senses from external objects, or by reflection from the operations of his own mind about them. I would have any one try to fancy any taste which had never affected his palate, or frame the idea of a scent he had never smelt; and when he can do this, I will also conclude that a blind man hath ideas of colours, and a deaf man true distinct notions of sounds.

3. This is the reason why, though we cannot believe it impossible to God to make a creature with other organs, and more ways to convey into the understanding the notice of corporeal things than those five, as they are usually counted, which he has given to man; yet I think it is not possible for any one to imagine any other qualities in bodies, howsoever constituted, whereby they can be taken notice of, besides sounds, tastes, smells, visible and tangible qualities. And had mankind been made but with four senses, the qualities then which are the object of the fifth sense, had been as far from our notice, imagination, and conception, as now any belonging to a sixth, seventh, or eighth sense can possibly be; which, whether yet some other creatures, in some other parts of this vast and stupendous universe, may not have, will be a great presumption to deny. He that will not set himself proudly at the top of all things,* but will consider

* Upon this theme Montaigne declaims with much force and eloquence in

the immensity of this fabric, and the great variety that is to be found in this little and inconsiderable part of it which he has to do with, may be apt to think, that in other mansions of it there may be other and different intelligent beings, of whose faculties he has as little knowledge or apprehension, as a worm shut up in one drawer of a cabinet hath of the senses or understanding of a man: such variety and excellency being suitable to the wisdom and power of the Maker. I have here followed the common opinion of man's having but five senses, though, perhaps, there may be justly counted more; but either supposition serves equally to my present purpose.*

CHAPTER III.

OF IDEAS OF ONE SENSE.

1. *Division of simple Ideas.*—THE better to conceive the ideas we receive from sensation, it may not be amiss for us to consider them in reference to the different ways whereby they make their approaches to our minds, and make themselves perceivable by us.

First, then, There are some which come into our minds by one sense only.

his "Apologie pour Raymond de Sebonde," wherein I am persuaded Pope found the first materials for his "Essay on Man." Probably there may in other parts of the universe exist creatures superior in intellectual powers to us. The sun, for example, may ripen poets more instinct with fire, more brilliant with imagery, more alive with passion, and energy, and sublimity than Homer, and Shakspeare, and Milton. In my inmost thoughts I would not call in question the efficacy of God's will. Yet since the ideas of man have overflowed this visible universe, and risen like a flood to the very throne of God, it is not impossible that they may have reached the limit set to the apprehensions of created beings, and that between us and the Divinity there is, in intellect, no higher link. In Milton, Plato, Shakspeare, and Homer, we have seraphs enshrined in human clay. Pope's views are rather those of a satirist than of a philosopher:

> "What would this man!—now upward would he soar,
> And, little less than angel, would be more.
> Now, looking downward, just as grieved appears,
> To want the strength of bulls, the fur of bears."—ED.

* Does he allude here to the internal sense afterwards maintained by Hutcheson?—ED.

Secondly, There are others that convey themselves into the mind by more senses than one.

Thirdly, Others that are had from reflection only.

Fourthly, There are some that make themselves way, and are suggested to the mind by all the ways of sensation and reflection.

We shall consider them apart under their several heads.

Ideas of one Sense, as Colours, of Seeing; Sound, of Hearing, &c.—There are some ideas which have admittance only through one sense, which is peculiarly adapted to receive them. Thus light and colours, as white, red, yellow, blue, with their several degrees or shades and mixtures, as green, scarlet, purple, sea-green, and the rest, come in only by the eyes; all kinds of noises, sounds, and tones, only by the ears; the several tastes and smells, by the nose and palate. And if these organs, or the nerves, which are the conduits to convey them from without to their audience in the brain,—the mind's presence-room, as I may so call it,—are any of them so disordered as not to perform their functions,* they have no postern to be admitted by, no other way to bring themselves into view, and be perceived by the understanding.

The most considerable of those belonging to the touch, are heat and cold, and solidity: all the rest, consisting almost wholly in the sensible configuration, as smooth and rough; or else more or less firm adhesion of the parts, as hard and soft, tough and brittle, are obvious enough.

2. *Few simple Ideas have Names.*—I think it will be needless to enumerate all the particular simple ideas belonging to each sense. Nor indeed is it possible if we would, there being a great many more of them belonging to most of the senses than we have names for. The variety of smells, which are as many almost, if not more, than species of bodies in the world, do most of them want names. Sweet and stinking commonly serve our turn for these ideas, which in effect is little more than to call them pleasing or displeasing; though the smell of a rose and violet, both sweet, are certainly very distinct ideas.† Nor are the different

* Belzoni, who had no sense of smell, furnishes an example of what is here said.—Ed.

† On the nature of the sense of smell, see Blumenbach's Physi

tastes, that by our palates we receive ideas of, much better provided with names. Sweet, bitter, sour, harsh, and salt are almost all the epithets we have to denominate that numberless variety of relishes, which are to be found distinct, not only in almost every sort of creatures, but in the different parts of the same plant, fruit, or animal. The same may be said of colours and sounds. I shall, therefore, in the account of simple ideas I am here giving, content myself to set down only such as are most material to our present purpose, or are in themselves less apt to be taken notice of, though they are very frequently the ingredients of our complex ideas, amongst which, I think, I may well account solidity, which therefore I shall treat of in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

OF SOLIDITY.

1. *We receive this Idea from Touch.*—THE idea of solidity we receive by our touch; and it arises from the resistance which we find in body to the entrance of any other body into the place it possesses, till it has left it.* There is no

ology, § 15. 235 et seq. Consult likewise the Onomasticon of Julius Pollux, i. 72 et seq.—ED.

* On solidity, and the other primary qualities of matter, the most extraordinary opinions have been put forward by philosophers, from the days of Protagoras, whose notions are examined in the Theætetos of Plato, down to our own time. Not the least curious among the theories which have been started is that of Boscovich, of which Mr. Dugald Stewart has given a slight outline. "The ultimate elements (we are taught) of which matter is composed, are unextended atoms, or in other words *mathematical points*, endued with certain powers of attraction and repulsion; and it is from these powers that all the physical appearances of the universe arise. The effects, for example, which are vulgarly ascribed to actual contact, are all produced by repulsive forces, occupying those parts of space where *bodies* are perceived by our senses: and therefore the correct idea that we ought to annex to matter, considered as an object of perception, is merely that of a *power of resistance* sufficient to counteract the compressing power which our physical strength enables us to exert." (Phil. Essays, 123.) Quite in harmony with this view of the subject are the opinions of Hutton, who observes, that "in thus distinguishing things, it will appear that incompressibility and hardness, powers resisting the change of volume and figure, are the properties of an external body; and that these are the essential qualities of that extended figured thing, so far as it is only

idea which we receive more constantly from sensation than solidity. Whether we move or rest, in what posture soever we are, we always feel something under us that supports us, and hinders our further sinking downwards; and the bodies which we daily handle make us perceive, that whilst they remain between them, they do, by an insurmountable force, hinder the approach of the parts of our hands that press them. That which thus hinders the approach of two bodies, when they are moved one towards another, I call solidity. I will not dispute whether this acceptation of the word solid be nearer to its original signification than that which mathematicians use it in; it suffices that I think the common notion of solidity will allow, if not justify, this use of it; but if any one think it better to call it impenetrability, he has my consent. Only I have thought the term solidity the more proper to express this idea, not only because of its vulgar use in that sense, but also because it carries something more of positive in it than impenetrability, which is negative, and is perhaps more a consequence of solidity, than solidity itself. This, of all others, seems the idea most intimately connected with and essential to body, so as nowhere else to be found or imagined, but only in matter. And though our senses take no notice of it, but in masses of matter, of a bulk sufficient to cause a sensation in us; yet the mind, having once got this idea from such grosser sensible bodies, traces it

in these resisting powers that the conceived thing termed body is judged to subsist." And again further on: "But if the resistance which is opposed by a natural body to the exertion of our will, endeavouring to destroy the volume, should be as perfectly overcome as is that of hardness in fluidity, then the common opinion of mankind, which supposes the extension of the body to be permanent, would necessarily be changed; for at present we think that this resisting power, which preserves volume in bodies, is absolutely in its nature insurmountable, as it certainly is in its relation to our moving power. Instead, then, of saying that matter, of which natural bodies are composed, is perfectly hard and impenetrable, which is the received opinion of philosophers, we would affirm that there is no permanent property of this kind in a material thing; but that there are certain resisting powers in bodies by which their volumes and figures are presented to us in the actual conformation, which powers however might be overcome. In that case, the extension of the most solid body would be considered only as a conditional thing, like the hardness of a body of ice, which hardness is in the aqueous state of that body perfectly destroyed." (Diss. on Natural Philosophy, 219 et seq.)--ED.

further, and considers it, as well as figure, in the minutest particle of matter that can exist; and finds it inseparably inherent in body, wherever or however modified.

2. *Solidity fills Space.*—This is the idea which belongs to body, whereby we conceive it to fill space. The idea of which filling of space is, that where we imagine any space taken up by a solid substance, we conceive it so to possess it, that it excludes all other solid substances; and will for ever hinder any other two bodies, that move towards one another in a straight line, from coming to touch one another, unless it removes from between them in a line not parallel to that which they move in. This idea of it, the bodies which we ordinarily handle sufficiently furnish us with.

3. *Distinct from Space.*—This resistance, whereby it keeps other bodies out of the space which it possesses, is so great, that no force, how great soever, can surmount it. All the bodies in the world, pressing a drop of water on all sides, will never be able to overcome the resistance which it will make, soft as it is, to their approaching one another, till it be removed out of their way: whereby our idea of solidity is distinguished both from pure space, which is capable neither of resistance nor motion; and from the ordinary idea of hardness. For a man may conceive two bodies at a distance, so as they may approach one another, without touching or displacing any solid thing, till their superficies come to meet; whereby, I think, we have the clear idea of space without solidity. For (not to go so far as annihilation of any particular body) I ask, whether a man cannot have the idea of the motion of one single body alone, without any other succeeding immediately into its place? I think it is evident he can; the idea of motion in one body no more including the idea of motion in another, than the idea of a square figure in one body includes the idea of a square figure in another. I do not ask, whether bodies do so exist, that the motion of one body cannot really be without the motion of another. To determine this either way, is to beg the question for or against a vacuum. But my question is, whether one cannot have the idea of one body moved, whilst others are at rest? And I think this no one will deny. If so, then the place it deserted gives us the idea of pure space without solidity, whereinto any other body may enter, without either

resistance or protrusion of anything.* When the sucker in a pump is drawn, the space it filled in the tube is certainly the same whether any other body follows the motion of the sucker or not: nor does it imply a contradiction that, upon the motion of one body, another that is only contiguous to it should not follow it. The necessity of such a motion is built only on the supposition that the world is full; but not on the distinct ideas of space and solidity, which are as different as resistance and not resistance, protrusion and not protrusion. And that men have ideas of space without a body, their very disputes about a vacuum plainly demonstrate, as is shown in another place.

4. *From Hardness.*—Solidity is hereby also differenced from hardness, in that solidity consists in repletion, and so an utter exclusion of other bodies out of the space it possesses; but hardness, in a firm cohesion of the parts of matter, making up masses of a sensible bulk, so that the whole does not easily change i s figure. And indeed, hard and soft are names that we give to things only in relation to the constitutions of our own bodies; that being generally called hard by us, which will put us to pain sooner than change figure by the pressure of any part of our bodies; and that on the contrary soft, which changes the situation of its parts upon an easy and unpainful touch.

But this difficulty of changing the situation of the sensible parts amongst themselves, or of the figure of the whole, gives no more solidity to the hardest body in the world than to the softest; nor is an adamant one jot more solid than water. For though the two flat sides of two pieces of marble will more easily approach each other, between which there is nothing but water or air, than if there be a diamond between them; yet it is not that the parts of the diamond are more solid than those of water, or resist more, but because the parts of water being more easily separable from each other, they will,

* It being impossible to compress into a single note all the opinions of the most distinguished philosophers on motion, I shall content myself with referring in the first place to Plato, Theæt. t. iii. p. 257, Bekk. Arist. Phys. Auscult. l. iii. c. 12. Berkeley de Motu, Works, ii. 375. Hartley, Conjecturæ quædam de Sensu, Motu, &c., Prob. 19: this last work is found in that curious collection, Metaphysical Tracts by English Philosophers of the eighteenth Century, published by Dr. Parr.—Ed.

by a side motion, be more easily removed, and give way to the approach of the two pieces of marble. But if they could be kept from making place by that side motion, they would eternally hinder the approach of these two pieces of marble as much as the diamond; and it would be as impossible by any force to surmount their resistance, as to surmount the resistance of the parts of a diamond. The softest body in the world will as invincibly resist the coming together of any other two bodies, if it be not put out of the way, but remain between them, as the hardest that can be found or imagined. He that shall fill a yielding soft body well with air or water, will quickly find its resistance; and he that thinks that nothing but bodies that are hard can keep his hands from approaching one another, may be pleased to make a trial with the air inclosed in a foot-ball. The experiment, I have been told, was made at Florence, with a hollow globe of gold filled with water and exactly closed, which further shows the solidity of so soft a body as water. For the golden globe thus filled being put into a press which was driven by the extreme force of screws, the water made itself way through the pores of that very close metal; and finding no room for a nearer approach of its particles within, got to the outside, where it rose like a dew, and so fell in drops, before the sides of the globe could be made to yield to the violent compression of the engine that squeezed it.

5. *On Solidity depend Impulse, Resistance, and Protrusion.* —By this idea of solidity, is the extension of body distinguished from the extension of space: the extension of body being nothing but the cohesion or continuity of solid, separable, movable parts; and the extension of space, the continuity of unsolid, inseparable, and immovable parts. Upon the solidity of bodies also depend their mutual impulse, resistance, and protrusion. Of pure space then, and solidity, there are several (amongst which I confess myself one) who persuade themselves they have clear and distinct ideas; and that they can think on space, without anything in it that resists or is protruded by body. This is the idea of pure space, which they think they have as clear as any idea they can have of the extension of body; the idea of the distance between the opposite parts of a concave superficies being equally as clear without, as with the idea of any solid parts between; and on

the other side, they persuade themselves that they have, distinct from that of pure space, the idea of something that fills space, that can be protruded by the impulse of other bodies, or resist their motion. If there be others that have not these two ideas distinct, but confound them, and make but one of them, I know not how men, who have the same idea under different names, or different ideas under the same name, can in that case talk with one another; any more than a man who, not being blind or deaf, has distinct ideas of the colour of scarlet and the sound of a trumpet, could discourse concerning scarlet colour with the blind man I mentioned in another place, who fancied that the idea of scarlet was like the sound of a trumpet.

6. *What it is.*—If any one asks me what this solidity is, I send him to his senses to inform him: let him put a flint or a foot-ball between his hands, and then endeavour to join them, and he will know. If he thinks this not a sufficient explication of solidity, what it is, and wherein it consists; I promise to tell him what it is, and wherein it consists, when he tells me what thinking is, or wherein it consists; or explains to me what extension or motion is, which perhaps seems much easier.* The simple ideas we have, are such as experience teaches them us; but if, beyond that, we endeavour by words to make them clearer in the mind, we shall succeed no better than if we went about to clear up the darkness of a blind man's mind by talking, and to discourse into him the ideas of light and colours. The reason of this I shall show in another place.

CHAPTER V.

OF SIMPLE IDEAS OF DIVERS SENSES.

THE ideas we get by more than one sense are, of space or extension, figure, rest, and motion; for these make perceivable impressions, both on the eyes and touch; and we can receive and convey into our minds the ideas of the extension, figure, motion, and rest of bodies, both by seeing and feeling. But

* The scepticism of Berkeley and Collier on the existence of the external world is in this passage attacked by prolepsis.—ED.

having occasion to speak more at large of these in another place, I here only enumerate them.

CHAPTER VI.

OF SIMPLE IDEAS OF REFLECTION.

1. *Simple Ideas are the Operations of the Mind about its other Ideas.*—THE mind receiving the ideas, mentioned in the foregoing chapters, from without, when it turns its view inward upon itself, and observes its own actions about those ideas it has takes from thence other ideas, which are as capable to be the objects of its contemplation as any of those it received from foreign things.

2. *The Idea of Perception, and Idea of Willing, we have from Reflection.*—The two great and principal actions of the mind, which are most frequently considered, and which are so frequent that every one that pleases may take notice of them in himself, are these two: perception, or thinking;* and volition, or willing. The power of thinking is called the understanding, and the power of volition is called the will; and these two powers or abilities in the mind are denominated faculties. Of some of the modes of these simple ideas of reflection, such as are remembrance, discerning, reasoning, judging, knowledge, faith, &c., I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAPTER VII.

OF SIMPLE IDEAS OF BOTH SENSATION AND REFLECTION.

1. *Pleasure and Pain.*—THERE be other simple ideas which convey themselves into the mind by all the ways of sensation and reflection, viz., pleasure or delight; and its opposite, pain or uneasiness; power; existence; unity.

* The philosopher here confounds two things which are widely different, perception being that simple act of the mind by which it takes cognizance of the proximity or existence of anything, while thinking comprehends all those various mental operations to which we have applied the terms contemplation, reasoning, meditation, reflection, &c. Conf. Condillac, Essai sur l'Orig. des Connais. Humaines, p. 24.—ED.

2. Delight or uneasiness, one or other of them, join themselves to almost all our ideas both of sensation and reflection: and there is scarce any affection of our senses from without, any retired thought of our mind within, which is not able to produce in us pleasure or pain. By pleasure and pain, I would be understood to signify whatsoever delights or molests us most, whether it arises from the thoughts of our minds, or anything operating on our bodies; for whether we call it satisfaction, delight, pleasure, happiness, &c., on the one side, or uneasiness, trouble, pain, torment, anguish, misery, &c., on the other, they are still but different degrees of the same thing, and belong to the ideas of pleasure and pain, delight or uneasiness, which are the names I shall most commonly use for those two sorts of ideas.*

3. The infinitely wise Author of our being, having given us the power over several parts of our bodies, to move or keep them at rest as we think fit, and also, by the motion of them, to move ourselves and other contiguous bodies, in which consist all the actions of our body; having also given a power to our minds, in several instances, to choose, amongst

* Plato, whom few questions connected with human nature had entirely escaped, has investigated the whole subject of pleasure in the Philebos, tom. v. p. 102 et seq. Bekk. Again, in his Laws, he observes that pleasure and pain are two fountains set flowing by nature, and that, according to the degree of prudence and moderation with which men draw from them, they are happy or otherwise. Their channels run parallel, but not on the same level, so that if the sluices of the former be too lavishly opened, they overflow and mingle with the bitter waters of the neighbouring stream, which never assimilates with this finer fluid. (t. vii. 203.) On this subject, in fact, many of the old philosophers have treated ably; and Montaigne, who read these ancients habitually, and loved to parade their opinions, mixed up with his own, gossips philosophically à-propos of this topic in many parts of his extraordinary essays. He, however, confounds pleasure with virtue, in the Epicurean spirit, for the purpose of shedding over the former an air of greater dignity. "Quoi qu'ils disent, en la vertu même, le dernier but de notre visée, c'est la volupté. Il me plait de battre leurs oreilles de ce mot qui leur est si fort contre-cœur: et s'il signifie quelque suprême plaisir, et excessif contentement, il est mieux du à l'assistance de la nature qu'à mille autre assistance. Cette volupté, pour être plus gaillarde, nerveuse, robuste, virile, n'est que plus sérieusement voluptueuse." (Essais, I. xix. t. 1. p. 136.) On the philosophy of pain, and death, which occupies the extremity of the avenue, he disserts like a frank and generous spirit, in chap. xi. of the same book, which the reader will do well to study.—Ed.

its ideas, which it will think on, and to pursue the inquiry of this or that subject with consideration and attention, to excite us to these actions of thinking and motion that we are capable of, has been pleased to join to several thoughts and several sensations a perception of delight. If this were wholly separated from all our outward sensations and inward thoughts, we should have no reason to prefer one thought or action to another, negligence to attention, or motion to rest; and so we should neither stir our bodies nor employ our minds, but let our thoughts (if I may so call it) run adrift, without any direction or design, and suffer the ideas of our minds, like unregarded shadows, to make their appearances there, as it happened, without attending to them; in which state man, however furnished with the faculties of understanding and will, would be a very idle, inactive creature, and pass his time only in a lazy, lethargic dream. It has therefore pleased our wise Creator to annex to several objects, and the ideas which we receive from them, as also to several of our thoughts, a concomitant pleasure, and that in several objects, to several degrees, that those faculties which he had endowed us with might not remain wholly idle and unemployed by us.*

4. Pain has the same efficacy and use to set us on work that pleasure has, we being as ready to employ our faculties to avoid that, as to pursue this: only this is worth our consideration, that pain is often produced by the same objects and ideas that produce pleasure in us. This their near conjunction, which makes us often feel pain in the sensations where we expected pleasure, gives us new occasion of admiring the wisdom and goodness of our Maker, who, designing the preservation of our being, has annexed pain to the application of many things to our bodies, to warn us of the harm that they will do, and as advices to withdraw from them. But he not designing our preservation barely, but the preservation of every part and organ in its perfection, hath in many cases annexed pain to those very ideas which delight

* We have here one of the innumerable passages in this Essay, which show the pious spirit in which Locke philosophised. He united, indeed, in his noble character, the wisdom of the sage with the religion of the anchorite, devoting his mind to the service of God, and his heart to the service of mankind.—Ed.

us. Thus heat, that is very agreeable to us in one degree, by a little greater increase of it proves no ordinary torment; and the most pleasant of all sensible objects, light itself, if there be too much of it, if increased beyond a due proportion to our eyes, causes a very painful sensation:* which is wisely

* Nay, in addition to being exceedingly painful, excess of light is destructive to our organs of vision; thus, by looking long and stedfastly at the sun, many Hindù penitents become totally blind. In my work on the Manners of the Hindûs, I have given an account of the experiment of a novice in this hazardous branch of devotion, part of which I here extract: "Amongst useful exercises, he was ordered, he says, to look steadily at the sun, with his head elevated, and without winking. This experiment he was directed to repeat several times every day, until the organs of sight were inflamed to an extraordinary degree, accompanied by violent headaches. Sometimes he fancied he saw sparks, and sometimes globes of fire in the air. The Sannyasi, whose disciple he was, appeared highly delighted with his proficiency: he himself was blind with one eye, and the pupil, upon inquiry, found with dismay that he had lost it by the very experiment which he had imposed upon him. Fearing that his penance might end in total loss of sight, he left the one-eyed sage to enjoy his contemplations alone." (ii. 53.) Sir Isaac Newton, in a letter to Locke, published some years ago by Lord King, gives an extremely interesting account of certain experiments on light, made by himself, which nearly cost him his eyes. The reader, I am sure, who takes any interest in philosophy, will excuse the length of the extract:— "The observation you mention with Boyle's book of colours, I once made upon myself, with the hazard of my eyes. The manner was this: I looked a very little while upon the sun in the looking-glass with my right eye, and then turned my eyes into a dark corner of my chamber, and winked, to observe the impression made, and the circles of colours which encompassed it, and how they decayed by degrees, and at last vanished. This I repeated a second and a third time. At the third time, when the phantasm of light and colours about it was almost vanished, intending my fancy upon them to see their last appearance, I found to my amazement that they began to return, and by little and little to become as lively and vivid as when I had newly looked upon the sun. But when I ceased to intend my fancy upon them, they vanished again. After this I found, that as often as I went into the dark and intended my mind upon them, as when a man looks earnestly to see anything which is difficult to be seen, I could make the phantasm return without looking any more upon the sun; and the oftener I made it return, the more easily I could make it return again. And at length, by only repeating this, without looking any more upon the sun, I made such an impression on my eyes, that if I looked upon the clouds, or a book, or any bright object, I saw upon it a round bright shape like the sun: and, which is still stranger, though I looked on the sun with my right eye only, and not with my left, yet my fancy began to make the impression upon my left eye as well as upon my right; for if I shut my right eye, and looked upon a book or the clouds with my left eye, I

and favourably so ordered by nature, that when any object does by the vehemency of its operation, disorder the instruments of sensation, whose structures cannot but be very nice and delicate, we might by the pain be warned to withdraw before the organ be quite put out of order, and so be unfitted for its proper function for the future. The consideration of those objects that produce it may well persuade us that this is the end or use of pain; for though great light be insufferable to our eyes, yet the highest degree of darkness does not at all disease them, because that, causing no disorderly motion in it, leaves that curious organ unarmed in its natural state. But yet excess of cold as well as heat pains us, because it is equally destructive to that temper which is necessary to the preservation of life, and the exercise of the several functions of the body, and which consists in a moderate degree of warmth, or, if you please, a motion of the insensible parts of our bodies, confined within certain bounds.

5. Beyond all this, we may find another reason why God hath scattered up and down several degrees of pleasure and pain in all the things that environ and affect us, and blended them together in almost all that our thoughts and senses have to do with; that we, finding imperfection, dissatisfaction, and want of complete happiness, in all the enjoyments which the creatures can afford us, might be led to seek it in the

could see the spectrum of the sun almost as plain as with my right eye, if I did but intend my fancy a little while upon it: for at first, if I shut my right eye and looked with my left, the spectrum of the sun did not appear till I intended my fancy upon it; but by repeating, this appeared every time more easily: and now, in a few hours' time, I had brought my eyes to such a pass, that I could look upon no bright object with either eye but I saw the sun before me, so that I durst neither write nor read; but to recover the use of my eyes, shut myself up in my chamber, made dark, for three days together, and used all means to divert my imagination from the sun; for if I thought upon him, I presently saw his picture, though I was in the dark. But by keeping in the dark, and employing my mind about other things, I began in three or four days to have some use of my eyes again, and by forbearing a few days longer to look upon bright objects, recovered them pretty well; though not so well but that, for some months after, the spectrum of the sun began to return as often as I began to meditate upon the phenomenon, even though I lay in bed in midnight, with my curtains drawn. But now I have been very well for many years, though I am apt to think, that if I durst venture my eyes, I could still make the phantasm return by the power of my fancy." (Life of Locke.)—ED.

enjoyment of Him, with whom there is fullness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore.

6. *Pleasure and Pain.* Though what I have here said may not, perhaps, make the ideas of pleasure and pain clearer to us than our own experience does, which is the only way that we are capable of having them, yet the consideration of the reason why they are annexed to so many other ideas, serving to give us due sentiments of the wisdom and goodness of the Sovereign Disposer of all things, may not be unsuitable to the main end of these inquiries, the knowledge and veneration of him being the chief end of all our thoughts, and the proper business of all understandings.

7. *Existence and Unity.*—Existence and Unity are two other ideas that are suggested to the understanding by every object without, and every idea within. When ideas are in our minds, we consider them as being actually there, as well as we consider things to be actually without us; which is, that they exist, or have existence: and whatever we can consider as one thing, whether a real being or idea, suggests to the understanding the idea of unity.

8. *Power.*—Power also is another of those simple ideas which we receive from sensation and reflection: for, observing in ourselves that we can at pleasure move several parts of our bodies which were at rest; the effects, also, that natural bodies are able to produce in one another, occurring every moment to our senses, we both these ways get the idea of power.

9. *Succession.*—Besides these there is another idea, which, though suggested by our senses, yet is more constantly offered to us by what passes in our minds; and that is the idea of succession. For if we look immediately into ourselves, and reflect on what is observable there, we shall find our ideas always, whilst we are awake or have any thought, passing in train, one going and another coming, without intermission.

10. *Simple Ideas the Materials of all our Knowledge.*—These, if they are not all, are at least (as I think) the most considerable of those simple ideas which the mind has, and out of which is made all its other knowledge; all which it receives only by the two forementioned ways of sensation and reflection.

Nor let any one think these too narrow bounds for the capacious mind of man to expatiate in, which takes its flight further than the stars, and cannot be confined by the limits of the world; that extends its thoughts often even beyond the utmost expansion of matter, and makes excursions into that incomprehensible inane.* I grant all this, but desire any one to assign any simple idea which is not received from one of those inlets before mentioned, or any complex idea not made out of those simple ones. Nor will it be so strange to think these few simple ideas sufficient to employ the quickest thought or largest capacity, and to furnish the materials of all that various knowledge, and more various fancies and opinions of all mankind, if we consider how many words may be made out of the various composition of twenty-four letters; or if, going one step further, we will but reflect on the variety of combinations that may be made with barely one of the above-mentioned ideas, viz., number, whose stock is inexhaustible and truly infinite: and what a large and immense field doth extension alone afford the mathematicians!

CHAPTER VIII.

SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING OUR SIMPLE IDEAS

1. *Positive Ideas from privative Causes.*—CONCERNING the simple ideas of sensation, it is to be considered, that whatsoever is so constituted in nature as to be able, by affecting our senses, to cause any perception in the mind, doth thereby produce in the understanding a simple idea, which, whatever be the external cause of it, when it comes to be taken notice of by our discerning faculty, it is by the mind looked on and

* "Beyond the visible diurnal sphere
Urania . . . . . whose voice divine
Following above the Olympian hill, I soar
Above the flight of Pegasean wing."
". . . . . Upled by thee,
Into the heaven of heavens I have presumed,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,
Thy lending."—MILTON.
"Extra flammantia mœnia mundi."—LUCRETIUS.

considered there to be a real positive idea in the understanding as much as any other whatsoever, though, perhaps, the cause of it be but a privation of the subject.

2. Thus the ideas of heat and cold, light and darkness, white and black, motion and rest, are equally clear and positive ideas in the mind; though, perhaps, some of the causes which produce them are barely privations in subjects from whence our senses derive those ideas. These the understanding, in its view of them, considers all as distinct positive ideas, without taking notice of the causes that produce them, which is an inquiry not belonging to the idea, as it is in the understanding, but to the nature of the things existing without us. These are two very different things, and carefully to be distinguished, it being one thing to perceive and know the idea of white or black, and quite another to examine what kind of particles they must be, and how ranged in the superficies, to make any object appear white or black.

3. A painter or dyer who never inquired into their causes, hath the ideas of white and black, and other colours, as clearly, perfectly, and distinctly in his understanding, and perhaps more distinctly, than the philosopher, who hath busied himself in considering their natures, and thinks he knows how far either of them is in its cause positive or privative; and the idea of black is no less positive in his mind than that of white, however the cause of that colour in the external object may be only a privation.

4. If it were the design of my present undertaking to inquire into the natural causes and manner of perception, I should offer this as a reason why a privative cause might, in some cases at least, produce a positive idea; viz., that all sensation being produced in us only by different degrees and modes of motion in our animal spirits, variously agitated by external objects, the abatement of any former motion must as necessarily produce a new sensation as the variation or increase of it, and so introduce a new idea, which depends only on a different motion of the animal spirits in that organ.*

* See Buhle's Histoire de la Philosophie Moderne. The hypothesis which assumes the existence of a subtle fluid in the nerves, propagated by their means from the brain to the different parts of the body, is of

5. But whether this be so or not I will not here determine, but appeal to every one's own experience whether the shadow of a man, though it consists of nothing but the absence of light, (and the more the absence of light is, the more discernible is the shadow,) does not, when a man looks on it, cause as clear and positive idea in his mind, as a man himself, though covered over with clear sunshine? and the picture of a shadow is a positive thing. Indeed, we have negative names, which stand not directly for positive ideas, but for their absence, such as insipid, silence, nihil, &c., which words denote positive ideas, v. g., taste, sound, being, with a signification of their absence.

6. *Positive Ideas from privative Causes.*—And thus one may truly be said to see darkness.* For, supposing a hole perfectly dark, from whence no light is reflected, it is certain one may see the figure of it, or it may be painted; or whether the ink I write with makes any other idea, is a question. The privative causes I have here assigned of positive ideas are according to the common opinion; but, in truth, it will be hard to determine whether there be really any ideas from a privative cause, till it be determined whether rest be any more a privation than motion.

7. *Ideas in the Mind, Qualities in Bodies.*—To discover the

great antiquity, and is certainly less repugnant to the general analogy of our frame than that by which it has been supplanted. How very generally it once prevailed, may be inferred from the adoption into common speech of the phrase 'animal spirits,' to denote that unknown cause which, according to Johnson's definition, gives vigour or cheerfulness to the mind, a phrase for which our language does not at this day afford a convenient substitute. The late Alexander Monro, one of the most cautious and judicious of medical inquirers, speaks of it as a fact which appeared to him almost indisputable. The existence of a liquid in the cavities of the nerves is supported by little short of demonstrative evidence. See some observations of his, published by Cheselden in his Anatomy, Stewart, p. 9.—Ed.

* No doubt; and this was the view which Milton, himself a philosopher, took, when he said,

"No light, but rather darkness visible,
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, Hope never comes
That comes to all, but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed."
(Paradise Lost, i. 63 et seq.)—Ed.

nature of our ideas the better, and to discourse of them intelligibly, it will be convenient to distinguish them as they are ideas or perceptions in our minds, and as they are modifications of matter in the bodies that cause such perceptions in us, that so we may not think (as perhaps usually is done) that they are exactly the images and resemblances of something inherent in the subject; most of those of sensation being in the mind no more the likeness of something existing without us, than the names that stand for them are the likeness of our ideas, which yet upon hearing they are apt to excite in us.*

8. Whatsoever the mind perceives in itself, or is the immediate object of perception, thought, or understanding, that I call idea; and the power to produce any idea in our mind, I call quality of the subject wherein that power is. Thus a snowball having the power to produce in us the ideas of white, cold, and round, the power to produce those ideas in us, as they are in the snowball, I call qualities; and as they are sensations or perceptions in our understandings, I call them ideas; which ideas, if I speak of sometimes as in the things themselves, I would be understood to mean those qualities in the objects which produce them in us.

9. *Primary Qualities.*—Qualities thus considered in bodies are, first, such as are utterly inseparable from the body, in what state soever it be; such as in all the alterations and changes it suffers, all the force can be used upon it, it constantly keeps; and such as sense constantly finds in every particle of matter which has bulk enough to be perceived and the mind finds inseparable from every particle of matter, though less than to make itself singly be perceived by our senses, v. g., take a grain of wheat, divide it into two parts, each part has still solidity, extension, figure, and mobility; divide it again, and it retains still the same qualities; and so

* Pursuing the same train of speculation, Berkeley says, "That neither our thoughts nor passions, formed by the imagination, exist without the mind, is what everybody will allow; and it seems no less evident that the various sensations or ideas imprinted on the sense, however blended or combined together, (that is, whatever objects they compose,) cannot exist otherwise than in a mind perceiving them. I think an intuitive knowledge may be obtained of this by any one that shall attend to what is meant by the term *exist*, when applied to insensible things." (Berk. Principles of Human Knowledge, § III.)—ED.

divide it on till the parts become insensible, they must retain still each of them all those qualities. For division (which is all that a mill, or pestle, or any other body, does upon another, in reducing it to insensible parts) can never take away either solidity, extension, figure, or mobility from any body, but only makes two or more distinct separate masses of matter, of that which was but one before; all which distinct masses, reckoned as so many distinct bodies, after division, make a certain number.* These I call original or primary qualities of body, which I think we may observe to produce simple ideas in us, viz., solidity, extension, figure, motion or rest, and number.

10. *Secondary Qualities.*†—Secondly, such qualities which in truth are nothing in the objects themselves, but powers to produce various sensations in us by their primary qualities, i. e., by the bulk, figure, texture, and motion of their insensible parts, as colours, sounds, tastes, &c., these I call secondary qualities. To these might be added a third sort, which are

* Aristotle, in whose time the doctrine of atoms had been already exploded, contends that there exists neither line nor particle which cannot be divided, and the parts thus divided, being still capable of separation, the process may go on *ad infinitum*. (t. xvi. 35 et seq. Consult likewise the paraphrase of George Pachymer, p. 46 et seq.) Berkeley attempted to revive a modification of the old atomic theory, accommodated to his own peculiar views. "The infinite divisibility of finite extension," says he, "though it is not expressly laid down either as an axiom or theorem in the elements of that science, yet it is throughout the same everywhere supposed and thought to have so inseparable and essential a connexion with principles and demonstrations in geometry, that mathematicians never admit it into doubt or make the least question of it." Having stated the matter thus, he proceeds to his demonstration, which is rather ingenious. "Every particular finite extension which may possibly be the object of our thought, is an idea existing only in the mind, and consequently each part thereof must be perceived. If, therefore, I cannot perceive innumerable parts in any finite extension that I consider, it is certain they are not contained in it; but it is evident that I cannot distinguish innumerable parts in any particular line, surface, or solid, which I either perceive by sense or figure to myself in my mind, wherefore I conclude they are not contained in it." Principles of Human Knowledge, § 123 et seq.)—ED.

† On this subject, see the remarks of Reid, Inquiry, &c., chap. v. sect. 5; Stewart's Phil. Essays, 250; Berkeley's Principles of Human Knowledge, § 9; Payne Knight's Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste, Part I. chap. iv.; Hobbes' Human Nature, chap. ii. Compare with these the remarks of Plato, in his examination of the theory of Protagoras, Opera, t. iii. p. 199.—ED.

allowed to be barely powers, though they are as much real qualities in the subject, as those which I, to comply with the common way of speaking, call qualities, but for distinction, secondary qualities. For the power in fire to produce a new colour or consistency in wax or clay, by its primary qualities, is as much a quality in fire as the power it has to produce in me a new idea or sensation of warmth or burning, which I felt not before, by the same primary qualities, viz., the bulk, texture, and motion of its insensible parts.

11. *How primary Qualities produce their Ideas.*—The next thing to be considered is, how bodies produce ideas in us; and that is manifestly by impulse, the only way which we can conceive bodies to operate in.*

12. If then external objects be not united to our minds when they produce ideas therein, and yet we perceive these original qualities in such of them as singly fall under our senses, it is evident that some motion must be thence continued by our nerves or animal spirits, by some parts of our bodies, to the brain, or the seat of sensation, there to produce in our minds the particular ideas we have of them. And since the extension, figure, number, and motion of bodies of an observable bigness, may be perceived at a distance by the sight, it is evident some singly imperceptible bodies must come from them to the eyes, and thereby convey to the brain some motion, which produces these ideas which we have of them in us.

13. *How secondary.*—After the same manner that the ideas of these original qualities are produced in us, we may conceive that the ideas of secondary qualities are also produced, viz., by the operations of insensible particles on our senses. For it being manifest that there are bodies and good store of bodies, each whereof are so small, that we cannot by any of our senses discover either their bulk, figure, or motion, as is evident in the particles of the air and water, and others extremely smaller than those, perhaps as much smaller than the particles of air and water, as the particles of air and water are smaller than peas or hail-stones; let us suppose at present, that the different motions and figures, bulk and number, of such particles, affecting the several

* See on this point the authors cited in the last note, more particularly Hobbes.—ED.

organs of our senses, produce in us those different sensations which we have from the colours and smells of bodies; v. g., that a violet, by the impulse of such insensible particles of matter of peculiar figures and bulks, and in different degrees and modifications of their motions, causes the ideas of the blue colour and sweet scent of that flower to be produced in our minds; it being no more impossible to conceive that God should annex such ideas to such motions, with which they have no similitude, than that he should annex the idea of pain to the motion of a piece of steel dividing our flesh, with which that idea hath no resemblance.

14. What I have said concerning colours and smells may be understood also of tastes and sounds, and other the like sensible qualities; which, whatever reality we by mistake attribute to them, are in truth nothing in the objects themselves, but powers to produce various sensations in us, and depend on those primary qualities, viz., bulk, figure, texture, and motion of parts, as I have said.

15. *Ideas of primary Qualities are Resemblances; of secondary, not.*—From whence I think it easy to draw this observation, that the ideas of primary qualities of bodies are resemblances of them, and their patterns do really exist in the bodies themselves; but the ideas produced in us by these secondary qualities have no resemblance of them at all. There is nothing like our ideas existing in the bodies themselves. They are in the bodies we denominate from them, only a power to produce those sensations in us; and what is sweet, blue, or warm in idea, is but the certain bulk, figure, and motion of the insensible parts in the bodies themselves, which we call so.

16. Flame is denominated hot and light; snow, white and cold; and manna, white and sweet, from the ideas they produce in us; which qualities are commonly thought to be the same in those bodies that those ideas are in us, the one the perfect resemblance of the other, as they are in a mirror; and it would by most men be judged very extravagant if one should say otherwise. And yet he that will consider that the same fire that at one distance produces in us the sensation of warmth, does at a nearer approach produce in us the far different sensation of pain,* ought to bethink

* See Hume's Essays, 4to. p. 289. Berkeley denies the fire to be the

himself what reason he has to say that this idea of warmth, which was produced in him by the fire, is actually in the fire; and his idea of pain, which the same fire produced in him the same way, is not in the fire. Why are whiteness and coldness in snow, and pain not, when it produces the one and the other idea in us; and can do neither, but by the bulk, figure, number, and motion of its solid parts?

17. The particular bulk, number, figure, and motion of the parts of fire or snow are really in them, whether any one's senses perceive them or not, and therefore they may be called real qualities, because they really exist in those bodies; but light, heat, whiteness, or coldness, are no more really in them than sickness or pain is in manna. Take away the sensation of them; let not the eyes see light or colours, nor the ears hear sounds; let the palate not taste, nor the nose smell; and all colours, tastes, odours, and sounds, as they are such particular ideas, vanish and cease, and are reduced to their causes, i.e., bulk, figure, and motion of parts.*

18. A piece of manna of a sensible bulk is able to produce in us the idea of a round or square figure; and by being removed from one place to another, the idea of motion.

cause of the pain we suffer from a too near approach to it. He considers it merely as a sign that a cause of pain exists there, a spiritual cause, which excites the idea of burning in us. We will lay before the reader, however, this comical speculation in his own language: "The fire which I see is not the cause of the pain I suffer after my approaching it, but the mark that forewarns me of it." (Prin. Hum. Knowledge, § 66.)—ED.

* By pushing a little further the idea of Locke, Berkeley came to deny altogether the existence of the visible world, which for us undoubtedly exists only so far as it is perceived. This subject is discussed in his first dialogue of Hylas and Philonous, at the conclusion of which the materialist is compelled to acknowledge that properly and immediately nothing can be perceived but ideas. All material things, therefore, are in themselves insensible, and to be perceived only in our ideas. Upon this the idealist inquires, "Ideas, then, are sensible, and their archetypes, or originals, are insensible?" To which the advocate of matter replies in the affirmative. But (continues his triumphant adversary) "how can that which is sensible be like that which is insensible? Can a real thing, in itself invisible, be like a colour, or a thing which is not audible be like a sound? In a word, can anything be like a sensation or idea, but a sensation or idea?" To which Hylas answers, "I must own I think not, and the whole visible universe melts away at the force of the magical word." (See his work, vol. i. p. 159, 8vo.)—ED.

This idea of motion represents it as it really is in the manna moving: a circle or square are the same, whether in idea or existence, in the mind or in the manna; and this both motion and figure are really in the manna, whether we take notice of them or no: this everybody is ready to agree to. Besides, manna, by the bulk, figure, texture, and motion of its parts, has a power to produce the sensations of sickness, and sometimes of acute pains or gripings in us. That these ideas of sickness and pain are not in the manna, but effects of its operations on us, and are nowhere when we feel them not, this also every one readily agrees to. And yet men are hardly to be brought to think that sweetness and whiteness are not really in manna, which are but the effects of the operations of manna, by the motion, size, and figure of its particles on the eyes and palate; as the pain and sickness caused by manna are confessedly nothing but the effects of its operations on the stomach and guts, by the size, motion, and figure of its insensible parts, (for by nothing else can a body operate, as has been proved); as if it could not operate on the eyes and palate, and thereby produce in the mind particular distinct ideas, which in itself it has not, as well as we allow it can operate on the guts and stomach, and thereby produce distinct ideas, which in itself it has not. These ideas being all effects of the operations of manna on several parts of our bodies, by the size, figure, number, and motion of its parts; why those produced by the eyes and palate should rather be thought to be really in the manna, than those produced by the stomach and guts; or why the pain and sickness, ideas that are the effect of manna, should be thought to be nowhere when they are not felt; and yet the sweetness and whiteness, effects of the same manna on other parts of the body, by ways equally as unknown, should be thought to exist in the manna, when they are not seen or tasted, would need some reason to explain.

19. *Ideas of primary Qualities are Resemblances; of secondary, not.*—Let us consider the red and white colours in porphyry: hinder light from striking on it, and its colours vanish, it no longer produces any such ideas in us; upon the return of light it produces these appearances on us again.*

* But this reasoning proves nothing, for darkness is a mere curtain, which conceals the object altogether. By the same method we might

Can any one think any real alterations are made in the porphyry by the presence or absence of light, and that those ideas of whiteness and redness are really in porphyry in the light, when it is plain it has no colour in the dark? It has, indeed, such a configuration of particles, both night and day, as are apt, by the rays of light rebounding from some parts of that hard stone, to produce in us the idea of redness, and from others the idea of whiteness; but whiteness or redness are not in it at any time, but such a texture that hath the power to produce such a sensation in us.

20. Pound an almond, and the clear white colour will be altered into a dirty one, and the sweet taste into an oily one. What real alteration can the beating of the pestle make in any body, but an alteration of the texture of it?

21. Ideas being thus distinguished and understood, we may be able to give an account how the same water, at the same time, may produce the idea of cold by one hand and of heat by the other;* whereas it is impossible that the same water, if those ideas were really in it, should at the same time be both hot and cold; for if we imagine warmth, as it is in our hands, to be nothing but a certain sort and degree of motion in the minute particles of our nerves or animal spirits, we may understand how it is possible that the same water may, at the same time, produce the sensations of heat in one hand and cold in the other; which yet figure never does, that never producing the idea of a square by one hand which has produced the idea of a globe by another. But if the sensation of heat and cold be nothing but the increase or diminution of the motion of the minute parts of our bodies, caused by the corpuscles of any other body, it is easy to be understood, that if that motion be greater in one hand than in the other, if a body be applied to the two hands, which has in its minute particles a greater motion than in those of one of the hands,

disprove the existence of extension and figure, since in the dark they can no more be perceived than colour, at least by sight.—Ed.

* Philosophical illustrations, like theatrical wit, appear to be hereditary. Berkeley, a very great borrower of ideas, makes use of this example, which may possibly have passed down through a hundred works: "Suppose, now, one of your hands hot and the other cold, and that they both at once be put into a vessel in an intermediate state, will not the water seem cold to one hand and warm to the other?" (Dialogue the First, p. 119.)—Ed.

and a less than in those of the other, it will increase the motion of the one hand and lessen it in the other, and so cause the different sensations of heat and cold that depend thereon.

22. I have in what just goes before been engaged in physical inquiries a little further than perhaps I intended; but it being necessary to make the nature of sensation a little understood, and to make the difference between the qualities in bodies, and the ideas produced by them in the mind, to be distinctly conceived, without which it were impossible to discourse intelligibly of them, I hope I shall be pardoned this little excursion into natural philosophy, it being necessary in our present inquiry to distinguish the primary and real qualities of bodies which are always in them, (viz., solidity, extension, figure, number, and motion, or rest, and are sometimes perceived by us, viz., when the bodies they are in are big enough singly to be discerned,) from those secondary and imputed qualities which are but the powers of several combinations of those primary ones, when they operate without being distinctly discerned; whereby we may also come to know what ideas are, and what are not, resemblances of something really existing in the bodies we denominate from them.

23. *Three Sorts of Qualities in Bodies.*—The qualities, then, that are in bodies, rightly considered, are of three sorts.

First, the bulk, figure, number, situation, and motion or rest of their solid parts; those are in them, whether we perceive them or not; and when they are of that size that we can discover them, we have by these an idea of the thing as it is in itself, as is plain in artificial things. These I call primary qualities.

Secondly, the power that is in any body, by reason of its insensible primary qualities, to operate after a peculiar manner on any of our senses, and thereby produce in us the different ideas of several colours, sounds, smells, tastes, &c. These are usually called sensible qualities.

Thirdly, the power that is in any body, by reason of the particular constitution of its primary qualities, to make such a change in the bulk, figure, texture, and motion of another body, as to make it operate on our senses differently from what it did before. Thus the sun has a power to make wax

white, and fire to make lead fluid. These are usually called powers.

The first of these, as has been said, I think may be properly called real, original, or primary qualities, because they are in the things themselves, whether they are perceived or not; and upon their different modifications it is that the secondary qualities depend.

The other two are only powers to act differently upon other things, which powers result from the different modifications of those primary qualities.

24. *The first are Resemblances; the second thought Resemblances, but are not; the third neither are, nor are thought so.*— But though the two latter sorts of qualities are powers barely, and nothing but powers, relating to several other bodies, and resulting from the different modifications of the original qualities, yet they are generally otherwise thought of; for the second sort, viz., the powers to produce several ideas in us by our senses, are looked upon as real qualities in the things thus affecting us; but the third sort are called and esteemed barely powers; v. g., the idea of heat or light, which we receive by our eyes or touch from the sun, are commonly thought real qualities existing in the sun, and something more than mere powers in it. But when we consider the sun in reference to wax, which it melts or blanches, we look on the whiteness and softness produced in the wax, not as qualities in the sun, but effects produced by powers in it; whereas, if rightly considered, these qualities of light and warmth, which are perceptions in me when I am warmed or enlightened by the sun, are no otherwise in the sun, than the changes made in the wax, when it is blanched or melted, are in the sun. They are all of them equally powers in the sun, depending on its primary qualities; whereby it is able, in the one case, so to alter the bulk, figure, texture, or motion of some of the insensible parts of my eyes or hands, as thereby to produce in me the idea of light or heat; and in the other, it is able so to alter the bulk, figure, texture, or motion of the insensible parts of the wax, as to make them fit to produce in me the distinct ideas of white and fluid.

25. The reason why the one are ordinarily taken for real qualities, and the other only for bare powers, seems to be, because the ideas we have of distinct colours, sounds, &c.,

containing nothing at all in them of bulk, figure, or motion, we are not apt to think them the effects of these primary qualities, which appear not, to our senses, to operate in their production, and with which they have not any apparent congruity or conceivable connexion. Hence it is that we are so forward to imagine that those ideas are the resemblances of something really existing in the objects themselves; since sensation discovers nothing of bulk, figure, or motion of parts in their production; nor can reason show how bodies, by their bulk, figure, and motion, should produce in the mind the ideas of blue or yellow, &c. But in the other case, in the operations of bodies, changing the qualities one of another, we plainly discover that the quality produced hath commonly no resemblance with anything in the thing producing it; wherefore we look on it as a bare effect of power. For though receiving the idea of heat or light from the sun, we are apt to think it is a perception and resemblance of such a quality in the sun; yet when we see wax, or a fair face, receive change of colour from the sun, we cannot imagine that to be the reception or resemblance of anything in the sun, because we find not those different colours in the sun itself. For our senses being able to observe a likeness or unlikeness of sensible qualities in two different external objects, we forwardly enough conclude the production of any sensible quality in any subject to be an effect of bare power, and not the communication of any quality, which was really in the efficient, when we find no such sensible quality in the thing that produced it; but our senses not being able to discover any unlikeness between the idea produced in us, and the quality of the object producing it, we are apt to imagine that our ideas are resemblances of something in the objects, and not the effects of certain powers placed in the modification of their primary qualities, with which primary qualities the ideas produced in us have no resemblance.

26. *Secondary Qualities twofold; first, immediately perceivable; secondly, mediately perceivable.*—To conclude, beside those before-mentioned primary qualities in bodies, viz., bulk, figure, extension, number, and motion of their solid parts, all the rest whereby we take notice of bodies, and distinguish them one from another, are nothing else but several powers in them depending on those primary qualities, whereby they

are fitted, either by immediately operating on our bodies, to produce several different ideas in us, or else, by operating on other bodies, so to change their primary qualities as to render them capable of producing ideas in us different from what before they did. The former of these, I think, may be called secondary qualities, immediately perceivable; the latter, secondary qualities, mediately perceivable.

CHAPTER IX.

OF PERCEPTION.

1. *Perception the first simple Idea of Reflection.*—PERCEPTION, as it is the first faculty of the mind exercised about her ideas, so it is the first and simplest idea we have from reflection, and is by some called thinking in general: though thinking, in the propriety of the English tongue, signifies that sort of operation in the mind about its ideas, wherein the mind is active; where it, with some degree of voluntary attention, considers anything. For in bare naked perception, the mind is, for the most part, only passive; and what it perceives, it cannot avoid perceiving.

2. *Is only when the Mind receives the Impression.*—What perception is, every one will know better by reflecting on what he does himself, what he sees, hears, feels, &c., or thinks, than by any discourse of mine. Whoever reflects on what passes in his own mind cannot miss it; and if he does not reflect, all the words in the world cannot make him have any notion of it.

3. This is certain, that whatever alterations are made in the body, if they reach not the mind, whatever impressions are made on the outward parts, if they are not taken notice of within, there is no perception. Fire may burn our bodies with no other effect than it does a billet, unless the motion be continued to the brain, and there the sense of heat, or idea of pain, be produced in the mind, wherein consists actual perception.

4. How often may a man observe in himself, that whilst his mind is intently employed in the contemplation of some objects, and curiously surveying some ideas that are there, it takes no notice of impressions of sounding bodies made upon

the organ of hearing, with the same alteration that uses to be for the producing the idea of sound!* A sufficient impulse there may be on the organ; but if not reaching the observation of the mind, there follows no perception: and though the motion that uses to produce the idea of sound be made in the ear, yet no sound is heard. Want of sensation, in this case, is not through any defect in the organ, or that the man's ears are less affected than at other times when he does hear: but that which uses to produce the idea, though conveyed in by the usual organ, not being taken notice of in the understanding, and so imprinting no idea in the mind, there follows no sensation. So that wherever there is sense or perception, there some idea is actually produced, and present, in the understanding.

5. *Children, though they have Ideas in the Womb, have none innate.*—Therefore I doubt not but children, by the exercise of their senses about objects that affect them in the womb, receive some few ideas before they are born, as the unavoidable effects either of the bodies that environ them, or else of those wants or diseases they suffer; amongst which (if one may conjecture concerning things not very capable of examination) I think the ideas of hunger and warmth are two, which probably are some of the first that children have, and which they scarce ever part with again.

6. But though it be reasonable to imagine that children receive some ideas before they come into the world, yet those simple ideas are far from those innate principles which some contend for, and we, above, have rejected. These, here mentioned, being the effects of sensation, are only from some affections of the body, which happen to them there, and so depend on something exterior to the mind; no otherwise differing in their manner of production from other ideas

* So passion, as Shakspeare has shown in Lear, deprives us of the power of perceiving outward objects.

"The tempest in my mind
Doth from my senses take all feeling else,
Save what beats there."

Again, in profound meditation, amid the stillness of a summer's night, we may observe all things,

"Sea, and hill, and wood,
With all the numberless goings on of life,
Inaudible as dreams." COLERIDGE.—ED.

derived from sense, but only in the precedency of time; whereas those innate principles are supposed to be quite of another nature, not coming into the mind by any accidental alterations in, or operations on the body; but, as it were, original characters impressed upon it, in the very first moment of its being and constitution.

7. *Which Ideas first, is not evident.*—As there are some ideas which we may reasonably suppose may be introduced into the minds of children in the womb, subservient to the necessities of their life and being there, so, after they are born, those ideas are the earliest imprinted which happen to be the sensible qualities which first occur to them, amongst which light is not the least considerable, nor of the weakest efficacy. And how covetous the mind is to be furnished with all such ideas as have no pain accompanying them, may be a little guessed by what is observable in children new-born; who always turn their eyes to that part from whence the light comes, lay them how you please. But the ideas that are most familiar at first being various, according to the divers circumstances of children's first entertainment in the world, the order wherein the several ideas come at first into the mind is very various and uncertain also, neither is it much material to know it.

8. *Ideas of Sensation often changed by the Judgment.*—We are further to consider concerning perception, that the ideas we receive by sensation are often in grown people altered by the judgment, without our taking notice of it. When we set before our eyes a round globe of any uniform colour, v.g., gold, alabaster, or jet, it is certain that the idea thereby imprinted on our mind is of a flat circle variously shadowed, with several degrees of light and brightness coming to our eyes.* But we have by use been accustomed to perceive what kind of appearance convex bodies are wont to make in us, what alterations are made in the reflections of light by the difference of the sensible figures of bodies, the judgment presently, by an habitual custom, alters the appearances into their causes, so that from that which is truly variety of shadow or colour, collecting the figure, it makes it pass for a mark of figure, and frames to itself the perception of a convex

* See in Condillac's Essays, "Sur l'Origine de la Connaissance Humaine," the same idea further developed.—ED.

figure and an uniform colour, when the idea we receive from thence is only a plane variously coloured, as is evident in painting.* To which purpose I shall here insert a problem of that very ingenious and studious promoter of real knowledge, the learned and worthy Mr. Molineux, which he was pleased to send me in a letter some months since; and it is this:—"Suppose a man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his touch to distinguish between a cube and a sphere of the same metal, and nighly of the same bigness, so as to tell, when he felt one and the other, which is the cube, which the sphere. Suppose, then, the cube and sphere placed on a table, and the blind man be made to see: quære, whether by his sight, before he touched them, he could now distinguish and tell which is the globe, which the cube?" To which the acute and judicious proposer answers, "Not. For though he has obtained the experience of how a globe, how a cube affects his touch, yet he has not yet obtained the experience, that what affects his touch so or so, must affect his sight so or so; or that a protuberant angle in the cube, that pressed his hand unequally, shall appear to his eye as it does in the cube."—I agree with this thinking gentleman,† whom I am

* This is a description of that part of experience which artists denominate the education of the eye. The man who has gone through such an education, looks on nature, and the whole assemblage of objects around him, with feelings very different from those which arise in the minds of ordinary men. He discovers grandeur and beauty in things of no significance to others, and derives delight from what is to them a blank.—ED.

† The letter of Molineux, in which the above occurs, is found complete in Locke's works, vol. iii. p. 512. "I will conclude my tedious lines," says he, "with a grave problem, that, upon discourse with several concerning your book and notions, I have proposed to divers very ingenious men, and could hardly ever meet with one that at first dash would give me the answer to it which I think true, till by hearing my reasons they were convinced." Having stated his jocose problem in the words given by Locke, he adds; "Perhaps you may find some place in your essay wherein you may not think it amiss to say something of this problem." His friend accordingly found a place for it, and thus secured immortality to the name of its proposer. After all, however, and admitting the extreme fallibility of the senses, I still think the result would be the direct contrary of what both Locke and Molineux suppose, for the idea of the globe having once obtained a footing in the mind, through the instrumentality of one sense, could not fail to be recognised when subjected to the examination of another. And this I find to be the conclusion at

proud to call my friend, in his answer to this problem; and am of opinion that the blind man, at first sight, would not be able with certainty to say which was the globe, which the cube, whilst he only saw them; though he could unerringly name them by his touch, and certainly distinguish them by the difference of their figures felt. This I have set down, and leave with my reader, as an occasion for him to consider how much he may be beholden to experience, improvement, and acquired notions, where he thinks he had not the least use of, or help from them; and the rather, because this observing gentleman further adds, that having, upon the occasion of my book, proposed this to divers very ingenious men, he hardly ever met with one that at first gave the answer to it which he thinks true, till by hearing his reasons they were convinced.

9. But this is not, I think, usual in any of our ideas, but those received by sight; because sight, the most comprehensive of all our senses, conveying to our minds the ideas of light and colours, which are peculiar only to that sense; and also the far different ideas of space, figure, and motion, the several varieties whereof change the appearances of its proper object, viz., light and colours; we bring ourselves by use to judge of the one by the other. This, in many cases, by a settled habit, in things whereof we have frequent experience, is performed so constantly and so quick, that we take that for the perception of our sensation, which is an idea formed by our judgment; so that one, viz., that of sensation, serves only to excite the other, and is scarce taken notice of itself·

which Berkeley also arrived, after a mature consideration of the question "Now if a square surface, perceived by touch, be of the same sort with a square surface by sight, it is certain the blind man here mentioned might know a square surface as soon as he saw it; it is no more but introducing into his mind by a new inlet, an idea he has been already well acquainted with. Since, therefore, he is supposed to have known by his touch that a cube is a body terminated by square surfaces, and a sphere is not terminated by square surfaces, upon the supposition that a visible and tangible square differs only in *manner*, it follows that he might know by the arrangement of the square surfaces which was the cube and which not, while he only saw them. We must therefore allow, either that visible extension and figures are specially distinct from tangible extension and figures, or else that the solution of this problem given by those two thoughtful and ingenious men is wrong." (New Theory of Vision, § 183.)—Ed.

as a man who reads or hears with attention and understanding, takes little notice of the characters or sounds, but of the ideas that are excited in him by them.

10. Nor need we wonder that this is done with so little notice, if we consider how very quick the actions of the mind are performed; for as itself is thought to take up no space, to have no extension, so its actions seem to require no time, but many of them seem to be crowded into an instant. I speak this in comparison to the actions of the body. Any one may easily observe this in his own thoughts, who will take the pains to reflect on them. How, as it were in an instant do our minds with one glance see all the parts of a demonstration, which may very well be called a long one, if we consider the time it will require to put it into words, and step by step show it another? Secondly, we shall not be so much surprised that this is done in us with so little notice, if we consider how the facility which we get of doing things by a custom of doing, makes them often pass in us without our notice. Habits, especially such as are begun very early, come at last to produce actions in us, which often escape our observation. How frequently do we, in a day, cover our eyes with our eyelids, without perceiving that we are at all in the dark!* Men that by custom have got the use of a by-word, do almost in every sentence pronounce sounds which, though taken notice of by others, they themselves neither hear nor observe. And therefore it is not so strange that our mind should often change the idea of its sensation into that of its judgment, and make one serve only to excite the other, without our taking notice of it.

11. *Perception puts the Difference between Animals and inferior Beings.*—This faculty of perception seems to me to

* On this fact Condillac has enlarged, where he speaks of the rapid flight of time when unperceived. To illustrate this point, he says: "Tous les exemples n'y sont pas également propres. C'est ce qui me trompa, quand je m'imaginai que je baissois involontairement la paupière sans prendre connaissance que je fusse dans les tenèbres. Mais il n'est rien de plus raisonnable que d'expliquer un exemple par un autre. Mon erreur provenait de ce que la perception des tenèbres étoit si prompte et subite, et la conscience si faible qu'il ne rien restait aucun souvenir. En effet que je donne mon attention au mouvement des mes yeux, cette même perception déviendra si vive que je ne douterai plus de l'avoir eue." (Essai sur les Connaissances Humaines, tom. i. p. 34.)—ED.

be that which puts the distinction betwixt the animal kingdom and the inferior parts of nature. For however vegetables have, many of them, some degrees of motion, and upon the different application of other bodies to them, do very briskly alter their figures and motions, and so have obtained the name of sensitive plants,* from a motion which has some resemblance to that which in animals follows upon sensation: yet I suppose it is all bare mechanism, and no otherwise produced than the turning of a wild oat-beard by the insinuation of the particles of moisture, or the shortening of a rope by the affusion of water; all which is done without any sensation in the subject, or the having or receiving any ideas.

12. Perception, I believe, is in some degree in all sorts of animals, though in some possibly the avenues provided by nature for the reception of sensations are so few, and the perception they are received with so obscure and dull, that it comes extremely short of the quickness and variety of sensation which are in other animals; but yet it is sufficient for, and wisely adapted to, the state and condition of that sort of animals which are thus made. So that the wisdom and goodness of the Maker plainly appear in all the parts of this stupendous fabric, and all the several degrees and ranks of creatures in it.

13. We may, I think, from the make of an oyster or cockle, reasonably conclude that it has not so many, nor so quick senses† as a man, or several other animals; nor if it had,

* The name and properties of this plant will probably call to the remembrance of the imaginative reader the rich wild poem of Shelley which he has named after it, beginning thus:

"A sensitive plant in a garden grew,
And the young winds fed it with silver dew;
And it opened its fan-like leaves to the light,
And closed them beneath the kisses of night.

. . . . .

But the sensitive plant, which could give small fruit
Of the love which it felt from the leaf to the root,
Receiv'd more than all, it lov'd more than ever,
Where none wanted but it, could belong to the giver.
For the sensitive plant has no bright flower,
Radiance and odour are not its dower.
It loves, even like love its deep heart is full;
It desires what it has not—the Beautiful."—ED.

† Without pretending to write a physiological commentary, I

would it, in that state and incapacity of transferring itself from one place to another, be bettered by them. What good

may perhaps be allowed to introduce a remark or two on this part of the subject. Blumenbach, in his chapter on the Organs of the Senses in general, observes: "It has been supposed that those animals which possess a tongue, must have it for the purpose of tasting; and that the sense of smell must be wanting, where we are unable to ascertain the existence of a nose. Observation and reflection will soon convince us, that the tongue in many cases (in the anteaters among the mammalia, and almost universally in birds) cannot from its substance and mechanism be considered as an organ of taste, but must be subservient to the ingestion and deglutition of the food. Again, in several animals, particularly among insects, an acute sense of smell seems to exist, although no part can be pointed out in the head which analogy would justify us in describing as a nose." (Comparative Anatomy, § 221.) But it may justly be asked, whether, since animals can smell without a nose, it is not unphilosophical to infer, that some of those which actually have a tongue are incapable of tasting? There is evidently in the "mechanism" of animal substances much that escapes, and must for ever escape, investigation, so that it is impossible to decide whether those anteaters or birds taste or not. In the observations of the acute and able translator (Mr. Lawrence) on the organs of the senses in bats, there also appears to be an error, which my own observations enable me to correct. Bats, he observes, "have been supposed to possess a peculiar power of perceiving external objects, without coming actually into contact with them. In their rapid and irregular flight amidst various surrounding bodies, *they never fly against them;* yet it does not seem that the senses of hearing, seeing, or smelling serve them on these occasions, for they avoid any obstacles with equal certainty when the ear, eye, and nose are closed. Hence naturalists have ascribed a *sixth sense* to these animals. It is probably analogous to that of touch. The nerves of the wing are large and numerous, and distributed in a minute plexus between the integuments. The impulse of the air against this part may possibly be so modified by the objects near which the animal passes, as to indicate their situation and nature." (Comparative Anatomy, &c., p. 260.) The facts, whatever may become of the *sixth sense*, are not exactly as above stated. Bats are by no means able, in their flight, to avoid surrounding objects, but often plunge into the flame of candles or torches, strike against one's face, or against the rocks of caverns, and that too when in full possession of all the senses which nature has bestowed on them. This I learned in Nubia to my cost, when, descending by night into a cavern tomb in the desert, they extinguished our tapers in the intricate passages of that real labyrinth, and exposed us to the danger of perishing in the deep mummy pits. So likewise in the subterranean sepulchre of the sacred crocodiles of Máabdé, which I request the reader's permission partly to describe in the words of my "Travels in the Valley of the Nile:"—"Continuing to push forward, we entered a portion of the cavern resembling the mouth of hell; enormous rocks huddled together forming the floor, where chasms of unknown depth yawned between the dark masses, while prodigious black

would sight and hearing do to a creature that cannot move itself to or from the objects wherein at a distance it perceives good or evil? And would not quickness of sensation be an inconvenience to an animal that must lie still where chance has once placed it, and there receive the afflux of colder or warmer, clean or foul water, as it happens to come to it?

14. But yet I cannot but think there is some small dull perception whereby they are distinguished from perfect insensibility. And that this may be so, we have plain instances even in mankind itself. Take one in whom decrepit old age has blotted out the memory of his past knowledge, and clearly wiped out the ideas his mind was formerly stored with, and has, by destroying his sight, hearing, and smell quite, and his taste to a great degree, stopped up almost all the passages for new ones to enter; or if there be some of the inlets yet half open, the impressions made are scarcely perceived, or not at all retained. How far such an one (notwithstanding all that is boasted of innate principles) is in his knowledge and intellectual faculties above the condition of a cockle or an oyster, I leave to be considered. And if a man had passed sixty years in such a state, as it is possible he might, as well as three days, I wonder what difference there would have been, in any intellectual perfections, between him and the lowest degree of animals.

15. *Perception the Inlet of Knowledge.*—Perception then being the first step and degree towards knowledge, and the inlet of all the materials of it, the fewer senses any man, as well as any other creature, hath, and the fewer and duller the impressions are that are made by them, and the duller the faculties are that are employed about them, the more remote are they from that knowledge which is to be found in some

stalactites, with shining spars of crystal glittering between them, hung like snakes from the roof, and composed a kind of fretwork round the sides. Everything wore the fuliginous appearance of a place which had been the seat of some durable conflagration; black as night, covered with soot, oily, slippery, and exhaling a stink unutterably disgusting. Bats without number hung from the roof, or flew against our faces from the countless holes and narrow diverging passages of the cavern; some striking against the rocks and falling senseless to the ground, where we trod or pressed upon them with our hands," &c. (Egypt and Mohammed Ali, ii. 167 et seq.)—ED.

men.* But this being in great variety of degrees (as may be perceived amongst men) cannot certainly be discovered in the several species of animals, much less in their particular individuals. It suffices me only to have remarked here, that perception is the first operation of all our intellectual faculties, and the inlet of all knowledge in our minds. And I am apt too to imagine, that it is perception in the lowest degree of it, which puts the boundaries between animals and the inferior ranks of creatures. But this I mention only as my conjecture, by the by, it being indifferent to the matter in hand which way the learned shall determine of it.

CHAPTER X.

OF RETENTION.

1. *Contemplation.*—THE next faculty of the mind, whereby it makes a further progress towards knowledge, is that which I call retention, or the keeping of those simple ideas which from sensation or reflection it hath received. This is done two ways: first, by keeping the idea which is brought into it, for some time actually in view, which is called contemplation.

2. *Memory.*—The other way of retention is the power to revive again in our minds those ideas, which after imprinting have disappeared, or have been as it were laid aside out of sight;† and thus we do, when we conceive heat or light,

* Upon the hints furnished by this passage, Helvetius seems chiefly to have constructed his extravagant theory, that "la sensibilité physique est la cause unique de nos actions, de nos pensées, de nos passions, et de notre sociabilité." (De l'Homme, Sect. II. chap. vii.)—ED.

† Plato compares the memory of man to the tablets made use of by the ancients, which were covered with a coating of wax, thin or thick, according, apparently, as the articles were cheap or dear. In some persons this wax is deep, fine, and exceedingly retentive of impressions; in others it is scanty, coarse, and yields up the characters inscribed on it to the slightest touch. (Thætet. Opp. tom. iii.) The reader will, perhaps, not be displeased if we extract a passage from Hobbes's masterly Treatise on Human Nature, a work in which may be discovered, wrapped up in the integuments of sundry brief and aphorismal phrases, the germs of many a theory, afterwards rendered celebrated, but without due honour being paid to our illustrious countryman. "By the senses which are numbered according to the

yellow or sweet, the object being removed. This is memory, which is as it were the storehouse of our ideas. For the narrow mind of man not being capable of having many ideas under view and consideration at once, it was necessary to have a repository to lay up those ideas which, at another time, it might have use of. But our ideas being nothing but actual perceptions in the mind, which cease to be anything when there is no perception of them, this laying up of our ideas in the repository of the memory signifies no more but this, that the mind has a power in many cases to revive perceptions which it has once had, with this additional perception annexed to them, that it has had them before. And in this sense it is that our ideas are said to be in our memories, when indeed they are actually nowhere, but only there is an ability in the mind when it will to revive them again, and as it were paint them anew on itself, though some with more, some with less difficulty; some more lively, and others more obscurely. And thus it is, by the assistance of this faculty, that we are said to have all those ideas in our understandings which, though we do not actually contemplate, yet we can bring in sight, and make appear again, and be the objects of our thoughts, without the help of those sensible qualities which first imprinted them there.

3. *Attention, Repetition, Pleasure and Pain, fix Ideas.*— Attention and repetition help much to the fixing any ideas in the memory; but those which naturally at first make the deepest and most lasting impressions, are those which are accompanied with pleasure or pain. The great business of the senses being to make us take notice of what hurts or advantages the body, it is wisely ordered by nature, as has

organs to be five, we take notice (as has been said already) of the objects without us, and that notice is our conception thereof: but we take notice also, some way or other, of our conception, for when the conception of the same thing cometh again, we take notice that it is again, that is to say, that we have had the same conception before, which is as much as to imagine a thing past, which is impossible to the sense, which is only of things present; this therefore may be accounted a sixth sense, but internal; not external as the rest, and is commonly called remembrance." (Human Nature, chap. iii. § 6.) Aristotle likewise, in his hurried glance over the field of human knowledge, has treated separately of memory, and possibly created the basis upon which the whole philosophy of the subject has been built. (Oper. t. vii. p. 118 & 126. Tauchnitz.) —Ed.

been shown, that pain should accompany the reception of several ideas; which supplying the place of consideration and reasoning in children, and acting quicker than consideration in grown men, makes both the old and young avoid painful objects, with that haste which is necessary for their preservation; and in both settles in the memory a caution for the future.

4. *Ideas fade in the Memory.*—Concerning the several degrees of lasting, wherewith ideas are imprinted on the memory, we may observe, that some of them have been produced in the understanding by an object affecting the senses once only, and no more than once; others, that have more than once offered themselves to the senses, have yet been little taken notice of: the mind, either heedless, as in children, or otherwise employed, as in men, intent only on one thing, not setting the stamp deep into itself. And in some, where they are set on with care and repeated impressions, either through the temper of the body or some other fault, the memory is very weak. In all these cases, ideas in the mind quickly fade, and often vanish quite out of the understanding, leaving no more footsteps or remaining characters of themselves than shadows do flying over fields of corn, and the mind is as void of them as if they had never been there.

5. Thus many of those ideas which were produced in the minds of children in the beginning of their sensation, (some of which perhaps, as of some pleasures and pains, were before they were born, and others in their infancy,) if in the future course of their lives they are not repeated again, are quite lost, without the least glimpse remaining of them. This may be observed in those who by some mischance have lost their sight when they were very young, in whom the ideas of colours having been but slightly taken notice of, and ceasing to be repeated, do quite wear out; so that some years after there is no more notion nor memory of colours left in their minds, than in those of people born blind. The memory of some, it is true, is very tenacious, even to a miracle:* but

* Very extraordinary stories are related of the strength of this faculty in some persons. Of Themistocles and Xerxes I have elsewhere made mention. Many modern books of easy access tell the story of Signore Magliabecchi's mnemonic powers, and in our own day

yet there seems to be a constant decay of all our ideas, even of those which are struck deepest, and in minds the most retentive; so that if they be not sometimes renewed by repeated exercise of the senses, or reflection on those kinds of objects which at first occasioned them, the print wears

some instances of arithmetical memories have occurred; but I have nowhere, that I remember, met with anything half so curious as the account given by Marco Antonio Mureti, of a young Corsican, who was his auditor at Rome. The relation, which is found in his "Variæ Lectiones," (iii. 1. p. 45 et seq. in the edition of 1573,) exceeds the limits of a note, but the substance of it I may give. Mureti, hearing accidentally of the young man's powers, invited him to give proof of them before a large company assembled in the professor's chambers. "Here," says that elegant scholar, "I at once began to dictate a great number of words, Greek, Latin, or barbarous, some significant, others without meaning, so numerous, so varied, and so unconnected, that both I and my secretary, who took down what I uttered, together with every other person present, save my Corsican, were heartily fatigued. But he, fresh and unwearied, bade me still proceed. However, as it was necessary to pause somewhere, I at length ceased, at the same time assuring him I should be perfectly satisfied if I found him able to remember one half of what I had dictated. He then fixed his eyes upon the floor, while we all regarded him with anxious expectation; and having continued for some moments silent, began, and to our prodigious astonishment, repeated in order every word as it had been delivered, without pause or hesitation. Then, beginning with the last, he repeated them backwards with equal accuracy; and afterwards, starting from the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, he unerringly pursued the chain of words to its conclusion. Nay, at the request of the company, he would vary the order in any way they pleased, and still not miss a single word. Indeed, he afterwards assured Mureti that he could in that manner repeat 36,000 nouns. However, the most extraordinary part of the whole was, that he performed all this by art, having naturally possessed no more memory than ordinary men; of which he furnished undeniable proof by imparting the knowledge of it to others." Lord Bacon, who had very carefully considered this question, was persuaded, not only that there is an art of memory, but that it may be strongly affected by physical operations. He saw clearly that it depends on the association of ideas, which he terms the "binding of thoughts;" and had formed to himself certain rules to be observed in the practice of it. However, the most curious part of his mnemonic theory is that which relates to food. "The brains," he observes, "of some creatures, (when their heads are roasted,) taken in wine, are said to strengthen the memory, as the brains of hares, brains of hens, brains of deer, &c. And it seemeth to be incident to the brains of those creatures that are fearful." (Natural History, Century X. Nos. 956 and 974.) It appears to be certain that whatever food lies light upon the stomach and braces the system, will improve the memory, which is weakened by everything relaxing or oppressive.—ED.

out, and at last there remains nothing to be seen. Thus the ideas, as well as children, of our youth, often die before us; and our minds represent to us those tombs to which we are approaching, where though the brass and marble remain, yet the inscriptions are effaced by time, and the imagery moulders away. The pictures drawn in our minds are laid in fading colours, and if not sometimes refreshed, vanish and disappear. How much the constitution of our bodies and the make of our animal spirits are concerned in this, and whether the temper of the brain makes this difference, that in some it retains the characters drawn on it like marble, in others like freestone, and in others little better than sand, I shall not here inquire; though it may seem probable that the constitution of the body does sometimes influence the memory, since we oftentimes find a disease quite strip the mind of all its ideas, and the flames of a fever in a few days calcine all those images to dust and confusion which seemed to be as lasting as if graved in marble.*

6. *Constantly repeated Ideas can scarce be lost.*—But concerning the ideas themselves it is easy to remark, that those that are oftenest refreshed (amongst which are those that are conveyed into the mind by more ways than one) by a frequent return of the objects or actions that produce them, fix themselves best in the memory, and remain clearest and longest there: and therefore those which are of the original qualities of bodies, viz., solidity, extension, figure, motion, and rest; and those that almost constantly affect our bodies, as heat and cold; and those which are the affections of all kinds of beings, as existence, duration, and number, which almost every object that affects our senses, every thought which employs our minds, bring along with them; these, I say, and the like ideas, are seldom quite lost, whilst the mind retains any ideas at all.

7. *In Remembering, the Mind is often active.*—In this

* A remarkable peculiarity in the memory of some persons is that they are unable to recall circumstances at the moment desired, whereas they rush involuntarily upon their minds at other times, generally out of season. Thus an anecdote is related of a man having been present when a good joke was uttered, who saw nothing of the wit at the time, but half a year afterwards being at church, the true point of the jest appeared to him in all its brilliance, upon which he burst into a loud laugh in the midst of the sermon.—ED.

secondary perception, as I may so call it, or viewing again the ideas that are lodged in the memory, the mind is oftentimes more than barely passive; the appearance of those dormant pictures depending sometimes on the will. The mind very often sets itself on work in search of some hidden idea, and turns as it were the eye of the soul upon it; though sometimes too they start up in our minds of their own accord, and offer themselves to the understanding; and very often are roused and tumbled out of their dark cells into open daylight by turbulent and tempestuous passions; our affections bringing ideas to our memory, which had otherwise lain quiet and unregarded. This further is to be observed, concerning ideas lodged in the memory, and upon occasion revived by the mind, that they are not only (as the word revive imports) none of them new ones, but also that the mind takes notice of them as of a former impression, and renews its acquaintance with them as with ideas it had known before. So that though ideas formerly imprinted are not all constantly in view, yet in remembrance they are constantly known to be such as have been formerly imprinted; i. e., in view, and taken notice of before by the understanding.

8. *Two Defects in the Memory, Oblivion and Slowness.*— Memory, in an intellectual creature, is necessary in the next degree to perception. It is of so great moment, that, where it is wanting, all the rest of our faculties are in a great measure useless; and we in our thoughts, reasonings, and knowledge, could not proceed beyond present objects, were it not for the assistance of our memories, wherein there may be two defects.

First, That it loses the idea quite, and so far it produces perfect ignorance. For since we can know nothing further than we have the idea of it, when that is gone, we are in perfect ignorance.

Secondly, That it moves slowly, and retrieves not the ideas that it has, and are laid up in store, quick enough to serve the mind upon occasion. This, if it be to a great degree, is stupidity; and he who, through this default in his memory, has not the ideas that are really preserved there, ready at hand when need and occasion calls for them, were almost as good be without them quite, since they serve him to little

purpose. The dull man, who loses the opportunity whilst he is seeking in his mind for those ideas that should serve his turn, is not much more happy in his knowledge than one that is perfectly ignorant. It is the business therefore of the memory to furnish to the mind those dormant ideas which it has present occasion for; in the having them ready at hand on all occasions, consists that which we call invention, fancy, and quickness of parts.

9. These are defects, we may observe, in the memory of one man compared with another. There is another defect which we may conceive to be in the memory of man in general, compared with some superior created intellectual beings, which in this faculty may so far excel man, that they may have constantly in view the whole scene of all their former actions, wherein no one of the thoughts they have ever had may slip out of their sight. The omniscience of God, who knows all things, past, present, and to come, and to whom the thoughts of men's hearts always lie open, may satisfy us of the possibility of this. For who can doubt but God may communicate to those glorious spirits, his immediate attendants, any of his perfections, in what proportions he pleases, as far as created finite beings can be capable? It is reported of that prodigy of parts, Monsieur Pascal, that till the decay of his health had impaired his memory, he forgot nothing of what he had done, read, or thought in any part of his rational age.* This is a privilege so little known to most men, that it seems almost incredible to those who, after the ordinary way, measure all others by themselves; but yet, when considered, may help us to enlarge our thoughts towards greater perfection of it in superior ranks of spirits. For this of M. Pascal was still with the narrowness that human minds

* Very extraordinary things are related of Pascal, who was a great man and a most accomplished and exquisite writer. But that he should remember everything he had done, read, or thought, is a thing so wholly inconsistent with our experience of human nature, that to doubt it is no reprehensible stretch of scepticism. Besides, it seems to me, that in the "Lettres Provinciales," I can detect marks of forgetfulness, not in contradictory propositions, which a moderate memory would guard against, but in the omission of thoughts and illustrations, which had no doubt been once within the circle of his acquisitions. Besides, he was sometimes indebted to the memory of his friend Nicole, upon whose suggestions several of the letters were composed.—En

are confined to here, of having great variety of ideas only by succession, not all at once; whereas the several degrees of angels may probably have larger views, and some of them be endowed with capacities able to retain together, and constantly set before them, as in one picture, all their past knowledge at once. This, we may conceive, would be no small advantage to the knowledge of a thinking man, if all his past thoughts and reasonings could be always present to him. And therefore we may suppose it one of those ways, wherein the knowledge of separate spirits may exceedingly surpass ours.

10. *Brutes have Memory.*—This faculty of laying up and retaining the ideas that are brought into the mind, several other animals seem to have to a great degree as well as man. For to pass by other instances, birds learning of tunes, and the endeavours one may observe in them to hit the notes right, put it past doubt with me, that they have perception, and retain ideas in their memories, and use them for patterns. For it seems to me impossible that they should endeavour to conform their voices to notes (as it is plain they do) of which they had no ideas. For though I should grant sound may mechanically cause a certain motion of the animal spirits in the brains of those birds, whilst the tune is actually playing; and that motion may be continued on to the muscles of the wings, and so the bird mechanically be driven away by certain noises, because this may tend to the bird's preservation; yet that can never be supposed a reason why it should cause mechanically, either whilst the tune is playing, much less after it has ceased, such a motion of the organs in the bird's voice as should conform it to the notes of a foreign sound, which imitation can be of no use to the bird's preservation. But, which is more, it cannot with any appearance of reason be supposed (much less proved) that birds, without sense and memory, can approach their notes nearer and nearer by degrees to a tune played yesterday; which if they have no idea of in their memory, is nowhere, nor can be a pattern for them to imitate, or which any repeated essays can bring them nearer to. Since there is no reason why the sound of a pipe should leave traces in their brains, which not at first, but by their after-endeavours, should produce the like sounds; and why the sounds they make themselves,

should not make traces which they should follow, as well as those of the pipe, is impossible to conceive.*

CHAPTER XI.

OF DISCERNING, AND OTHER OPERATIONS OF THE MIND.

1. *No Knowledge without Discernment.*—ANOTHER faculty we may take notice of in our minds, is that of discerning and distinguishing between the several ideas it has. It is not enough to have a confused perception of something in general: unless the mind had a distinct perception of different objects and their qualities, it would be capable of very little knowledge; though the bodies that affect us were as busy about us as they are now, and the mind were continually employed in thinking. On this faculty of distinguishing one thing from another depends the evidence and certainty of several, even very general propositions, which have passed for innate truths; because men, overlooking the true cause why those propositions find universal assent, impute it wholly to native uniform impressions; whereas it in truth depends upon this clear discerning faculty of the mind, whereby it perceives two ideas to be the same, or different. But of this more hereafter.

2. *The Difference of Wit and Judgment.*—How much the imperfection of accurately discriminating ideas one from another lies either in the dulness or faults of the organs of sense; or want of acuteness, exercise, or attention in the understanding; or hastiness and precipitancy, natural to some tempers, I will not here examine: it suffices to take notice, that this is one of the operations that the mind may reflect on and observe in itself. It is of that consequence to its other knowledge, that so far as this faculty is in itself dull, or not rightly made use of for the distinguishing one thing from another, so far our notions are confused, and our reason and judgment disturbed or misled. If in having our ideas in the memory ready at hand consists quickness of

* There are many curious facts extant illustrating this position of Locke, which in the present day few will perhaps controvert. Of these, none probably is more remarkable than Plutarch's account of a magpie at Rome.—ED.

parts; in this, of having them unconfused, and being able nicely to distinguish one thing from another, where there is but the least difference, consists, in a great measure, the exactness of judgment, and clearness of reason, which is to be observed in one man above another. And hence perhaps may be given some reason of that common observation, that men who have a great deal of wit, and prompt memories, have not always the clearest judgment or deepest reason; for wit lying most in the assemblage of ideas, and putting those together with quickness and variety, wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleasant pictures and agreeable visions in the fancy;* judgment, on the contrary, lies quite on the other side, in separating care-

* If we compare with this the masterly exposition given by Hobbes of the causes of wit and dulness, we shall observe considerable similarity in the ideas of the two philosophers, and, in the treatment of the subject, the greater breadth and originality in the philosopher of Malmesbury. His lofty scorn of sensuality, (the cause of dulness,) and the contemptuous language in which he describes its several gratifications, would, if properly weighed, conduce more to the shaming of men into nobler pursuits, than a world of tempestuous declamation. "The difference of wits," he says, "hath its original from the different passions, and from the ends to which the appetite leadeth them. And first, those men whose ends are sensual delight, and generally are addicted to ease, food, and exonerations of the body, must needs be the less thereby delighted with those imaginations that conduce not to those ends, such as are imaginations of honour and glory, which have respect to the future. For sensuality consisteth in the pleasure of the senses, which please only for the present, and take away the inclination to observe such things as conduce to honour; and consequently maketh men less curious and less ambitious, whereby they less consider the way either to knowledge or *other power;* in which, too, consisteth all the excellency of power cognitive. And this is it which men call *dulness,* and proceedeth from the appetite of sensual or bodily delight." The vigour and distinctness wherewith he contrasts this slowness and bluntness of apprehension with genius, will excuse me for lengthening out the present note, since the book itself is not (as it should be) in everybody's hands. "The contrary hereunto is that quick ranging of mind which is joined with curiosity of comparing the things that come into the mind, one with another; in which comparison a man delighteth himself either with finding unexpected similitude of things, otherwise much unlike, (in which men place the excellency of fancy, and from whence proceed those graceful similes, metaphors, and other tropes, by which both poets and orators have it in their power to make things please and displease, and show well or ill to others, as they like themselves,) or else in discerning suddenly dissimilitude in things that otherwise appear the same. And this virtue of the mind is that by

fully, one from another, ideas wherein can be found the least difference, thereby to avoid being misled by similitude and by affinity to take one thing for another. This is a way of proceeding quite contrary to metaphor and allusion, wherein for the most part lies that entertainment and pleasantry of wit, which strikes so lively on the fancy, and therefore is so acceptable to all people; because its beauty appears at first sight, and there is required no labour of thought to examine what truth or reason there is in it. The mind, without looking any further, rests satisfied with the agreeableness of the picture and the gaiety of the fancy; and it is a kind of affront to go about to examine it by the severe rules of truth and good reason, whereby it appears that it consists in something that is not perfectly conformable to them.

3. *Clearness alone hinders Confusion.*—To the well distinguishing our ideas, it chiefly contributes that they be clear and determinate; and where they are so, it will not breed any confusion or mistake about them, though the senses should (as sometimes they do) convey them from the same object differently on different occasions, and so seem to err. For though a man in a fever should from sugar have a bitter taste,* which at another time would produce a sweet one, yet the idea of bitter in that man's mind would be as clear and distinct from the idea of sweet as if he had tasted only gall. Nor does it make any more confusion between the two ideas of sweet and bitter, that the same sort of body produces at one time one, and at another time another idea by the taste, than it makes a confusion in two ideas of white and sweet, or white and round, that the same piece of sugar produces

which men attain to exact and perfect knowledge; and the pleasure thereof consisteth in continual instruction, and in distinction of places, persons, and seasons, and is commonly termed by the name of *judgment;* for to judge is nothing else but to distinguish or discern, and both fancy and judgment are commonly comprehended under the name of *wit,* which seemeth to be a tenuity and agility of spirits, contrary to that restiness of the spirits supposed in those that are dull." (Treatise on Human Nature, c. x. § 2, 3.)—ED.

* Or rather, should seem to have; for the fluids of his body, being in an agitated and depressed state, prevent the qualities of the sugar from operating in their accustomed manner upon his senses. The bitterness he perceives is in the quality of his own humours, which obstructs the action of the sugar's sweetness.—ED.

them both in the mind at the same time; and the ideas of orange-colour and azure, that are produced in the mind by the same parcel of the infusion of lignum nephriticum, are no less distinct ideas than those of the same colours taken from two very different bodies.

4. *Comparing.*—The comparing of them one with another, in respect of extent, degrees, time, place, or any other circumstances, is another operation of the mind about its ideas, and is that upon which depends all that large tribe of ideas comprehended under relations, which, of how vast an extent it is, I shall have occasion to consider hereafter.

5. *Brutes compare but imperfectly.*—How far brutes partake in this faculty, is not easy to determine; I imagine they have it not in any great degree, for though they probably have several ideas distinct enough, yet it seems to me to be the prerogative of human understanding when it has sufficiently distinguished any ideas, so as to perceive them to be perfectly different, and so consequently two, to cast about and consider in what circumstances they are capable to be compared; and therefore, I think, beasts compare not their ideas further than some sensible circumstances annexed to the objects themselves. The other power of comparing, which may be observed in men, belonging to general ideas, and useful only to abstract reasonings, we may probably conjecture beasts have not.

6. *Compounding.*—The next operation we may observe in the mind about its ideas is composition, whereby it puts together several of those simple ones it has received from sensation and reflection, and combines them into complex ones. Under this of composition may be reckoned also that of enlarging; wherein, though the composition does not so much appear as in more complex ones, yet it is nevertheless a putting several ideas together, though of the same kind. Thus by adding several units together, we make the idea of a dozen; and putting together the repeated ideas of several perches, we frame that of a furlong.

7. *Brutes compound but little.*—In this also, I suppose, brutes come far short of men; for though they take in, and retain together several combinations of simple ideas,—as possibly the shape, smell, and voice of his master, make up

the complex idea a dog has of him, or rather are so many distinct marks whereby he knows him, yet I do not think they do of themselves ever compound them, and make complex ideas. And perhaps even where we think they have complex ideas, it is only one simple one that directs them in the knowledge of several things, which possibly they distinguish less by their sight than we imagine; for I have been credibly informed that a bitch will nurse, play with, and be fond of young foxes, as much as, and in place of her puppies, if you can but get them once to suck her so long that her milk may go through them.* And those animals which have a numerous brood of young ones at once, appear not to have any knowledge of their number; for though they are mightily concerned for any of their young that are taken from them whilst they are in sight or hearing, yet if one or two of them be stolen from them in their absence, or without noise, they appear not to miss them, or to have any sense that their number is lessened.

8. *Naming.*—When children have, by repeated sensations, got ideas fixed in their memories, they begin by degrees to learn the use of signs; and when they have got the skill to apply the organs of speech to the framing of articulate sounds, they begin to make use of words to signify their ideas to others. These verbal signs they sometimes borrow from others, and sometimes make themselves, as one may observe among the new and unusual names children often give to things in the first use of language.

9. *Abstraction.*—The use of words, then, being to stand as outward marks of our internal ideas, and those ideas being taken from particular things, if every particular idea that we take in should have a distinct name, names must be endless. To prevent this, the mind makes the particular ideas received from particular objects to become general; which is done by considering them as they are in the mind, such appearances, separate from all other existences, and the circumstances of real existence, as time, place, or any other concomitant ideas.

* All creatures appear to be conciliated by the scent of their own species, a discovery which must have been made by the ancient *Psylli*, who probably, like the moderns, fed on serpents when about to exhibit their power over them. On this account the bitch loves the young foxes that have sucked her; they are assimilated to her by the milk they draw resembling in smell her own cubs.—Ed.

This is called abstraction, whereby ideas taken from particular beings become general representatives of all of the same kind, and their names general names, applicable to whatever exists conformable to such abstract ideas. Such precise, naked appearances in the mind, without considering how, whence, or with what others they came there, the understanding lays up (with names commonly annexed to them) as the standard to rank real existences into sorts, as they agree with these patterns, and to denominate them accordingly. Thus the same colour being observed to-day in chalk or snow, which the mind yesterday received from milk, it considers that appearance alone makes it a representative of all of that kind; and having given it the name whiteness, it by that sound signifies the same quality, wheresoever to be imagined or met with, and thus universals, whether ideas or terms, are made.*

10. *Brutes abstract not.*—If it may be doubted whether beasts compound and enlarge their ideas that way to any degree; this, I think, I may be positive in, that the power of abstracting is not at all in them; and that the having of general ideas is that which puts a perfect distinction betwixt man and brutes, and is an excellency which the faculties of brutes do by no means attain to; for it is evident we observe no footsteps in them of making use of general signs for universal ideas; from which we have reason to imagine that they have not the faculty of abstracting, or making general ideas, since they have no use of words, or any other general signs.

11. Nor can it be imputed to their want of fit organs to frame articulate sounds, that they have no use or knowledge of general words, since many of them, we find, can fashion such sounds, and pronounce words distinctly enough, but never with any such application. And, on the other side, men who, through some defect in the organs, want words, yet fail not to express their universal ideas by signs, which

* On the subject of abstract ideas, see Bishop Berkeley's Introduction to his "Principles of Human Knowledge," pp. 3—22. This philosopher, who erected his celebrated system on certain passages in the present essay, rejected the doctrine of abstract ideas, the belief in which he treated with ridicule. But if a man can form an idea of *two*, without connecting with it the idea of women, men, horses, elephants, &c., the power to abstract exists, and Locke is right. The reader is left to determine the point for himself.—ED.

serve them instead of general words, a faculty which we see beasts come short in; and, therefore, I think, we may suppose, that it is in this that the species of brutes are discriminated from man; and it is that proper difference wherein they are wholly separated, and which at last widens to so vast a distance; for if they have any ideas at all, and are not bare machines, (as some would have them,) we cannot deny them to have some reason. It seems as evident to me, that they do some of them in certain instances reason, as that they have sense; but it is only in particular ideas, just as they received them from their senses. They are the best of them tied up within those narrow bounds, and have not (as I think) the faculty to enlarge them by any kind of abstraction.

12. *Idiots and Madmen.*—How far idiots are concerned in the want or weakness of any, or all of the foregoing faculties, an exact observation of their several ways of faultering would no doubt discover; for those who either perceive but dully, or retain the ideas that come into their minds but ill, who cannot readily excite or compound them, will have little matter to think on. Those who cannot distinguish, compare, and abstract, would hardly be able to understand and make use of language, or judge or reason to any tolerable degree; but only a little and imperfectly about things present, and very familiar to their senses. And indeed any of the forementioned faculties, if wanting, or out of order, produce suitable effects in men's understandings and knowledge.

13. In fine, the defect in naturals seems to proceed from want of quickness, activity, and motion in the intellectual faculties, whereby they are deprived of reason; whereas madmen, on the other side, seem to suffer by the other extreme, for they do not appear to me to have lost the faculty of reasoning, but having joined together some ideas very wrongly, they mistake them for truths, and they err as men do that argue right from wrong principles; for by the violence of their imaginations, having taken their fancies for realities, they make right deductions from them. Thus you shall find a distracted man fancying himself a king, with a right inference require suitable attendance, respect, and obedience; others who have thought themselves made of glass, have used the caution necessary to preserve such brittle bodies. Hence it comes to pass that a man who is very

sober, and of a right understanding in all other things, may in one particular be as frantic as any in Bedlam; if either by any sudden very strong impression, or long fixing his fancy upon one sort of thoughts, incoherent ideas have been cemented together so powerfully, as to remain united. But there are degrees of madness, as of folly; the disorderly jumbling ideas together is in some more, some less. In short, herein seems to lie the difference between idiots and madmen, that madmen put wrong ideas together, and so make wrong propositions, but argue and reason right from them; but idiots make very few or no propositions, and reason scarce at all.

14. *Method.*—These, I think, are the first faculties and operations of the mind, which it makes use of in understanding; and though they are exercised about all its ideas in general, yet the instances I have hitherto given have been chiefly in simple ideas; and I have subjoined the explication of these faculties of the mind to that of simple ideas, before I come to what I have to say concerning complex ones, for these following reasons:—

First, Because several of these faculties being exercised at first principally about simple ideas, we might, by following nature in its ordinary method, trace and discover them in their rise, progress, and gradual improvements.

Secondly, Because, observing the faculties of the mind, how they operate about simple ideas, which are usually, in most men's minds, much more clear, precise, and distinct than complex ones, we may the better examine and learn how the mind extracts, denominates, compares, and exercises in its other operations about those which are complex, wherein we are much more liable to mistake.

Thirdly, Because these very operations of the mind about ideas, received from sensations, are themselves, when reflected on, another set of ideas, derived from that other source of our knowledge, which I call reflection, and therefore fit to be considered in this place after the simple ideas of sensation. Of compounding, comparing, abstracting, &c., I have but just spoken, having occasion to treat of them more at large in other places.

15. *These are the Beginnings of Human Knowledge.*—And thus I have given a short, and, I think, true history of the

first beginnings of human knowledge,* whence the mind has its first objects; and by what steps it makes its progress to the laying in and storing up those ideas, out of which is to be framed all the knowledge it is capable of, wherein I must appeal to experience and observation whether I am in the right; the best way to come to truth being to examine things as really they are, and not to conclude they are, as we fancy of ourselves, or have been taught by others to imagine.

16. *Appeal to Experience.*—To deal truly, this is the only way that I can discover, whereby the ideas of things are brought into the understanding: if other men have either innate ideas or infused principles, they have reason to enjoy them; and if they are sure of it, it is impossible for others to deny them the privilege that they have above their neighbours. I can speak but of what I find in myself, and is agreeable to those notions, which, if we will examine the whole course of men in their several ages, countries, and educations, seem to depend on those foundations which I have laid, and to correspond with this method in all the parts and degrees thereof.

17. *Dark Room.*—I pretend not to teach, but to inquire, and therefore cannot but confess here again, that external and internal sensation are the only passages that I can find of knowledge to the understanding. These alone, as far as I can discover, are the windows by which light is let into this dark room; for methinks the understanding is not much unlike a closet wholly shut from light, with only some little opening left, to let in external visible resemblances, or ideas of things without: would the pictures coming into such a dark room but stay there, and lie so orderly as to be found upon occasion, it would very much resemble the understanding of a man, in reference to all objects of sight, and the ideas of them.

These are my guesses concerning the means whereby the

* For a time this doctrine was received in the philosophical world, and deemed satisfactory; but authors afterwards appeared who brought forward another theory, with inferior genius, and therefore with inferior authority; but possessing the recommendation of novelty, it found many admirers, and still retains them; that is, if any modification of philosophy can any longer be said to command admiration or excite interest in this country. (See Dugald Stewart's Philosophical Essays. Ess. I. chap. 2, & p. 71 et seq.)—Ed.

understanding comes to have and retain simple ideas, and the modes of them, with some other operations about them. I proceed now to examine some of these simple ideas and their modes a little more particularly.

CHAPTER XII.

OF COMPLEX IDEAS.

Cf. Green I. 25 f Vol.

1. *Made by the Mind out of simple Ones.*—We have hitherto considered those ideas, in the reception whereof the mind is only passive, which are those simple ones received from sensation and reflection before mentioned, whereof the mind cannot make one to itself, nor have any idea which does not wholly consist of them. But as the mind is wholly passive in the reception of all its simple ideas, so it exerts several acts of its own, whereby out of its simple ideas, as the materials and foundations of the rest, the others are framed. The acts of the mind, wherein it exerts its power over its simple ideas, are chiefly these three: 1. Combining several simple ideas into one compound one, and thus all complex ideas are made. 2. The second is bringing two ideas, whether simple or complex, together, and setting them by one another so as to take a view of them at once, without uniting them into one, by which way it gets all its ideas of relations. 3. The third is separating them from all other ideas that accompany them in their real existence: this is called abstraction, and thus all its general ideas are made. This shows man's power, and its ways of operation, to be much the same in the material and intellectual world. For the materials in both being such as he has no power over, either to make or destroy, all that man can do is either to unite them together, or to set them by one another, or wholly separate them. I shall here begin with the first of these in the consideration of complex ideas, and come to the other two in their due places. As simple ideas are observed to exist in several combinations united together, so the mind has a power to consider several of them united together as one idea; and that not only as they are united in external objects, but as itself has joined them together. Ideas thus made up of several simple ones

put together, I call complex; such as are beauty, gratitude, a man, an army, the universe, which, though complicated of various simple ideas, or complex ideas made up of simple ones, yet are, when the mind pleases, considered each by itself as one entire thing, and signified by one name.

2. *Made voluntarily.*—In this faculty of repeating and joining together its ideas, the mind has great power in varying and multiplying the objects of its thoughts, infinitely beyond what sensation or reflection furnished it with; but all this still confined to those simple ideas which it received from those two sources, and which are the ultimate materials of all its compositions: for simple ideas are all from things themselves, and of these the mind can have no more, nor other than what are suggested to it. It can have no other ideas of sensible qualities than what come from without by the senses, nor any ideas of other kind of operations of a thinking substance, than what it finds in itself; but when it has once got these simple ideas, it is not confined barely to observation, and what offers itself from without; it can, by its own power, put together those ideas it has, and make new complex ones, which it never received so united.

3. *Are either Modes, Substances, or Relations.*—Complex ideas, however compounded and decompounded, though their number be infinite, and the variety endless, wherewith they fill and entertain the thoughts of men; yet I think they may be all reduced under these three heads—1. Modes. 2. Substances. 3. Relations.

4. *Modes.*—First, Modes I call such complex ideas, which, however compounded, contain not in them the supposition of subsisting by themselves, but are considered as dependencies on, or affections of substances; such as are ideas signified by the words triangle, gratitude, murder, &c. And if in this I use the word mode in somewhat a different sense from its ordinary signification, I beg pardon; it being unavoidable in discourses, differing from the ordinary received notions, either to make new words, or to use old words in somewhat a new signification; the latter whereof, in our present case, is perhaps the more tolerable of the two.*

* The reader will perhaps agree with me in regarding this as an unphilosophical decision. It were far better to employ a new term, with a separate and definite meaning attached to it, than to confuse our appre-

5. *Simple and mixed Modes.*—Of these modes, there are two sorts which deserve distinct consideration. First, there are some which are only variations, or different combinations of the same simple idea, without the mixture of any other; as a dozen, or score; which are nothing but the ideas of so many distinct units added together, and these I call simple modes, as being contained within the bounds of one simple idea.

Secondly, there are others compounded of simple ideas of several kinds, put together to make one complex one; v. g., beauty, consisting of a certain composition of colour and figure, causing delight in the beholder;* theft, which being the concealed change of the possession of anything, without the consent of the proprietor, contains, as is visible, a combination of several ideas of several kinds: and these I call mixed modes.

6. *Substances, single or collective.*—Secondly, the ideas of substances are such combinations of simple ideas as are taken to represent distinct particular things subsisting by themselves, in which the supposed or confused idea of substance, such as it is, is always the first and chief. Thus, if to substance be joined the simple idea of a certain dull whitish colour, with certain degrees of weight, hardness, ductility, and fusibility, we have the idea of lead, and a combination of the ideas of a certain sort of figure, with the powers of motion. Thought and reasoning, joined to substance, make the ordinary idea of a man. Now, of substances also, there are two sorts of ideas; one of single substances, as they exist separately, as

hension of a known word by multiplying its significations, and applying it to uses for which it is unsuited. Locke would have avoided many of the objections that have been urged against him, had he ventured upon the invention of a new nomenclature; for it seems clear to me, that the objections of his adversaries are often directed, not so much at his notions, as at their own misapprehensions of those notions; for which, however, as he furnished them with the handle, he may be himself to blame.—ED.

* Nicholas Caussin, the Jesuit, in his work, "De Eloquentia Sacra et Humana," X. 593, gives a similar definition (if anything so brief deserve the name) of beauty: "Est porro pulchritudo apta membrorum proportio, cum quædam coloris suavitate. In viris dignitas, in fœminis venustas appellatur." (See Payne Knight's Analytical Essays on the Principles of Taste, Part I. ch. v. §§ 26 et seq.; and compare Dugald Stewart's notions, Philosophical Essays, p. 256 et seq.)—ED

of a man or a sheep; the other of several of those put together, as an army of men, or flock of sheep: which collective ideas of several substances thus put together, are as much each of them one single idea, as that of a man or an unit.

7. *Relation.*—Thirdly, the last sort of complex ideas, is that we call relation, which consists in the consideration and comparing one idea with another. Of these several kinds we shall treat in their order.

8. *The abstrusest Ideas from the two Sources.*—If we trace the progress of our minds, and with attention observe how it repeats, adds together, and unites its simple ideas received from sensation or reflection, it will lead us further than at first perhaps we should have imagined. And, I believe, we shall find, if we warily observe the originals of our notions, that even the most abstruse ideas, how remote soever they may seem from sense, or from any operations of our own minds, are yet only such as the understanding frames to itself, by repeating and joining together ideas, that it had either from objects of sense, or from its own operations about them; so that those even large and abstract ideas are derived from sensation or reflection, being no other than what the mind, by the ordinary use of its own faculties, employed about ideas received from objects of sense, or from the operations it observes in itself about them, may, and does, attain unto. This I shall endeavour to show in the ideas we have of space, time, and infinity, and some few others that seem the most remote from those originals.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF SIMPLE MODES; AND FIRST, OF THE SIMPLE MODES OF SPACE.

1. *Simple Modes.*—Though in the foregoing part I have often mentioned simple ideas, which are truly the materials of all our knowledge; yet having treated of them there, rather in the way that they come into the mind, than as distinguished from others more compounded, it will not be perhaps amiss to take a view of some of them again under this consideration, and examine those different modifications of the same idea; which the mind either finds in things existing, or is able to

make within itself, without the help of any extrinsical object, or any foreign suggestion.

Those modifications of any one simple idea (which, as has been said, I call simple modes) are as perfectly different and distinct ideas in the mind as those of the greatest distance or contrariety; for the idea of two is as distinct from that of one, as blueness from heat, or either of them from any number: and yet it is made up only of that simple idea of an unit repeated; and repetitions of this kind joined together make those distinct simple modes, of a dozen, a gross, a million.

2. *Idea of Space.*—I shall begin with the simple idea of space.* I have showed above, chap. 4, that we get the idea

* Since space is, in fact, merely the absence and contrary of substance, we can form no idea of it but that of nonentity. Where nothing is, Omnipotence may introduce existence; or the laws which regulate the universe may cause the passage of existence "through the void and formless infinite." But, in itself, the term, as I have said, merely signifies that, where nothing is, no resistance can be offered to the movements of body. On this subject the reader of Dugald Stewart will probably remember a curious fragment of the Kantean system, (Philos. Essays, p. 155 et seq.,) in which an attempt is made, but with very little success, to clear up this obscure point of philosophy. To speak plainly, Kant appears rather to darken what was dark before, than to open up any new vista, by which it might be more distinctly beheld. When, for example, he tells us that "the notion, or intuition, of *space* and *time*, is not *empirical;* that is, it has not its origin in experience," and yet is "not innate," I confess that my admiration for philosophy is for the moment diminished. But let us quote the whole passage. "The notion or intuition of space," he tells us, "as well as that of time, is not empirical; that is, has not its origin in experience: on the contrary, both these notions are supposed or implied as conditions in all our empirical perceptions, inasmuch as we cannot perceive nor conceive an external object, without representing it to our thoughts as in space; nor can we conceive anything, either without us or within us, without representing it to ourselves as in time. Space and time, therefore, are called by Kant the two forms of our sensibility. The first is the general form of our external senses, the second the general form of all our senses, external and internal. These notions of space and time, however, although they exist *à priori*, are not, according to Kant, innate ideas. If they are anterior to the perceptions of our senses, it is only in the order of reason, and not in the order of time. They have, indeed, their origin in ourselves; but they present themselves to the understanding only in consequence of occasions, furnished by our sensations; or, in Kant's language, by our *sensible modifications.* Separated from these modifications, they could not exist, and without them they would have remained for ever latent and sterile." The force and cogency of this reasoning

of space, both by our sight and touch; which, I think, is so evident, that it would be as needless to go to prove that men perceive, by their sight, a distance between bodies of different colours, or between the parts of the same body, as that they see colours themselves; nor is it less obvious, that they can do so in the dark by feeling and touch.

3. *Space and Extension.*—This space, considered barely in length between any two beings, without considering anything else between them, is called distance; if considered in length, breadth, and thickness, I think it may be called capacity. The term extension is usually applied to it in what manner soever considered.

4. *Immensity.*—Each different distance is a different modification of space; and each idea of any different distance, or space, is a simple mode of this idea. Men for the use, and by the custom of measuring, settle in their minds the ideas of certain stated lengths, such as are an inch, foot, yard, fathom, mile, diameter of the earth, &c., which are so many distinct ideas made up only of space. When any such stated lengths or measures of space are made familiar to men's thoughts, they can in their minds repeat them as often as they will, without mixing or joining to them the idea of body or anything else; and frame to themselves the ideas of long, square, or cubic feet, yards or fathoms, here amongst the bodies of the universe, or else beyond the utmost bounds of all bodies; and by adding these still one to another, enlarge their ideas of space as much as they please. The power of repeating or doubling any idea we have of any

may be illustrated by the following familiar example:—Thomas was a man before he was a boy, not in the order of time, but in the order of reason; because it was in order that he might become a man, that he was made a boy. With respect to space, no writer, perhaps, has written more clearly on it than Hobbes, who, in his Philosophia Prima, Pars II. cap. 7, § 2, observes: "Jam si meminerimus, seu phantasma habuerimus alicujus rei, quæ extiterat ante suppositam rerum exterarum sublationem, nec considerare velimus, qualis ea res erat, sed simpliciter quod erat extra animum, habemus id, quod appellamus spatium, imaginarium quidem, quia merum phantasma, sed tamen illud ipsum, quod ab omnibus sic appellatur. . . . . Spatii definitionem hanc esse dico *spatium est phantasma rei existentis, quatenus existentis*, id est, nullo alio ejus rei accidente considerato præterquam quod apparet extra imaginantem." (T. i. p. 82 et seq. ed. Molesworth. See also Berkeley's Works, vol. i. p. 89.)

distance, and adding it to the former as often as we will, without being ever able to come to any stop or stint, let us enlarge it as much as we will, is that which gives us the idea of immensity.

5. *Figure.*—There is another modification of this idea which is nothing but the relation which the parts of the termination of extension, or circumscribed space, have amongst themselves. This the touch discovers in sensible bodies, whose extremities come within our reach; and the eye takes both from bodies and colours, whose boundaries are within its view; where, observing how the extremities terminate, either in straight lines which meet at discernible angles, or in crooked lines wherein no angles can be perceived; by considering these as they relate to one another, in all parts of the extremities of any body or space, it has that idea we call figure, which affords to the mind infinite variety; for besides the vast number of different figures that do really exist in the coherent masses of matter, the stock that the mind has in its power, by varying the idea of space, and thereby making still new compositions, by repeating its own ideas, and joining them as it pleases, is perfectly inexhaustible; and so it can multiply figures in infinitum.

6. *Figure.*—For the mind having a power to repeat the idea of any length directly stretched out, and join it to another in the same direction, which is to double the length of that straight line, or else join another with what inclination it thinks fit, and so make what sort of angle it pleases; and being able also to shorten any line it imagines, by taking from it one half, one fourth, or what part it pleases, without being able to come to an end of any such divisions, it can make an angle of any bigness. So also the lines that are its sides, of what length it pleases, which joining again to other lines of different lengths, and at different angles, till it has wholly enclosed any space, it is evident that it can multiply figures, both in their shape and capacity, in infinitum; all which are but so many different simple modes of space.

The same that it can do with straight lines, it can also do with crooked, or crooked and straight together; and the same it can do in lines, it can also in superfices; by which we may be led into farther thoughts of the endless variety of

figures that the mind has a power to make, and thereby to multiply the simple modes of space.*

7. *Place.*—Another idea coming under this head, and belonging to this tribe, is that we call place. As in simple space, we consider the relation of distance between any two bodies or points, so in our idea of place, we consider the relation of distance betwixt anything, and any two or more points, which are considered as keeping the same distance one with another, and so considered as at rest; for when we find anything at the same distance now which it was yesterday, from any two or more points, which have not since changed their distance one with another, and with which we then compared it, we say it hath kept the same place; but if it hath sensibly altered its distance with either of those points, we say it hath changed its place: though, vulgarly speaking, in the common notion of place, we do not always exactly observe the distance from these precise points; but from larger portions of sensible objects, to which we consider the thing placed to bear relation, and its distance from which we have some reason to observe.

8. Thus, a company of chess-men standing on the same squares of the chess-board, where we left them, we say they are all in the same place, or unmoved, though perhaps the chess-board hath been in the mean time carried out of one room into another; because we compared them only to the parts of the chess-board, which keep the same distance one with another. The chess-board, we also say, is in the same place it was, if it remain in the same part of the cabin, though perhaps the ship which it is in sails all the while; and the ship is said to be in the same place, supposing it kept the same distance with the parts of the neighbouring land, though perhaps the earth hath turned round, and so both chess-men, and board, and ship, have every one changed place, in respect of remoter bodies, which have kept the same distance one with another. But yet the distance from

* What is here said of figure is equally true of moral creations: by new combinations of the passions, affections, &c., men may, for the purposes of fiction, invent new characters for ever. In nature, the thing is done every day before our eyes; and if we be wanting in originality, it is because we choose to work after copies, rather than have recourse to the exhaustless storehouses of nature.—ED.

certain parts of the board being that which determines the place of the chess-men, and the distance from the fixed parts of the cabin (with which we made the comparison) being that which determined the place of the chess-board; and the fixed parts of the earth that by which we determined the place of the ship, these things may be said to be in the same place in those respects, though their distance from some other things, which in this matter we did not consider, being varied, they have undoubtedly changed place in that respect, and we ourselves shall think so, when we have occasion to compare them with those other.

9. But this modification of distance we call place, being made by men for their common use, that by it they might be able to design the particular position of things, where they had occasion for such designation; men consider and determine of this place by reference to those adjacent things which best served to their present purpose, without considering other things which, to answer another purpose, would better determine the place of the same thing. Thus in the chess-board, the use of the designation of the place of each chess-man being determined only within that chequered piece of wood, it would cross that purpose to measure it by anything else; but when these very chess-men are put up in a bag, if any one should ask where the black king is, it would be proper to determine the place by the part of the room it was in, and not by the chess-board; there being another use of designing the place it is now in, than when in play it was on the chess-board, and so must be determined by other bodies. So if any one should ask, in what place are the verses which report the story of Nisus and Euryalus, it would be very improper to determine this place, by saying, they were in such a part of the earth, or in Bodley's library; but the right designation of the place would be by the parts of Virgil's works; and the proper answer would be, that these verses were about the middle of the ninth book of his Æneid,* and that they have been always constantly in the

* This fine story, the noblest episode, perhaps, in the Æneid, commences with verse 176:—

"Nisus erat portæ custos, acerrimus armis," &c.

and concludes with verse 502. (See Virg. Masvicii, p. 953 et seq.) —ED.

same place ever since Virgil was printed; which is true, though the book itself hath moved a thousand times, the use of the idea of place here being to know in what part of the book that story is, that so, upon occasion, we may know where to find it, and have recourse to it for use.

10. *Place.*—That our idea of place is nothing else but such a relative position of anything as I have before mentioned, I think is plain, and will be easily admitted, when we consider that we can have no idea of the place of the universe, though we can of all the parts of it; because beyond that we have not the idea of any fixed, distinct, particular beings, in reference to which we can imagine it to have any relation of distance; but all beyond it is one uniform space or expansion, wherein the mind finds no variety, no marks; for to say that the world is somewhere, means no more than that it does exist: this, though a phrase borrowed from place, signifying only its existence, not location; and when one can find out, and frame in his mind, clearly and distinctly, the place of the universe, he will be able to tell us whether it moves or stands still in the undistinguishable inane of infinite space: though it be true that the word place has sometimes a more confused sense, and stands for that space which anybody takes up; and so the universe is in a place. The idea, therefore, of place, we have by the same means that we get the idea of space, (whereof this is but a particular limited consideration,) viz., by our sight and touch; by either of which we receive into our minds the ideas of extension or distance.

11. *Extension and Body not the same.*—There are some that would persuade us, that body and extension are the same thing,* who either change the signification of words,

* Locke here alludes to the definition of Descartes: "Sola igitur extensio corporis naturam constituit quum illa *omni sole semperque* conveniat, adeo ut nihil in corpore *prius percipere* possimus." (Antonii le Grand Institutio Philosophiæ secundum principia D. Renati Descartes, Pars iv. p. 152.) The notions of Hobbes on the same subject are contained in the following passage: "Intellecto jam quid sit spatium imaginarium, in quo nihil esse externum, supposuimus, sed meram eorum, quæ olim existentia imagines suas in animo reliquerant, privationem; supponamus deinceps aliquid eorum rursus reponi, sine creari denuo; necesse ergo est ut creatum illud sive repositum, non modo occupet aliquam dicti spatii partem, sive cum ea coincidat et coextendatur, sed etiam esse aliquid, quod ab imaginatione nostra non dependet. Hoc

which I would not suspect them of, they having so severely condemned the philosophy of others, because it hath been too much placed in the uncertain meaning or deceitful obscurity of doubtful or insignificant terms. If, therefore, they mean by body and extension the same that other people do, viz., by body something that is solid and extended, whose parts are separable and movable different ways; and by extension, only the space that lies between the extremities of those solid coherent parts, and which is possessed by them, they confound very different ideas one with another; for I appeal to every man's own thoughts, whether the idea of space be not as distinct from that of solidity, as it is from the idea of scarlet colour? It is true, solidity cannot exist without extension, neither can scarlet colour exist without extension; but this hinders not, but that they are distinct ideas. Many ideas require others as necessary to their existence or conception, which yet are very distinct ideas. Motion can neither be, nor be conceived, without space; and yet motion is not space, nor space motion; space can exist without it, and they are very distinct ideas; and so, I think, are those of space and solidity. Solidity is so inseparable an idea from body, that upon that depends its filling of space, its contact, impulse, and communication of motion upon impulse. And if it be a reason to prove that spirit is different from body, because thinking includes not the idea of extension in it, the same reason will be as valid, I suppose, to prove that space is not body, because it includes not the idea of solidity in it; space and solidity being as distinct ideas as thinking and extension, and as wholly separable in the mind one from another. Body then and extension, it is evident, are two distinct ideas. For,

12. First, Extension includes no solidity, nor resistance to the motion of body, as body does.

13. Secondly. The parts of pure space are inseparable one

autem ipsum est quod appellari solet, propter extensionem quidem *corpus*, propter independentiam; autem a nostra cogitatione *subsistens per se;* et propterea quod extra nos subsistit *existens;* denique quia sub spatio imaginario substerni et supponi videtur, ut non sensibus sed ratione tantum aliquid ibi esse intelligatur, *suppositum* et *subjectum.* Itaque definitio corporis hujusmodi est, *corpus est quicquid non dependens a nostra cogitatione cum spatii parte aliqua coincidit vel coextenditur.*" (Philosophiæ Prima, pars II. cap. viii. § 1.)—ED.

from the other; so that the continuity cannot be separated, neither really nor mentally; for I demand of any one to remove any part of it from another, with which it is continued, even so much as in thought. To divide and separate actually is, as I think, by removing the parts one from another, to make two superfices, where before there was a continuity; and to divide mentally is to make in the mind two superfices, where before there was a continuity, and consider them as removed one from the other; which can only be done in things considered by the mind as capable of being separated; and by separation, of acquiring new distinct superfices, which they then have not, but are capable of; but neither of these ways of separation, whether real or mental, is, as I think, compatible to pure space.

It is true, a man may consider so much of such a space as is answerable or commensurate to a foot, without considering the rest, which is, indeed, a partial consideration, but not so much as mental separation or division; since a man can no more mentally divide, without considering two superfices separate one from the other, than he can actually divide, without making two superfices disjoined one from the other: but a partial consideration is not separating. A man may consider light in the sun without its heat, or mobility in body without its extension, without thinking of their separation; one is only a partial consideration, terminating in one alone, and the other is a consideration of both, as existing separately.

14. Thirdly, The parts of pure space are immovable, which follows from their inseparability; motion being nothing but change of distance between any two things; but this cannot be between parts that are inseparable, which, therefore, must needs be at perpetual rest one amongst another.

Thus the determined idea of simple space distinguishes it plainly and sufficiently from body, since its parts are inseparable, immovable, and without resistance to the motion of body.

15. *The Definition of Extension explains it not.*—If any one ask me what this space I speak of is, I will tell him when he tells me what his extension is. For to say, as is usually done, that extension is to have partes extra partes, is to say only, that extension is extension: for what am I the better

informed in the nature of extension, when I am told that extension is to have parts that are extended, exterior to parts that are extended, i. e., extension consists of extended parts? As if one, asking what a fibre was; I should answer him, that it was a thing made up of several fibres; would he thereby be enabled to understand what a fibre was better than he did before? Or rather, would he not have reason to think that my design was to make sport with him, rather than seriously to instruct him?

16. *Division of Beings into Bodies and Spirits proves not Space and Body the same.*—Those who contend that space and body are the same, bring this dilemma: either this space is something or nothing. If nothing be between two bodies, they must necessarily touch; if it be allowed to be something, they ask, whether it be body or spirit? To which I answer by another question, Who told them that there was, or could be, nothing but solid beings, which could not think, and thinking beings that were not extended?—which is all they mean by the terms body and spirit.

17. *Substance, which we know not, no Proof against Space without Body.*—If it be demanded (as usually it is) whether this space, void of body, be substance or accident, I shall readily answer I know not, nor shall be ashamed to own my ignorance, till they that ask show me a clear distinct idea of substance.

18. I endeavour as much as I can to deliver myself from those fallacies which we are apt to put upon ourselves, by taking words for things. It helps not our ignorance to feign a knowledge where we have none, by making a noise with sounds, without clear and distinct significations. Names made at pleasure neither alter the nature of things nor make us understand them, but as they are signs of and stand for determined ideas. And I desire those who lay so much stress on the sound of these two syllables, substance, to consider whether applying it, as they do, to the infinite, incomprehensible God, to finite spirit, and to body, it be in the same sense, and whether it stands for the same idea, when each of those three so different beings are called substances.* If so,

* The difficulties attending the notion of *substance* seem to have been among the chief causes which precipitated Berkeley into his extravagant idealism. Because he could not comprehend the mystery of material

whether it will thence follow that God, spirits, and body, agreeing in the same common nature of substance, differ not any otherwise than in a bare different modification of that substance; as a tree and a pebble, being in the same sense body, and agreeing in the common nature of body, differ only in a bare modification of that common matter, which will be a very harsh doctrine. If they say, that they apply it to God, finite spirit, and matter, in three different significations, and that it stands for one idea when God is said to be a substance, for another when the soul is called substance, and for a third when body is called so; if the name substance stands for three several distinct ideas, they would do well to make known those distinct ideas, or at least to give three distinct names to them, to prevent in so important a notion the confusion and errors that will naturally follow from the promiscuous use of so doubtful a term; which is so far from being suspected to have three distinct, that in ordinary use it has scarce one clear distinct signification; and if they can thus make three distinct ideas of substance, what hinders why another may not make a fourth?

19. *Substance and Accidents of little Use in Philosophy.*—

existence, or perfectly reconcile it with his ideas of the Divine nature, he jumped to the conclusion, that no such thing exists. "From what has been said," he remarks, "it follows there is not any other *substance* than spirit, or that which perceives." (Principles of Human Knowledge, § 7.) The manner in which he attempts the *proof* of this, furnishes perhaps the completest example of sophistry anywhere to be met with in philosophy: "Let it be considered," he says, "the *sensible qualities* are colour, figure, motion, smell, taste, and such like; that is, *the ideas perceived by sense.*" Here, it will be observed, he confounds the "sensible qualities" with the "ideas" which the mind forms of them; and then proceeds, as follows, to demonstrate the absurdity of an hypothesis which no man ever entertained. "Now, for an *idea* to exist in an unperceiving thing, is a manifest contradiction: that, therefore, wherein colour, figure, and the like qualities exist, must perceive them; hence it is *clear* there can be no unthinking substance or *substratum* of those ideas." But *ideas*, in the unsophisticated language of philosophy, signify *representatives*. Now, they must represent something or nothing—they cannot represent what has no existence—they must, therefore, represent realities, and those realities must have an existence external to the mind, and independent of it. He himself observes, that spirit is the substance that *perceives;* which irresistibly implies the existence of something to be perceived; otherwise we have an agent without a patient; existence taking cognizance of non-existence—which seems to be but little removed from nonsense.—ED.

They who first ran into the notion of accidents, as a sort of real beings that needed something to inhere in, were forced to find out the word substance to support them. Had the poor Indian philosopher (who imagined that the earth also wanted something to bear it up) but thought of this word substance, he needed not to have been at the trouble to find an elephant to support it, and a tortoise to support his elephant; the word substance would have done it effectually.* And he that inquired might have taken it for as good an answer from an Indian philosopher, that substance, without knowing what it is, is that which supports the earth, as we take it for a sufficient answer and good doctrine from our European philosophers, that substance, without knowing what it is, is that which supports accidents. So that of substance, we have no idea of what it is, but only a confused, obscure one of what it does.

20. Whatever a learned man may do here, an intelligent American, who inquired into the nature of things, would scarce take it for a satisfactory account, if, desiring to learn our architecture, he should be told that a pillar is a thing supported by a basis, and a basis something that supported a pillar. Would he not think himself mocked, instead of taught, with such an account as this? And a stranger to them would be very liberally instructed in the nature of books, and the things they contained, if he should be told that all learned books consisted of paper and letters, and that letters were things inhering in paper, and paper a thing that held forth letters: a notable way of having clear ideas of letters and papers! But were the Latin words, inhærentia and substantio, put into the plain English ones that answer

* But the Hindûs, though among them may doubtless be found persons entertaining this serious article of faith, have been careful to exclude such fables from their philosophy. Their super-subtle sages it was who invented the system of idealism which Berkeley adopted; and the ingenuity they displayed in its exposition and defence was not inferior to that of the Bishop of Cloyne himself. Like him, too, they infused into their system a spirit of piety which still renders it sweet and fragrant. Let the reader, for example, consider the hymns and prayers of the Yajur-Veda, especially where its author breaks forth in the praise of God: "The wise man views that mysterious Being in whom the universe perpetually exists, resting on that sole support. In him this world is absorbed; from him it issues; in creatures he is twined, and wove with various forms of existence," &c.—ED.

them, and were called sticking on and under-propping, they would better discover to us the very great clearness there is in the doctrine of substance and accidents, and show of what use they are in deciding of questions in philosophy.

21. *A Vacuum beyond the utmost Bounds of Body.*—But to return to our idea of space. If body be not supposed infinite, (which I think no one will affirm,) I would ask, whether, if God placed a man at the extremity of corporeal beings, he could not stretch his hand beyond his body? If he could, then he would put his arm where there was before space without body; and if there he spread his fingers, there would still be space between them without body. If he could not stretch out his hand, it must be because of some external hindrance; for we suppose him alive, with such a power of moving the parts of his body that he hath now, which is not in itself impossible, if God so pleased to have it, (or at least it is not impossible for God so to move him,) and then I ask, whether that which hinders his hand from moving outwards be substance or accident, something or nothing? And when they have resolved that, they will be able to resolve themselves what that is, which is or may be between two bodies at a distance, that is not body, and has no solidity. In the mean time, the argument is at least as good, that, where nothing hinders, (as beyond the utmost bounds of all bodies,) a body put in motion may move on, as where there is nothing between, there two bodies must necessarily touch: for pure space between is sufficient to take away the necessity of mutual contact; but bare space in the way is not sufficient to stop motion. The truth is, these men must either own that they think body infinite, though they are loth to speak it out, or else affirm that space is not body; for I would fain meet with that thinking man that can in his thoughts set any bounds to space, more than he can to duration, or by thinking hope to arrive at the end of either; and therefore, if his idea of eternity be infinite, so is his idea of immensity; they are both finite or infinite alike.

22. *The Power of Annihilation proves a Vacuum.*—Farther, those who assert the impossibility of space existing without matter, must not only make body infinite, but must also deny a power in God to annihilate any part of matter. No one, I suppose, will deny that God can put an end to all

motion that is in matter, and fix all the bodies of the universe in a perfect quiet and rest, and continue them so long as he pleases. Whoever then will allow that God can, during such a general rest, annihilate either this book or the body of him that reads it, must necessarily admit the possibility of a vacuum; for it is evident that the space that was filled by the parts of the annihilated body will still remain, and be a space without body; for the circumambient bodies being in perfect rest, are a wall of adamant, and in that state make it a perfect impossibility for any other body to get into that space. And indeed the necessary motion of one particle of matter into the place from whence another particle of matter is removed, is but a consequence from the supposition of plenitude, which will therefore need some better proof than a supposed matter of fact, which experiment can never make out; our own clear and distinct ideas plainly satisfying us, that there is no necessary connexion between space and solidity, since we can conceive the one without the other. And those who dispute for or against a vacuum, do thereby confess they have distinct ideas of vacuum and plenum, i. e., that they have an idea of extension void of solidity, though they deny its existence, or else they dispute about nothing at all. For they who so much alter the signification of words, as to call extension body, and consequently make the whole essence of body to be nothing but pure extension without solidity, must talk absurdly whenever they speak of vacuum, since it is impossible for extension to be without extension: for vacuum, whether we affirm or deny its existence, signifies space without body, whose very existence no one can deny to be possible, who will not make matter infinite, and take from God a power to annihilate any particle of it.

23. *Motion proves a Vacuum.*—But not to go so far as beyond the utmost bounds of body in the universe, nor appeal to God's omnipotency to find a vacuum, the motion of bodies that are in our view and neighbourhood seems to me plainly to evince it: for I desire any one so to divide a solid body, of any dimension he pleases, as to make it possible for the solid parts to move up and down freely every way within the bounds of that superfices, if there be not left in it a void space as big as the least part into which he has divided the said solid body. And if, where the least particle of the

body divided is as big as a mustard-seed, a void space equal to the bulk of a mustard-seed be requisite to make room for the free motion of the parts of the divided body within the bounds of its superfices, where the particles of matter are 100,000,000 less than a mustard-seed, there must also be a space void of solid matter as big as 100,000,000 part of a mustard seed; for if it hold in the one it will hold in the other, and so on in infinitum. And let this void space be as little as it will, it destroys the hypothesis of plenitude; for if there can be a space void of body equal to the smallest separate particle of matter now existing in nature, it is still space without body, and makes as great a difference between space and body as if it were *μέγα χάσμα*, a distance as wide as any in nature: and therefore, if we suppose not the void space necessary to motion equal to the least parcel of the divided solid matter, but to $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{100}$ of it, the same consequence will always follow of space without matter.

24. *The Ideas of Space and Body distinct.*—But the question being here, "Whether the idea of space or extension be the same with the idea of body?" it is not necessary to prove the real existence of a vacuum, but the idea of it; which it is plain men have when they inquire and dispute whether there be a vacuum or no; for if they had not the idea of space without body, they could not make a question about its existence; and if their idea of body did not include in it something more than the bare idea of space, they could have no doubt about the plenitude of the world: and it would be as absurd to demand whether there were space without body, as whether there were space without space, or body without body, since these were but different names of the same idea.

25. *Extension being inseparable from Body, proves it not the same.*—It is true, the idea of extension joins itself so inseparably with all visible, and most tangible qualities, that it suffers us to see no one, or feel very few external objects, without taking in impressions of extension too. This readiness of extension to make itself be taken notice of so constantly with other ideas, has been the occasion, I guess, that some have made the whole essence of body to consist in extension; which is not much to be wondered at, since some have had their minds, by their eyes and touch, (the busiest

of all our senses,) so filled with the idea of extension, and, as it were, wholly possessed with it, that they allowed no existence to anything that had not extension. I shall not now argue with those men who take the measure and possibility of all being only from their narrow and gross imaginations;* but having here to do only with those who conclude the essence of body to be extension, because they say they cannot imagine any sensible quality of any body without extension, I shall desire them to consider, that, had they reflected on their ideas of tastes and smells as much as on those of sight and touch, nay, had they examined their ideas of hunger and thirst, and several other pains, they would have found that they included in them no idea of extension at all, which is but an affection of body, as well as the rest, discoverable by our senses, which are scarce acute enough to look into the pure essences of things.

26. If those ideas which are constantly joined to all others, must therefore be concluded to be the essence of those things which have constantly those ideas joined to them, and are inseparable from them; then unity is without doubt the essence of everything. For there is not any object of sensation or reflection which does not carry with it the idea of one; but the weakness of this kind of argument we have already shown sufficiently.

27. *Ideas of Space and Solidity distinct.*—To conclude: whatever men shall think concerning the existence of a vacuum, this is plain to me, that we have as clear an idea of space distinct from solidity, as we have of solidity distinct from motion, or motion from space. We have not any two more distinct ideas, and we can as easily conceive space without solidity, as we can conceive body or space without motion, though it be ever so certain that neither body nor motion can exist without space. But whether any one will take space to be only a relation resulting from the existence of other beings at a distance, or whether they will think the

* Protagoras, the greatest sophist of antiquity, maintained a doctrine which, if we comprehend it rightly, would have subjected him to this reproach. "Videntur hac uberrime in eo Protagoræ libro fuisse tractata, ubi ponebat, *πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι*, qui quidem liber in omnium tum erat manibus, multumque legebatur." (Geel, Hist. Sophistarum, c. ii. § 3. Conf. Plat Thætet, p. 118, d.) —Ed

words of the most knowing King Solomon, "The heaven, and the heaven of heavens, cannot contain thee," or those more emphatical ones of the inspired philosopher St. Paul, "In him we live, move, and have our being," are to be understood in a literal sense, I leave every one to consider: only our idea of space is, I think, such as I have mentioned, and distinct from that of body. For whether we consider in matter itself the distance of its coherent solid parts, and call it, in respect of those solid parts, extension; or whether, considering it as lying between the extremities of any body in its several dimensions, we call it length, breadth, and thickness; or else, considering it as lying between any two bodies or positive beings, without any consideration whether there be any matter or not between, we call it distance; however named or considered, it is always the same uniform simple idea of space, taken from objects about which our senses have been conversant; whereof, having settled ideas in our minds, we can revive, repeat, and add them one to another as often as we will, and consider the space or distance so imagined, either as filled with solid parts, so that another body cannot come there without displacing and thrusting out the body that was there before; or else as void of solidity, so that a body of equal dimensions to that empty or pure space may be placed in it, without the removing or expulsion of anything that was there. But, to avoid confusion in discourses concerning this matter, it were possibly to be wished that the name extension were applied only to matter, or the distance of the extremities of particular bodies, and the term expansion to space in general, with or without solid matter possessing it, so as to say space is expanded and body extended. But in this every one has liberty; I propose it only for the more clear and distinct way of speaking.

28. *Men differ little in clear, simple Ideas.*—The knowing precisely what our words stand for, would, I imagine, in this as well as a great many other cases, quickly end the dispute; for I am apt to think that men, when they come to examine them, find their simple ideas all generally to agree, though in discourse with one another they perhaps confound one another with different names. I imagine that men who abstract their thoughts, and do well examine the ideas of their own minds, cannot much differ in thinking,

however they may perplex themselves with words, according to the way of speaking of the several schools or sects they have been bred up in; though amongst unthinking men, who examine not scrupulously and carefully their own ideas, and strip them not from the marks men use for them, but confound them with words, there must be endless dispute,* wrangling, and jargon, especially if they be learned, bookish men, devoted to some sect, and accustomed to the language of it, and have learned to talk after others. But if it should happen that any two thinking men should really have different ideas, I do not see how they could discourse or argue one with another. Here I must not be mistaken, to think that every floating imagination in men's brains is presently of that sort of ideas I speak of. It is not easy for the mind to put off those confused notions and prejudices it has imbibed from custom, inadvertency, and common conversation; it requires pains and assiduity to examine its ideas, till it resolves them into those clear and distinct simple ones, out of which they are compounded, and to see which, amongst its simple ones, have or have not a necessary connexion and dependence one upon another. Till a man doth this in the primary and original notion of things, he builds upon

* Though by no means one of those who conceive all wisdom to be contained in books, I still think there is a degree of vulgarity in the satire implied in this expression, which I could have wished not to find in Locke. Hobbes sought to bring into fashion the pedantry of despising books, or rather, of affecting to despise them; and here we find traces of it in his great successor and most diligent student. The phantasy passed the channel, and was fostered by Buffon, who connected it with a degree of self-conceit and vanity, of which Locke, at least, was incapable. "The thing," says Hérault de Sechelles, "which Buffon, above all things recommended to me, was the assiduous study of writers of great genius, few of whom, in his opinion, exist. 'There are scarcely more,' he observed, than five: Newton, Bacon, Leibnitz, Montesquieu, and *myself*.'" (Voyage à Montbar, p. 54.) He had a right to rank himself among great writers, but not to determine respecting the claims of others: for, to judge of an author's merits, it is necessary to read him—and his reading was circumscribed. The advice, however, which on another occasion he gave to the ambitious young man who narrates those anecdotes, was full of wisdom: "Je demandai ensuite à M. de Buffon, quelle serait la meilleure manière de se former? Il me repondit, qu'il ne fallait lire que les ouvrages principaux; mais les lire dans tous les genres et dans toutes les sciences, parcequ'elles sont parentes, comme dit Ciceron, parceque les vues de l'une peuvent s'appliquer à l'autre, quoiqu'on ne soit pas destiné à les exercer toutes." (Voyage à Montbar, p. 52.)—ED.

floating and uncertain principles, and will often find himself at a loss.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF DURATION AND ITS SIMPLE MODES.

1. *Duration is fleeting Extension.*—THERE is another sort of distance, or length, the idea whereof we get not from the permanent parts of space, but from the fleeting and perpetually perishing parts of succession: this we call duration, the simple modes whereof are any different lengths of it, whereof we have distinct ideas, as hours, days, years, &c., time and eternity.

2. *Its Idea from Reflection on the Train of our Ideas.*—The answer of a great man, to one who asked what time was: "Si non rogas intelligo," (which amounts to this: "The more I set myself to think of it, the less I understand it," might persuade one that time, which reveals all things, is itself not to be discovered.* Duration, time, and eternity, are, not without reason, thought to have something very abstruse in their nature. But however remote these may seem from our comprehension, yet if we trace them right to their originals, I doubt not but one of those sources of all our knowledge, viz., sensation and reflection, will be able to furnish us with these ideas, as clear and distinct as many others which are thought much less obscure; and we shall find that the idea of eternity itself is derived from the same common original with the rest of our ideas.

3. To understand time and eternity aright, we ought with attention to consider what idea it is we have of duration, and how we came by it. It is evident to any one, who will but observe what passes in his own mind, that there is a train of ideas which constantly succeed one another in his under-

* See a former note, and compare it with the following passage from Hobbes: "Tota ergo definitio temporis talis est, *tempus est phantasma motus, quatenus in motu imaginamur prius et posterius, sive successionem;* quæ convenit cum definitione Aristotelica; *tempus est numerus motus secundum prius et posterius.* Est enim ea numeratio actus animi, ideoque idem est dicere, *tempus est numerus motus secundum prius et posterius, et tempus est phantasma motus numerati,* illud autem *tempus est mensura motus* non ita rectè dicitur, nam tempus per motum, non autem motum per tempus, mensuramus." (Elem. Phil. part II. c. vii. § 3.)—ED.

standing, as long as he is awake. Reflection on these appearances of several ideas, one after another, in our minds, is that which furnishes us with the idea of succession; and the distance between any parts of that succession, or between the appearance of any two ideas in our minds, is that we call duration; for whilst we are thinking, or whilst we receive successively several ideas in our minds, we know that we do exist, and so we call the existence, or the continuation of the existence of ourselves, or anything else, commensurate to the succession of any ideas in our minds, the duration of ourselves, or any such other thing co-existent with our thinking.

4. That we have our notion of succession and duration from this original, viz., from reflection on the train of ideas which we find to appear one after another in our own minds, seems plain to me, in that we have no perception of duration, but by considering the train of ideas that take their turns in our understandings. When that succession of ideas ceases, our perception of duration ceases with it; which every one clearly experiments in himself, whilst he sleeps soundly, whether an hour or a day, a month or a year; of which duration of things, while he sleeps or thinks not, he has no perception at all, but it is quite lost to him; and the moment wherein he leaves off to think, till the moment he begins to think again, seems to him to have no distance. And so I doubt not it would be to a waking man, if it were possible for him to keep only one idea in his mind, without variation and the succession of others: and we see, that one who fixes his thoughts very intently on one thing, so as to take but little notice of the succession of ideas that pass in his mind, whilst he is taken up with that earnest contemplation, lets slip out of his account a good part of that duration, and thinks that time shorter than it is. But if sleep commonly unites the distant parts of duration, it is because during that time we have no succession of ideas in our minds; for if a man, during his sleep, dreams, and variety of ideas make themselves perceptible in his mind one after another, he hath then, during such dreaming, a sense of duration, and of the length of it; by which it is to me very clear, that men derive their ideas of duration from their reflections on the train of the ideas they observe to succeed one another in

their own understandings, without which observation they can have no notion of duration, whatever may happen in the world.*

5. *The Idea of Duration applicable to Things whilst we sleep.*—Indeed, a man having, from reflecting on the succession and number of his own thoughts, got the notion or idea of duration, he can apply that notion to things which exist while he does not think; as he that has got the idea of extension from bodies by his sight or touch, can apply it to distances, where no body is seen or felt; and therefore, though a man has no perception of the length of duration which passed whilst he slept or thought not, yet having observed the revolution of days and nights, and found the length of their duration to be in appearance regular and constant, he can, upon the supposition that that revolution has proceeded after the same manner whilst he was asleep, or thought not, as it used to do at other times; he can, I say, imagine and make allowance for the length of duration whilst he slept. But if Adam and Eve, (when they were alone in the world,) instead of their ordinary night's sleep, had passed the whole twenty-four hours in one continued sleep, the duration of that twenty-four hours had been irrecoverably lost to them, and been for ever left out of their account of time.†

* Mr. James remarks on this subject: "There is no such a thing as time. It is but space occupied by incident. It is the same to eternity as matter is to infinite space—a portion of the immense occupied by something within the sphere of mortal sense. We ought not to calculate our age by the passing years, but by the passing of feelings and events. It is what we have done and what we have suffered makes us old." Except the confusion of *space* with *duration*, which, of course, was not an oversight, the whole of this passage is exceedingly fine and striking, and for the ideas, is not unworthy to be compared with the following, which, however, may have suggested it:

> "Think'st thou existence doth depend on time?
> It doth; but actions are our epochs. Mine
> Have made my days and nights imperishable,
> Endless, and all alike, as sands on the shore,
> Innumerable atoms; and the desert,
> Barren and cold, on which the wild waves break.
> But nothing rests, save carcases and wrecks,
> Rocks, and the salt-surf weeds of bitterness."
>
> MANFRED.—ED.

† Upon this idea, joined with Milton's description, Buffon has based

6. *The Idea of Succession not from Motion.*—Thus by reflecting on the appearing of various ideas one after another in our understandings, we get the notion of succession; which, if any one would think we did rather get from our observation of motion by our senses, he will perhaps be of my mind, when he considers that even motion produces in his mind an idea of succession, no otherwise than as it produces there a continued train of distinguishable ideas; for a man looking upon a body really moving, perceives yet no motion at all, unless that motion produces a constant train of successive ideas: v. g., a man becalmed at sea, out of sight of land in a fair day, may look on the sun, or sea, or ship, a whole hour together, and perceive no motion at all in either, though it be certain that two, and perhaps all of them, have moved during that time a great way. But as soon as he perceives either of them to have changed distance with some other body, as soon as this motion produces any new idea in him, then he perceives that there has been motion. But wherever a man is, with all things at rest about him, without perceiving any motion at all; if during this hour of quiet he has been thinking, he will perceive the various ideas of his own thoughts in his own mind, appearing one after

his account of the feelings of Adam, when about to be invaded by his first sleep:—"Une langueur agréable s'emparant peu à peu de tous mes sens, appésentit mes membres et suspendit l'activité de mon âme; je jugeai de son inaction par la mollesse de mes pensées, mes sensations arrondissoient tous les objets et ne me presentoient que des images foibles et mal terminées; dans cet instant mes yeux devenus inutiles se fermèrent, et ma tête n'étant plus soutenue par la force des muscles, pencha, pour trouver un appui sur le gazon. Tout fut effacé, tout disparut; la trace de mes pensées fut interrompue; je perdis le sentiment de mon existence: ce sommeil fut profond, mais je ne sais s'il fut de longue durée, n'ayant point encore l'idée du temps, et ne pouvant le mesurer; mon reveil ne fut qu'une seconde naissance et je sentis seulement que j'avois cessé d'être. Cet anéantissement que je venois d'éprouver, me donna quelque idée de crainte, et me fit sentir que je ne devois pas exister toujours." Milton's ideas are more briefly and majestically expressed:

"On a green shady bank, profuse of flowers,
Pensive I sate me down; there gentle sleep
First found me, and with soft oppression seized
My drowsed sense, untroubled, though I thought
I then was passing to my former state,
Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve."

(PARADISE LOST, viii. 286.)—ED.

another, and thereby observe and find succession where he could observe no motion.

7. And this, I think, is the reason why motions very slow, though they are constant, are not perceived by us, because in their remove from one sensible part towards another, their change of distance is so slow, that it causes no new ideas in us, but a good while one after another; and so not causing a constant train of new ideas to follow one another immediately in our minds, we have no perception of motion, which, consisting in a constant succession, we cannot perceive that succession without a constant succession of varying ideas arising from it.

8. On the contrary, things that move so swift, as not to affect the senses distinctly with several distinguishable distances of their motion, and so cause not any train of ideas in the mind, are not also perceived to move; for anything that moves round about in a circle, in less time than our ideas are wont to succeed one another in our minds, is not perceived to move; but seems to be a perfect entire circle of that matter or colour, and not a part of a circle in motion.

9. *The Train of Ideas has a certain Degree of Quickness.*— Hence I leave it to others to judge, whether it be not probable that our ideas do, whilst we are awake, succeed one another in our minds at certain distances, not much unlike the images in the inside of a lantern, turned round by the heat of a candle.* This appearance of theirs in train, though perhaps it may be sometimes faster and sometimes

* Locke, who was a great reader of voyages and travels, alludes, no doubt, to the following passage of Navarrette, which occurs in a collection edited by himself:—"Their lanterns are nothing like ours in Europe; they are very large, of a thousand several shapes and curious figures. Some are made of the glass they have there, with delicate, fine workmanship about them. There are some of two, three, and four hundred ducats a piece. Many are made of thin silk, painted with a variety of colours, and figures of men, women, birds, flowers, and other things; besides men a-horse-back continually riding round within them. In others there are cocks fighting, with all their motions very natural; in others, fishermen and gardeners; and in others, soldiers giving battle: all so lively, that it is surprising. Many are made of paper of several colours, and curiously cut; some in the shape of roses and other flowers; some of fishes, continually gaping and beating with their fins and tails; some with many puppets: in short, there is a wonderful multiplicity and variety." (Churchill's Collection, vol. I. p. 45.)

slower, yet, I guess,* varies not very much in a waking man: there seem to be certain bounds to the quickness and slowness of the succession of those ideas one to another, in our minds, beyond which they can neither delay nor hasten.

10. The reason I have for this odd conjecture, is from observing, that in the impressions made upon any of our senses, we can but to a certain degree perceive any succession; which, if exceeding quick, the sense of succession is lost, even in cases where it is evident that there is a real succession. Let a cannon-bullet pass through a room, and in its way take with it any limb, or fleshy parts of a man, it is as clear as any demonstration can be, that it must strike successively the two sides of the room. It is also evident, that it must touch one part of the flesh first, and another after, and so in succession: and yet, I believe, nobody who ever felt the pain of such a shot, or heard the blow against the two distant walls, could perceive any succession either in the pain or sound of so swift a stroke. Such a part of duration as this, wherein we perceive no succession, is that which we call an instant, and is that which takes up the time of only one idea in our minds, without the succession of another, wherein, therefore, we perceive no succession at all.

11. This also happens where the motion is so slow as not to supply a constant train of fresh ideas to the senses, as fast as the mind is capable of receiving new ones into it; and so other ideas of our own thoughts, having room to come into our minds, between those offered to our senses by the moving body, there the sense of motion is lost; and the body, though it really moves, yet not changing perceivable distance with some other bodies, as fast as the ideas of our own minds do naturally follow one another in train, the thing seems to stand still, as is evident in the hands of clocks and shadows of sun-dials, and other constant but slow motions, where, though after certain intervals, we perceive by the change

* This Americanism, as it is now commonly thought, has already occurred in chapter xiii. § 25. Like most of the phrases reckoned as trans-Atlantic neologisms, it is a good old English phrase, as proper for the use of a philosopher as "I conjecture, I imagine, I presume," which now, in polished language, usually replace it.—ED.

of distance that it hath moved, yet the motion itself we perceive not.

12. *This Train, the Measure of other Successions.*—So that to me it seems, that the constant and regular succession of ideas in a waking man, is, as it were, the measure and standard of all other successions:* whereof, if any one either exceeds the pace of our ideas, as where two sounds or pains, &c., take up in their succession the duration of but one idea, or else where any motion or succession is so slow, as that it keeps not pace with the ideas in our minds, or the quickness in which they take their turns; as when any one or more ideas in their ordinary course come into our mind, between those which are offered to the sight by the different perceptible distances of a body in motion, or between sounds or smells following one another, there also the sense of a constant continued succession is lost, and we perceive it not, but with certain gaps of rest between.

13. *The Mind cannot fix long on one invariable Idea.*—If it be so, that the ideas of our minds, whilst we have any there, do constantly change and shift in a continual succession, it would be impossible, may any one say, for a man to think long of any one thing. By which, if it be meant that a man may have one self-same single idea a long time alone in his mind, without any variation at all, I think, in matter of fact, it is not possible; for which (not knowing how the ideas of our minds are framed, of what materials they are made, whence they have their light, and how they come to make their appearances) I can give no other reason but experience: and I would have any one try whether he can keep one unvaried single idea in his mind, without any other, for any considerable time together.

14. For trial, let him take any figure, any degree of light or whiteness, or what other he pleases, and he will, I suppose, find it difficult to keep all other ideas out of his mind; but that some, either of another kind, or various considerations of that idea, (each of which considerations is a new idea,) will constantly succeed one another in his thoughts, let him be as wary as he can.

15. All that is in a man's power in this case, I think, is

* That is, man is the measure and standard of everything to himself. Did Protagoras think anything else?—Ed.

only to mind and observe what the ideas are that take their turns in his understanding; or else to direct the sort,* and call in such as he hath a desire or use of; but hinder the constant succession of fresh ones, I think he cannot, though he may commonly choose whether he will heedfully observe and consider them.

16. *Ideas, however made, include no Sense of Motion.*—Whether these several ideas in a man's mind be made by certain motions, I will not here dispute; but this I am sure, that they include no idea of motion in their appearance; and if a man had not the idea of motion otherwise, I think he would have none at all; which is enough to my present purpose, and sufficiently shows, that the notice we take of the ideas of our own minds, appearing there one after another, is that which gives us the idea of succession and duration, without which we should have no such ideas at all. It is not, then, motion, but the constant train of ideas in our minds whilst we are waking, that furnishes us with the idea of duration; whereof motion no otherwise gives us any perception, than as it causes in our minds a constant succession of ideas, as I have before showed: and we have as clear an idea of succession and duration, by the train of other ideas succeeding one another in our minds, without the idea of any motion, as by the train of ideas caused by the uninterrupted sensible change of distance between two bodies, which we have from motion; and therefore we should as well have the idea of duration, were there no sense of motion at all.

17. *Time is Duration set out by Measures.*—Having thus got the idea of duration, the next thing natural for the mind to do, is to get some measure of this common duration, whereby it might judge of its different lengths, and consider the distinct order wherein several things exist, without which a great part of our knowledge would be confused, and a great part of history be rendered very useless. This consideration of duration, as set out by certain periods, and marked by certain measures or epochs, is that, I think, which most properly we call time.

18. *A good Measure of Time must divide its whole Duration*

* So in study, one method may store the mind with as many ideas as another, though the difference in the value of those ideas may be infinite.—ED.

into equal Periods.—In the measuring of extension, there is nothing more required but the application of the standard or measure we make use of to the thing of whose extension we would be informed. But in the measuring of duration this cannot be done, because no two different parts of succession can be put together to measure one another; and nothing being a measure of duration but duration, as nothing is of extension but extension, we cannot keep by us any standing, unvarying measure of duration, which consists in a constant fleeting succession, as we can of certain lengths of extension, as inches, feet, yards, &c., marked out in permanent parcels of matter. Nothing, then, could serve well for a convenient measure of time, but what has divided the whole length of its duration into apparently equal portions, by constantly repeated periods. What portions of duration are not distinguished, or considered as distinguished and measured by such periods, come not so properly under the notion of time, as appears by such phrases as these, viz., Before all time, and When time shall be no more.*

19. *The Revolutions of the Sun and Moon, the properest Measures of Time.*—The diurnal or annual revolutions of the sun, as having been, from the beginning of nature, constant, regular, and universally observable by all mankind, and supposed equal to one another, have been with reason made use of for the measure of duration. But the distinction of days and years having depended on the motion of the sun, it has brought this mistake with it, that it has been thought that motion and duration were the measure one of another; for men, in the measuring of the length of time, having been accustomed to the ideas of minutes, hours, days, months, years, &c., which they found themselves upon any mention of time or duration presently to think on, all which portions of time were measured out by the motion of those heavenly

* This distinction is clearly made by Velleius, one of the interlocutors in Cicero's work on the Nature of the Gods. "Non enim," he says, "si mundus nullus erat, secula non erant. Secula nunc dico non ea quæ dierum noctiumque numero et annuis cursibus conficiuntur: nam fateor ea sine mundi conversione effici non potuisse. Sed fuit quadem ab infinito tempore æternitas, quam nulla temporum circumscriptio metiebatur: spatio tamen, qualis ea fuerit, intelligi non potest; quod ne in cogitationem quidem cadit, ut fuerit tempus aliquod, nullum quum tempus esset." (De Natura Deorum. I. c. 9.)—Er.

bodies: they were apt to confound time and motion, or at least to think that they had a necessary connexion one with another; whereas any constant periodical appearance, or alteration of ideas in seemingly equidistant spaces of duration, if constant and universally observable, would have as well distinguished the intervals of time, as those that have been made use of. For, supposing the sun, which some have taken to be a fire, had been lighted up at the same distance of time that it now every day comes about to the same meridian, and then gone out again about twelve hours after, and that in the space of an annual revolution it had sensibly increased in brightness and heat, and so decreased again: would not such regular appearances serve to measure out the distances of duration to all that could observe it, as well without as with motion? For if the appearances were constant, universally observable, and in equidistant periods, they would serve mankind for measure of time as well were the motion away.

20. *But not by their Motion, but periodical Appearances.*— For the freezing of water, or the blowing of a plant, returning at equidistant periods in all parts of the earth, would as well serve men to reckon their years by, as the motions of the sun; and in effect we see, that some people in America counted their years by the coming of certain birds amongst them at their certain seasons, and leaving them at others.* For a fit of an ague, the sense of hunger or thirst, a smell or a taste, or any other idea returning constantly at equidistant periods, and making itself universally be taken notice of, would not fail to measure out the course of succession, and distinguish the distances of time. Thus we see that men born blind count time well enough by years, whose revo-

* To what particular author's account of the Indians Locke here alludes is uncertain; but in the following passage, this trait of Indian manners is noticed:—"The further account these women gave of the Indians, was, that they pointed to the south-east with their hands, which they knew not how to interpret; but did imagine, by their several gestures, they would be with them again to-morrow. Their pointing to the south-east was like to be the time they would come, nearing nine to be their hour, where the sun will be at that time. Had the women understood their language, they would not have learned the time of the day by any other computation than pointing at the sun. It is all the clock they have for their day, as the coming and going of the Cahunks (the geese) is their almanack or prognostic for the winter and summer seasons." (Norwood's Voyage to Virginia.)—ED.

lutions yet they cannot distinguish by motions that they perceive not; and I ask whether a blind man, who distinguished his years either by the heat of summer or cold of winter, by the smell of any flower of the spring, or taste of any fruit of the autumn, would not have a better measure of time than the Romans had before the reformation of their calendar by Julius Cæsar, or many other people, whose years, notwithstanding the motion of the sun, which they pretended to make use of, are very irregular? And it adds no small difficulty to chronology, that the exact lengths of the years that several nations counted by, are hard to be known, they differing very much one from another, and I think I may say all of them from the precise motion of the sun. And if the sun moved from the creation to the flood constantly in the equator, and so equally dispersed its light and heat to all the habitable parts of the earth, in days all of the same length, without its annual variations to the tropics, as a late ingenious author supposes,* I do not think it very easy to imagine, that (notwithstanding the motion of the sun) men should in the antediluvian world from the beginning count by years, or measure their time by periods that had no sensible marks very obvious to distinguish them by.†

21. *No two Parts of Duration can be certainly known to be equal.*—But perhaps it will be said, without a regular motion, such as of the sun, or some other, how could it ever be known that such periods were equal? To which I answer, the equality of any other returning appearances might be known by the same way that that of days was known, or presumed to be so at first; which was only by judging of them by the train of ideas which had passed in men's minds in the intervals: by which train of ideas discovering inequality in the natural days, but none in the artificial days, the

* Dr. Burnet, in his Theory of the Earth.—ED.

† On the various measures of time, principally among the ancients, see the very curious treatise of Lilius Gyraldus, "De Annis et Mensibus," Oper. II. 741 et seq. On the Egyptian year see Marsham's Canon. Chronicus, p. 244 et seq.; on the Attic year, p. 657 et seq.; Hebrew year, p. 189 et seq.; Common Greek year, p. 658 et seq.; Roman, p. 8. On the Mexican and Peruvian year, see Gemelli Carreri's Voyage round the World, Book IV. chap. v. On the Chinese year, see Viaggi Del Carletti, p. 260. On the Lunar and Solar years, see Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, Book III.—ED.

artificial days or νυχθήμερα, were guessed to be equal, which was sufficient to make them serve for a measure; though exacter search has since discovered inequality in the diurnal revolutions of the sun, and we know not whether the annual also be not unequal. These yet, by their presumed and apparent equality, serve as well to reckon time by (though not to measure the parts of duration exactly) as if they could be proved to be exactly equal. We must, therefore, carefully distinguish betwixt duration itself, and the measures we make use of to judge of its length. Duration, in itself, is to be considered as going on in one constant, equal, uniform course; but none of the measures of it which we make use of can be known to do so; nor can we be assured that their assigned parts or periods are equal in duration one to another; for two successive lengths of duration, however measured, can never be demonstrated to be equal. The motion of the sun, which the world used so long and so confidently for an exact measure of duration, has, as I said, been found in its several parts unequal: and though men have, of late, made use of a pendulum, as a more steady and regular motion than that of the sun, or, (to speak more truly,) of the earth; yet if any one should be asked how he certainly knows that the two successive swings of a pendulum are equal, it would be very hard to satisfy him that they are infallibly so; since we cannot be sure that the cause of that motion, which is unknown to us, shall always operate equally; and we are sure that the medium in which the pendulum moves is not constantly the same: either of which varying, may alter the equality of such periods, and thereby destroy the certainty and exactness of the measure by motion, as well as any other periods of other appearances; the notion of duration still remaining clear, though our measures of it cannot any of them be demonstrated to be exact. Since, then, no two portions of succession can be brought together, it is impossible ever certainly to know their equality. All that we can do for a measure of time, is to take such as have continual successive appearances at seemingly equidistant periods; of which seeming equality we have no other measure, but such as the train of our own ideas have lodged in our memories, with the concurrence of other probable reasons, to persuade us of their equality.

22. *Time not the Measure of Motion.*—One thing seems strange to me, that whilst all men manifestly measured time by the motion of the great and visible bodies of the world, time yet should be defined to be the "measure of motion;" whereas it is obvious to every one who reflects ever so little on it, that to measure motion, space is as necessary to be considered as time: and those who look a little farther, will find also the bulk of the thing moved necessary to be taken into the computation, by any one who will estimate or measure motion, so as to judge right of it. Nor indeed does motion any otherwise conduce to the measuring of duration, than as it constantly brings about the return of certain sensible ideas, in seeming equidistant periods. For if the motion of the sun were as unequal as of a ship driven by unsteady winds, sometimes very slow, and at others irregularly very swift;* or if, being constantly equally swift, it yet was not circular, and produced not the same appearances, it would not at all help us to measure time, any more than the seeming unequal motion of a comet does.

23. *Minutes, Hours, Days, and Years, not necessary Measures of Duration.*—Minutes, hours, days, and years are, then, no more necessary to time or duration, than inches, feet, yards, and miles, marked out in any matter, are to extension. For though we in this part of the universe, by the constant use of them, as of periods set out by the revolutions of the sun, or as known parts of such periods, have fixed the ideas of such lengths of duration in our minds, which we apply to all parts of time whose lengths we would consider; yet there may be other parts of the universe, where they no more use these measures of ours, than in Japan they do our inches, feet, or miles; but yet something analogous to them there must be; for without some regular periodical returns, we could not measure ourselves, or signify to others the length of any duration, though at the same time the world were as full of motion as it is now, but no part of it disposed into regular and apparently equidistant revolutions. But the

* And so it appeared to the Father of History, who brought the wind to bear upon the sun, and blew him into the upper regions of the air like a balloon, in order to account for the overflowing of the Nile. "It is my opinion that the Nile overflows in the summer season, because, in the winter, the sun, driven by the storms from his usual course, ascends into the higher regions of the air above Lybia." Herodotus II. § 24.—Ed.

different measures that may be made use of for the account of time, do not at all alter the notion of duration, which is the thing to be measured, no more than the different standards of a foot and a cubit alter the notion of extension to those who make use of those different measures.

24. *Our Measure of Time applicable to Duration before Time.*—The mind having once got such a measure of time as the annual revolution of the sun, can apply that measure to duration, wherein that measure itself did not exist, and with which, in the reality of its being, it had nothing to do; for, should one say, that Abraham was born in the two thousand seven hundred and twelfth year of the Julian period, it is altogether as intelligible as reckoning from the beginning of the world, though there were so far back no motion of the sun, nor any motion at all. For though the Julian period be supposed to begin several hundred years before there were really either days, nights, or years, marked out by any revolutions of the sun; yet we reckon as right, and thereby measure durations as well, as if really at that time the sun had existed, and kept the same ordinary motion it doth now. The idea of duration equal to an annual revolution of the sun, is as easily applicable in our thoughts to duration, where no sun or motion was, as the idea of a foot or yard, taken from bodies here, can be applied in our thoughts to distances beyond the confines of the world, where are no bodies at all.

25. For supposing it were five thousand six hundred and thirty-nine miles, or millions of miles, from this place to the remotest body of the universe, (for, being finite, it must be at a certain distance,) as we suppose it to be five thousand six hundred and thirty-nine years from this time to the first existence of any body in the beginning of the world; we can, in our thoughts, apply this measure of a year to duration before the creation, or beyond the duration of bodies or motion, as we can this measure of a mile to space beyond the utmost bodies; and by the one measure duration, where there was no motion, as well as by the other measure space in our thoughts, where there is no body.

26. If it be objected to me here, that, in this way of explaining of time, I have begged what I should not, viz., that the world is neither eternal nor infinite, I answer, that

to my present purpose it is not needful, in this place, to make use of arguments to evince the world to be finite both in duration and extension; but it being at least as conceivable as the contrary, I have certainly the liberty to suppose it, as well as any one hath to suppose the contrary: and I doubt not, but that every one that will go about it, may easily conceive in his mind the beginning of motion, though not of all duration, and so may come to a stop and non ultra in his consideration of motion. So also, in his thoughts, he may set limits to body, and the extension belonging to it, but not to space, where no body is; the utmost bounds of space and duration being beyond the reach of thought, as well as the utmost bounds of number are beyond the largest comprehension of the mind; and all for the same reason, as we shall see in another place.

27. *Eternity.*—By the same means, therefore, and from the same original that we come to have the idea of time, we have also that idea which we call eternity; viz., having got the idea of succession and duration, by reflecting on the train of our own ideas, caused in us either by the natural appearances of those ideas coming constantly of themselves into our waking thoughts, or else caused by external objects successively affecting our senses; and having from the revolutions of the sun got the ideas of certain lengths of duration, we can in our thoughts add such lengths of duration to one another as often as we please, and apply them, so added, to durations past or to come: and this we can continue to do on, without bounds or limits, and proceed in infinitum, and apply thus the length of the annual motion of the sun to duration, supposed before the sun's or any other motion had its being; which is no more difficult or absurd, than to apply the notion I have of the moving of a shadow one hour to-day upon the sun-dial to the duration of something last night, v. g., the burning of a candle, which is now absolutely separate from all actual motion: and it is as impossible for the duration of that flame for an hour last night to co-exist with any motion that now is, or for ever shall be, as for any part of duration, that was before the beginning of the world, to co-exist with the motion of the sun now. But yet this hinders not, but that having the idea of the length of the motion of the shadow on a dial between the marks of two

hours, I can as distinctly measure in my thoughts the duration of that candle-light last night, as I can the duration of anything that does now exist: and it is no more than to think, that, had the sun shone then on the dial, and moved after the same rate it doth now, the shadow on the dial would have passed from one hour-line to another whilst that flame of the candle lasted.

28. The notion of an hour, day, or year, being only the idea I have of the length of certain periodical regular motions, neither of which motions do ever all at once exist, but only in the ideas I have of them in my memory derived from my senses or reflection; I can with the same ease, and for the same reason, apply it in my thoughts to duration antecedent to all manner of motion, as well as to anything that is but a minute or a day antecedent to the motion, that at this very moment the sun is in. All things past are equally and perfectly at rest; and to this way of consideration of them are all one, whether they were before the beginning of the world, or but yesterday:* the measuring of any duration by some motion depending not at all on the real co-existence of that thing to that motion, or any other periods of revolution, but the having a clear idea of the length of some periodical known motion, or other intervals of duration in my mind, and applying that to the duration of the thing I would measure.

29. Hence we see, that some men imagine the duration of the world, from its first existence to this present year 1689, to have been five thousand six hundred and thirty-nine years, or equal to five thousand six hundred and thirty-nine annual revolutions of the sun, and others a great deal more; as the Egyptians of old, who in the time of Alexander counted twenty-three thousand years from the reign of the sun; and the Chinese now, who account the world three millions two hundred and sixty-nine thousand years old, or more; which longer duration of the world, according to their

* Young, in his Night Thoughts, has expressed a similar idea:—

"The bell strikes one. We take no note of time
But from its loss. To give it, then, a tongue
Is wise in man. As if an angel spoke,
I feel the solemn sound. If heard aright,
It is the knell of my departed hours.
Where are they?—*With the years beyond the flood.*"—ED.

computation, though I should not believe to be true, yet I can equally imagine it with them, and as truly understand, and say one is longer than the other, as I understand, that Methusalem's life was longer than Enoch's. And if the common reckoning of five thousand six hundred and thirty-nine should be true, (as it may be as well as any other assigned,) it hinders not at all my imagining what others mean when they make the world one thousand years older since every one may with the same facility imagine (I do not say believe) the world to be fifty thousand years old, as five thousand six hundred and thirty-nine; and may as well conceive the duration of fifty thousand years as five thousand six hundred and thirty-nine. Whereby it appears, that, to the measuring the duration of anything by time, it is not requisite that that thing should be co-existent to the motion we measure by, or any other periodical revolution; but it suffices to this purpose, that we have the idea of the length of any regular periodical appearances, which we can in our minds apply to duration, with which the motion or appearance never co-existed.

30. For, as in the history of the creation delivered by Moses, I can imagine that light existed three days before the sun was, or had any motion, barely by thinking that the duration of light before the sun was created was so long as (if the sun had moved then as it doth now) would have been equal to three of his diurnal revolutions; so by the same way I can have an idea of the chaos or angels being created before there was either light or any continued motion, a minute, an hour, a day, a year, or one thousand years. For if I can but consider duration equal to one minute before either the being or motion of any body, I can add one minute more till I come to sixty; and by the same way of adding minutes, hours, or years (i.e., such or such parts of the sun's revolutions, or any other period whereof I have the idea) proceed in infinitum, and suppose a duration exceeding as many such periods as I can reckon, let me add whilst I will; which I think is the notion we have of eternity, of whose infinity we have no other notion than we have of the infinity of number, to which we can add for ever without end.

31. And thus I think it is plain, that from those two

fountains of all knowledge before mentioned, viz., reflection and sensation, we get ideas of duration, and the measures of it.

For, First, by observing what passes in our minds, how our ideas there in train constantly some vanish and others begin to appear, we come by the idea of succession.

Secondly, by observing a distance in the parts of this succession, we get the idea of duration.

Thirdly, by sensation observing certain appearances at certain regular and seeming equidistant periods, we get the ideas of certain lengths or measures of duration, as minutes, hours, days, years, &c.

Fourthly, by being able to repeat those measures of time or ideas of stated length of duration in our minds as often as we will, we can come to imagine duration where nothing does really endure or exist; and thus we imagine to-morrow, next year, or seven years hence.

Fifthly, by being able to repeat ideas of any length of time, as of a minute, a year, or an age, as often as we will in our own thoughts, and adding them one to another, without ever coming to the end of such addition any nearer than we can to the end of number, to which we can always add; we come by the idea of eternity as the future eternal duration of our souls, as well as the eternity of that infinite Being, which must necessarily have always existed.

Sixthly, by considering any part of infinite duration, as set out by periodical measures, we come by the idea of what we call time in general.

CHAPTER XV.

OF DURATION AND EXPANSION, CONSIDERED TOGETHER.

1. *Both capable of greater and less.*—THOUGH we have in the precedent chapters dwelt pretty long on the considerations of space and duration, yet, they being ideas of general concernment that have something very abstruse and peculiar in their nature, the comparing them one with another may perhaps be of use for their illustration; and we may have the more clear and distinct conception of them by taking a view of them together. Distance or space, in its simple abstract concep-

tion, to avoid confusion, I call expansion, to distinguish it from extension, which by some is used to express this distance only as it is in the solid parts of matter, and so includes, or at least intimates the idea of body; whereas the idea of pure distance includes no such thing. I prefer also the word expansion to space, because space is often applied to distance of fleeting successive parts which never exist together, as well as to those which are permanent. In both these (viz., expansion and duration) the mind has this common idea of continued lengths, capable of greater or less quantities: for a man has as clear an idea of the difference of the length of an hour and a day, as of an inch and a foot.

2. *Expansion not bounded by Matter.*—The mind having got the idea of the length of any part of expansion, let it be a span, or a pace, or what length you will, can, as has been said, repeat that idea; and so, adding it to the former, enlarge its idea of length, and make it equal to two spans, or two paces, and so as often as it will, till it equals the distance of any parts of the earth one from another, and increase thus till it amounts to the distance of the sun or remotest star. By such a progression as this, setting out from the place where it is, or any other place, it can proceed and pass beyond all those lengths, and find nothing to stop its going on, either in or without body. It is true, we can easily in our thoughts come to the end of solid extension; the extremity and bounds of all body we have no difficulty to arrive at: but when the mind is there it finds nothing to hinder its progress into this endless expansion; of that it can neither find nor conceive any end. Nor let any one say, that, beyond the bounds of body, there is nothing at all, unless he will confine God within the limits of matter. Solomon, whose understanding was filled and enlarged with wisdom, seems to have other thoughts when he says, "Heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee:" and he, I think, very much magnifies to himself the capacity of his own understanding who persuades himself that he can extend his thoughts further than God exists, or imagine any expansion where he is not.

3. *Nor Duration by Motion.*—Just so is it in duration. The mind having got the idea of any length of duration, can double, multiply, and enlarge it, not only beyond its own, but beyond the existence of all corporeal beings, and all the mea-

sures of time, taken from the great bodies of all the world and their motions. But yet every one easily admits, that, though we make duration boundless, as certainly it is, we cannot yet extend it beyond all being. God, every one easily allows, fills eternity; and it is hard to find a reason why any one should doubt that he likewise fills immensity. His infinite being is certainly as boundless one way as another; and methinks it ascribes a little too much to matter to say, where there is no body there is nothing.

4. *Why Men more easily admit infinite Duration than infinite Expansion.*—Hence I think we may learn the reason why every one familiarly and without the least hesitation speaks of and supposes eternity, and sticks not to ascribe infinity to duration; but it is with more doubting and reserve that many admit or suppose the infinity of space. The reason whereof seems to me to be this, that duration and extension being used as names of affections belonging to other beings, we easily conceive in God infinite duration, and we cannot avoid doing so: but not attributing to him extension, but only to matter, which is finite, we are apter to doubt of the existence of expansion without matter; of which alone we commonly suppose it an attribute. And therefore, when men pursue their thoughts of space they are apt to stop at the confines of body; as if space were there at an end too, and reached no further. Or if their ideas, upon consideration, carry them further, yet they term what is beyond the limits of the universe imaginary space; as if it were nothing, because there is no body existing in it. Whereas duration, antecedent to all body and to the motions which it is measured by, they never term imaginary; because it is never supposed void of some other real existence. And if the names of things may at all direct our thoughts towards the original of men's ideas, (as I am apt to think they may very much,) one may have occasion to think by the name duration, that the continuation of existence, with a kind of resistance to any destructive force, and the continuation of solidity (which is apt to be confounded with, and, if we will look into the minute anatomical parts of matter, is little different from, hardness) were thought to have some analogy, and gave occasion to words so near of kin as durare and durum esse. And that durare is applied to the idea of hardness as well as that

of existence we see in Horace, Epod. xvi. "Ferro duravit secula." But be that as it will, this is certain, that whoever pursues his own thoughts, will find them sometimes launch out beyond the extent of body into the infinity of space or expansion; the idea whereof is distinct and separate from body, and all other things, which may, (to those who please,) be a subject of further meditation.

5. *Time to Duration is as Place to Expansion.*—Time in general is to duration as place to expansion. They are so much of those boundless oceans of eternity and immensity as is set out and distinguished from the rest, as it were by landmarks; and so are made use of to denote the position of finite real beings, in respect one to another, in those uniform infinite oceans of duration and space. These rightly considered, are only ideas of determinate distances from certain known points, fixed in distinguishable sensible things, and supposed to keep the same distance one from another. From such points fixed in sensible beings we reckon, and from them we measure our portions of those infinite quantities; which, so considered, are that which we call time and place. For duration and space being in themselves uniform and boundless, the order and position of things, without such known settled points, would be lost in them; and all things would lie jumbled in an incurable confusion.

6. *Time and Place are taken for so much of either as are set out by the Existence and Motion of Bodies.*—Time and place, taken thus for determinate distinguishable portions of those infinite abysses of space and duration, set out or supposed to be distinguished from the rest by marks and known boundaries, have each of them a twofold acceptation.

First, time in general is commonly taken for so much of infinite duration as is measured by and co-existent with the existence and motions of the great bodies of the universe, as far as we know anything of them: and in this sense time begins and ends with the frame of this sensible world as in these phrases before mentioned, Before all time, or, When time shall be no more. Place likewise is taken sometimes for that portion of infinite space which is possessed by and comprehended within the material world; and is thereby distinguished from the rest of expansion, though this may be more properly called extension than place. Within these

two are confined, and by the observable parts of them are measured and determined, the particular time or duration and the particular extension and place of all corporeal beings.

7. *Sometimes for so much of either as we design by Measures taken from the Bulk or Motion of Bodies.*—Secondly, sometimes the word time is used in a larger sense, and is applied to parts of that infinite duration, not that were really distinguished and measured out by this real existence, and periodical motions of bodies, that were appointed from the beginning to be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, and are accordingly our measures of time; but such other portions too of that infinite uniform duration which we, upon any occasion, do suppose equal to certain lengths of measured time, and so consider them as bounded and determined. For if we should suppose the creation, or fall of the angels was at the beginning of the Julian period, we should speak properly enough, and should be understood if we said it is a longer time since the creation of angels than the creation of the world, by seven thousand six hundred and forty years: whereby we would mark out so much of that undistinguished duration as we suppose equal to, and would have admitted seven thousand six hundred and forty annual revolutions of the sun, moving at the rate it now does. And thus likewise we sometimes speak of place, distance, or bulk, in the great inane beyond the confines of the world, when we consider so much of that space as is equal to, or capable to receive, a body of any assigned dimensions, as a cubic foot; or do suppose a point in it at such a certain distance from any part of the universe.

8. *They belong to all Beings.*—Where and when are questions belonging to all finite existences, and are by us always reckoned from some known parts of this sensible world, and from some certain epochs marked out to us by the motions observable in it. Without some such fixed parts or periods, the order of things would be lost to our finite understandings in the boundless invariable oceans of duration and expansion; which comprehend in them all finite beings, and in their full extent belong only to the Deity. And therefore we are not to wonder that we comprehend them not, and do so often find our thoughts at a loss, when we would consider them either abstractly in themselves, or as any way attributed to

the first incomprehensible Being. But when applied to any particular finite beings, the extension of any body is so much of that infinite space as the bulk of the body takes up. And place is the position of any body, when considered at a certain distance from some other. As the idea of the particular duration of anything is an idea of that portion of infinite duration which passes during the existence of that thing; so the time when the thing existed is the idea of that space of duration which passed between some known and fixed period of duration, and the being of that thing. One shows the distance of the extremities of the bulk or existence of the same thing, as that it is a foot square, or lasted two years; the other shows the distance of it in place or existence from other fixed points of space or duration, as that it was in the middle of Lincoln's Inn Fields, or the first degree of Taurus, and in the year of our Lord 1671, or the 1000th year of the Julian period: all which distances we measure by preconceived ideas of certain lengths of space and duration, as inches, feet, miles, and degrees; and in the other, minutes, days, and years, &c.

9. *All the Parts of Extension are Extension, and all the Parts of Duration are Duration.*—There is one thing more wherein space and duration have a great conformity; and that is, though they are justly reckoned amongst our simple ideas, yet none of the distinct ideas we have of either is without all manner of composition; it is the very nature of both of them to consist of parts; but their parts being all of the same kind, and without the mixture of any other idea, hinder them not from having a place amongst simple ideas. Could one mind, as in number, come to so small a part of extension or duration as excluded divisibility, that would be, as it were, the indivisible unit or idea, by repetition of which it would make its more enlarged ideas of extension and duration. But since the mind is not able to frame an idea of any space without parts, instead thereof it makes use of the common measures which, by familiar use in each country, have imprinted themselves on the memory; (as inches and feet, or cubits and parasangs;* and so seconds, minutes, hours,

* This, as the reader of the Anabasis will remember, is a Persian word, signifying "a league." (Anab. II. p. 161. Hutchin.) Herodotus, (II. 6, and V. 53,) and Strabo, (XI. t. ii. p. 788) make use of the word as

days, and years in duration;) the mind makes use, I say, of such ideas as these as simple ones; and these are the component parts of larger ideas, which the mind upon occasion makes by the addition of such known lengths which it is acquainted with. On the other side, the ordinary smallest measure we have of either is looked on as an unit in number, when the mind by division would reduce them into less fractions. Though on both sides, both in addition and division, either of space or duration, when the idea under consideration becomes very big or very small, its precise bulk becomes very obscure and confused; and it is the number of its repeated additions or divisions that alone remains clear and distinct, as will easily appear to any one who will let his thoughts loose in the vast expansion of space, or divisibility of matter. Every part of duration is duration too, and every part of extension is extension, both of them capable of addition or division in infinitum. But the least portions of either of them, whereof we have clear and distinct ideas, may perhaps be fittest to be considered by us as the simple ideas of that kind out of which our complex modes of space, extension, and duration are made up, and into which they can again be distinctly resolved. Such a small part in duration may be called a moment, and is the time of one idea in our minds, in the train of their ordinary succession there. The other, wanting a proper name, I know not whether I may be allowed to call a sensible point, meaning thereby the least particle of matter or space we can discern, which is ordinarily about a minute, and to the sharpest eyes seldom less than thirty seconds of a circle, whereof the eye is the centre.

10. *Their Parts inseparable.*—Expansion and duration have this further agreement, that, though they are both considered by us as having parts, yet their parts are not separable one from another, no not even in thought: though the parts of bodies from whence we take our measure of the one, and the parts of motion, or rather the succession of ideas in our minds, from whence we take the measure of the other, may

a road measure, of thirty stadia. It is still, Reland observes, in use among the Persians, whose parasang consists of three miles, each 3,000 cubits in length, each cubit of thirty inches, each inch six barleycorns.—ED.

be interrupted and separated; as the one is often by rest, and the other is by sleep, which we call rest too.

11. *Duration is as a Line, Expansion as a Solid.*—But there is this manifest difference between them, that the ideas of length which we have of expansion are turned every way, and so make figure, and breadth, and thickness; but duration is but as it were the length of one straight line, extended in infinitum, not capable of multiplicity, variation, or figure; but is one common measure of all existence whatsoever, wherein all things, whilst they exist, equally partake. For this present moment is common to all things that are now in being, and equally comprehends that part of their existence, as much as if they were all but one single being, and we may truly say, they all exist in the same moment of time. Whether angels and spirits have any analogy to this, in respect to expansion, is beyond my comprehension:* and perhaps for us, who have understandings and comprehensions suited to our own preservation, and the ends of our own being, but not to the reality and extent of all other beings, it is near as hard to conceive any existence, or to have an idea of any real being, with a perfect negation of all manner of expansion, as it is to have the idea of any real existence with a perfect negation of all manner of duration; and therefore, what spirits have to do with space, or how they communicate in it, we know not. All that we know is, that bodies do each singly possess its proper portion of it, according to the extent of solid parts, and thereby exclude all other bodies from having any share in that particular portion of space whilst it remains there.

12. *Duration has never two Parts together, Expansion altogether.*—Duration and time, which is a part of it, is the idea we have of perishing distance, of which no two parts exist together, but follow each other in succession, as expansion is the idea of lasting distance, all whose parts exist together, and are not capable of succession. And therefore, though we cannot conceive any duration without succession, nor can put

* The reader who has any curiosity on this subject, may consult Antoine Le Grand's Principles of the Cartesian Philosophy, in which the whole nature and attributes of angels are made (to borrow the expressive language of Swift) "as clear as mud." (Part III. 110 et seq.) It is lamentable to behold the understanding which was bestowed on man for better purposes wasting itself on useless speculations upon what it can never comprehend.—Ed.

it together in our thoughts that any being does now exist to-morrow, or possess at once more than the present moment of duration, yet we can conceive the eternal duration of the Almighty far different from that of man, or any other finite being. Because man comprehends not in his knowledge or power all past and future things; his thoughts are but of yesterday, and he knows not what to-morrow will bring forth. What is once past he can never recal; and what is yet to come he cannot make present. What I say of man, I say of all finite beings; who, though they may far exceed man in knowledge and power, yet are no more than the meanest creature, in comparison with God himself. Finite of any magnitude holds not any proportion to infinite. God's infinite duration being accompanied with infinite knowledge and infinite power; he sees all things, past and to come;* and they are no more distant from his knowledge, no further removed from his sight than the present: they all lie under the same view; and there is nothing which he cannot make exist each moment he pleases. For the existence of all things depending upon his good pleasure, all things exist every moment that he thinks fit to have them exist. To conclude: expansion and duration do mutually embrace and comprehend each other; every part of space being in every part of duration, and every part of duration in every part of expansion. Such a combination of two distinct ideas is, I suppose, scarce to be found in all that great variety we do or can conceive, and may afford matter to further speculation.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF NUMBER.

1. *Number the simplest and most universal Idea.*—Amongst all the ideas we have, as there is none suggested to the mind

* As the augurs of antiquity were supposed to know by the power of the Divinity, their minds were said to grasp the three divisions of time—the past, the present, and the future—as God does. Thus Homer, speaking of Calchas, *οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος*, says,

"Whose comprehensive view;
The past, the present, and the future knew."

as Pope renders the epic line,—

"'Ος ἤδη τὰ ᾽ ἐόντα τά τ ἐσσομενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα."—Ed.

by more ways, so there is none more simple than that of unity, or one. It has no shadow of variety or composition in it;* every object our senses are employed about, every idea in our understandings, every thought of our minds, brings this idea along with it: and therefore it is the most intimate to our thoughts, as well as it is, in its agreement to all other things, the most universal idea we have. For number applies itself to men, angels, actions, thoughts, everything that either doth exist, or can be imagined.

2. *Its Modes made by Addition.*—By repeating this idea in our minds, and adding the repetitions together, we come by the complex ideas of the modes of it. Thus by adding one to one, we have the complex idea of a couple; by putting twelve units together, we have the complex idea of a dozen; and so of a score, or a million, or any other number.

3. *Each Mode distinct.*—The simple modes of numbers are of all other the most distinct; every the least variation, which is an unit, making each combination as clearly different from that which approacheth nearest to it, as the most remote; two being as distinct from one, as two hundred; and the idea of two as distinct from the idea of three, as the magnitude of the whole earth is from that of a mite. This is not so in other simple modes, in which it is not so easy, nor perhaps possible for us to distinguish betwixt two approaching ideas, which yet are really different. For who will undertake to find a difference between the white of this paper and that of the next degree to it, or can form distinct ideas of every the least excess in extension?

4. *Therefore Demonstrations in Numbers the most precise.*—The clearness and distinctness of each mode of number from all others, even those that approach nearest, makes me apt to think that demonstrations in numbers, if they are not more evident and exact than in extension, yet they are more general in their use, and more determinate in their application, because the ideas of numbers are more precise and distinguishable than in extension, where every equality and excess are not so easy to be observed or measured; because our thoughts cannot in space arrive at any determined smallness, beyond

* The idea of unity enters into our conception of God, "in whom there is neither variableness nor shadow of turning;" a glorious expression, which possibly suggested the one in the text.—Ed.

which it cannot go, as an unit; and therefore the quantity or proportion of any the least excess cannot be discovered: which is clear otherwise in number, where, as has been said, ninety-one is as distinguishable from ninety as from nine thousand, though ninety-one be the next immediate excess to ninety. But it is not so in extension, where, whatsoever is more than just a foot or an inch, is not distinguishable from the standard of a foot or an inch; and in lines which appear of an equal length, one may be longer than the other by innumerable parts; nor can any one assign an angle, which shall be the next biggest to a right one.

5. *Names necessary to Numbers.*—By the repeating, as has been said, the idea of an unit, and joining it to another unit, we make thereof one collective idea, marked by the name two: and whosoever can do this, and proceed on, still adding one more to the last collective idea which he had of any number, and gave a name to it, may count, or have ideas for several collections of units, distinguished one from another, as far as he hath a series of names for following numbers, and a memory to retain that series, with their several names; all numeration being but still the adding of one unit more, and giving to the whole together, as comprehended in one idea, a new or distinct name or sign, whereby to know it from those before and after, and distinguish it from every smaller or greater multitude of units. So that he that can add one to one, and so to two, and so go on with his tale, taking still with him the distinct names belonging to every progression; and so again, by subtracting an unit from each collection, retreat and lessen them; is capable of all the ideas of numbers within the compass of his language, or for which he hath names, though not perhaps of more. For the several simple modes of numbers, being in our minds but so many combinations of units, which have no variety, nor are capable of any other difference but more or less, names or marks for each distinct combination seem more necessary than in any other sort of ideas. For without such names or marks we can hardly well make use of numbers in reckoning, especially where the combination is made up of any great multitude of units; which, put together without a name or mark to distinguish that precise collection, will hardly be kept from being a heap in confusion.

6. This I think to be the reason why some Americans I have spoken with, (who were otherwise of quick and rational parts enough,) could not, as we do, by any means count to one thousand, nor had any distinct idea of that number, though they could reckon very well to twenty; because their language being scanty, and accommodated only to the few necessaries of a needy, simple life, unacquainted either with trade or mathematics, had no words in it to stand for one thousand; so that when they were discoursed with of those greater numbers, they would show the hairs of their head, to express a great multitude which they could not number: which inability, I suppose, proceeded from their want of names. The Tououpinambos had no names for numbers above five; any number beyond that they made out by showing their fingers, and the fingers of others who were present.* And I doubt not but we ourselves might distinctly number in words a great deal further than we usually do, would we find out but some fit denomination to signify them by; whereas, in the way we take now to name them, by millions of millions of millions, &c., it is hard to go beyond eighteen, or at most, four and twenty decimal progressions, without confusion. But to show how much distinct names conduce to our well reckoning, or having useful ideas of numbers, let us see all these following figures in one continued line, as the marks of one number, v. g.,

Nonillions.	Octillions.	Septillions.	Sextillions.	Quintrillions.	Quartrillions.	Trillions.	Billions.	Millions.	Units.
857324	162486	345896	437918	423147	248106	235421	261734	368149	623137

The ordinary way of naming this number in English, will

* Histoire d'un Voyage, fait en la Terre du Bresil, par Jean de Lery, chap. xx. pp. 307—382.

Nearly all systems of arithmetic are founded on the decimal progression, obtained at first by counting the fingers, and proceeding after the manner of the Tououpinambos. The value of the several systems of arithmetic has been discussed by La Place, in a discourse delivered to the Normal School:—"Vous concevez, par les principes métaphysiques sur lesquels est fondé notre système de numération, que rien n'obligeoit de s'en tenir à dix caractères; on pouvait en employes plus ou moins. Il parait très-probable que le nombre des doigts est ce qui a determiné l'arithmétique décimale. Les hommes primitivement ont compté par leurs doigts jusqu'à dix: mais de ce que cette arithmétique était bonne dans l'enfance des societés, est-elle maintenant la meilleure? C'est ce que nous allons examiner." (Arithmétique d'Emile, p. 46. Lausanne, 1823.)—ED.

be the often repeating of millions, of millions, of millions, of millions, of millions, of millions, of millions, of millions, (which is the denomination of the second six figures.) In which way, it will be very hard to have any distinguishing notions of this number; but whether, by giving every six figures a new and orderly denomination, these, and perhaps a great many more figures in progression, might not easily be counted distinctly, and ideas of them both got more easily to ourselves, and more plainly signified to others, I leave it to be considered. This I mention only to show how necessary distinct names are to numbering, without pretending to introduce new ones of my invention.

7. *Why Children number not earlier.*—Thus children, either for want of names to mark the several progressions of numbers, or not having yet the faculty to collect scattered ideas into complex ones, and range them in a regular order, and so retain them in their memories, as is necessary to reckoning; do not begin to number very early, nor proceed in it very far or steadily, till a good while after they are well furnished with good store of other ideas: and one may often observe them discourse and reason pretty well, and have very clear conceptions of several other things, before they can tell twenty. And some, through the default of their memories, who cannot retain the several combinations of numbers with their names annexed in their distinct orders, and the dependence of so long a train of numeral progressions, and their relation one to another, are not able all their lifetime to reckon, or regularly go over any moderate series of numbers. For he that will count twenty, or have any idea of that number, must know that nineteen went before, with the distinct name or sign of every one of them, as they stand marked in their order; for wherever this fails, a gap is made, the chain breaks, and the progress in numbering can go no further. So that to reckon right, it is required, 1. That the mind distinguish carefully two ideas, which are different one from another only by the addition or subtraction of one unit. 2. That it retain in memory the names or marks of the several combinations, from an unit to that number; and that not confusedly, and at random, but in that exact order that the numbers follow one another: in either of which, if it trips, the whole business of numbering will be disturbed, and there

will remain only the confused idea of multitude, but the ideas necessary to distinct numeration will not be attained to.

8. *Number measures all Measurables.*—This further is observable in numbers, that it is that which the mind makes use of in measuring all things that by us are measurable, which principally are expansion and duration; and our idea of infinity, even when applied to those, seems to be nothing but the infinity of number. For what else are our ideas of eternity and immensity, but the repeated additions of certain ideas of imagined parts of duration and expansion, with the infinity of number, in which we can come to no end of addition; for such an inexhaustible stock, number (of all other our ideas) most clearly furnishes us with, as is obvious to every one: for let a man collect into one sum as great a number as he pleases, this multitude, how great soever, lessens not one jot the power of adding to it, or brings him any nearer the end of the inexhaustible stock of number, where still there remains as much to be added, as if none were taken out. And this endless addition or addibility (if any one like the word better) of numbers, so apparent to the mind, is that, I think, which gives us the clearest and most distinct idea of infinity: of which more in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF INFINITY.

1. *Infinity, in its original Intention, attributed to Space, Duration, and Number.*—He that would know what kind of idea it is to which we give the name of infinity, cannot do it better than by considering to what infinity is, by the mind, more immediately attributed, and then how the mind comes to frame it.

Finite and infinite seem to me to be looked upon by the mind as the modes of quantity, and to be attributed primarily, in their first designation, only to those things which have parts, and are capable of increase or diminution by the addition or subtraction of any the least part: and such are the ideas of space, duration, and number, which we have considered in the foregoing chapters. It is true, that we cannot but be assured that the great God, of whom and from

whom are all things, is incomprehensibly infinite: but yet, when we apply to that first and supreme Being our idea of infinite, in our weak and narrow thoughts, we do it primarily in respect to his duration and ubiquity; and, I think, more figuratively to his power, wisdom, and goodness, and other attributes, which are properly inexhaustible and incomprehensible, &c. For, when we call them infinite, we have no other idea of this infinity, but what carries with it some reflection on, and imitation of, that number or extent of the acts or objects of God's power, wisdom, and goodness, which can never be supposed so great or so many, which these attributes will not always surmount and exceed, let us multiply them in our thoughts as far as we can, with all the infinity of endless number. I do not pretend to say how these attributes are in God, who is infinitely beyond the reach of our narrow capacities. They do, without doubt, contain in them all possible perfection: but this, I say, is our way of conceiving them, and these our ideas of their infinity.

2. *The Idea of Finite easily got.*—Finite, then, and infinite, being by the mind looked on as modifications of expansion and duration, the next thing to be considered, is, how the mind comes by them. As for the idea of finite, there is no great difficulty. The obvious portions of extension that affect our senses, carry with them into the mind the idea of finite; and the ordinary periods of succession, whereby we measure time and duration, as hours, days, and years, are bounded lengths. The difficulty is, how we come by those boundless ideas of eternity and immensity, since the objects we converse with come so much short of any approach or proportion to that largeness.

3. *How we come by the Idea of Infinity.*—Every one that has any idea of any stated lengths of space, as a foot, finds that he can repeat that idea; and joining it to the former, make the idea of two feet; and by the addition of a third, three feet; and so on, without ever coming to an end of his addition, whether of the same idea of a foot, or, if he pleases, of doubling it, or any other idea he has of any length, as a mile, or diameter of the earth, or of the orbis magnus: for whichsoever of these he takes, and how often soever he doubles, or any otherwise multiplies it, he finds,

that after he has continued his doubling in his thoughts, and enlarged his idea as much as he pleases, he has no more reason to stop, nor is one jot nearer the end of such addition, than he was at first setting out. The power of enlarging his idea of space by further additions remaining still the same, he hence takes the idea of infinite space.

4. *Our Idea of Space boundless.*—This, I think, is the way whereby the mind gets the idea of infinite space. It is a quite different consideration, to examine whether the mind has the idea of such a boundless space actually existing. since our ideas are not always proofs of the existence of things; but yet, since this comes here in our way, I suppose I may say, that we are apt to think that space in itself is actually boundless; to which imagination the idea of space or expansion of itself naturally leads us.* For it being considered by us, either as the extension of body, or as existing by itself, without any solid matter taking it up, (for of such a void space we have not only the idea, but I have proved, as I think, from the motion of body, its necessary existence,) it is impossible the mind should be ever able to find or suppose any end of it, or be stopped anywhere in its progress in this space, how far soever it extends its thoughts. Any bounds made with body, even adamantine walls, are so far from putting a stop to the mind in its further progress in space and extension, that it rather facilitates and enlarges it; for so far as that body reaches, so far no one can doubt of extension; and when we are come to the utmost extremity of body, what is there that can there put a stop, and satisfy the mind that it is at the end of space, when it perceives that it is not; nay, when it is satisfied that body itself can move into it? For if it be necessary for the motion of body,

* Space being (as shown in a former note) absolutely nothing but the capacity to contain body, no bounds can, of necessity, be set to it. But on this point the reader would do well to compare with what is said in the text the notions of Hobbes, in his Philosophia Prima, c. 7, § 12. His recapitulation is curious and characteristic:—"De spatio et tempore interminabili, dici non potest quod sit *totum* aut *unum*; non *totum*, quia ex nullis partibus componi potest; partes enim; quot cunque, cum singulæ sint finitæ, etiam simul sumptæ facient totum finitum. Non *unum*, quia *unum* non dicitur nisi ut comparatum ad aliùd; duo autem infinita spatia, vel duo tempora infinita esse, intelligi non potest."—ED.

that there should be an empty space, though ever so little, here amongst bodies, and if it be possible for body to move in or through that empty space; nay, it is impossible for any particle of matter to move but into an empty space; the same possibility of a body's moving into a void space, beyond the utmost bounds of body, as well as into a void space interspersed amongst bodies, will always remain clear and evident: the idea of empty pure space, whether within or beyond the confines of all bodies, being exactly the same, differing not in nature, though in bulk; and there being nothing to hinder body from moving into it. So that wherever the mind places itself by any thought, either amongst or remote from all bodies, it can in this uniform idea of space nowhere find any bounds, any end; and so must necessarily conclude it, by the very nature and idea of each part of it, to be actually infinite.

5. *And so of Duration.*—As by the power we find in ourselves of repeating, as often as we will, any idea of space, we get the idea of immensity; so, by being able to repeat the idea of any length of duration we have in our minds, with all the endless addition of number, we come by the idea of eternity. For we find in ourselves, we can no more come to an end of such repeated ideas, than we can come to the end of number, which every one perceives he cannot. But here again it is another question, quite different from our having an idea of eternity, to know whether there were any real being, whose duration has been eternal. And as to this, I say, he that considers something now existing, must necessarily come to something eternal. But having spoke of this in another place, I shall say here no more of it, but proceed on to some other considerations of our idea of infinity.

6. *Why other Ideas are not capable of Infinity.*—If it be so, that our idea of infinity be got from the power we observe in ourselves of repeating, without end, our own ideas, it may be demanded, "why we do not attribute infinite to other ideas, as well as those of space and duration;" since they may be as easily, and as often repeated in our minds as the other; and yet nobody ever thinks of infinite sweetness, or infinite whiteness, though he can repeat the idea of sweet or white, as frequently as those of a yard or a day? To

which I answer, all the ideas that are considered as having parts, and are capable of increase by the addition of any equal or less parts, afford us by their repetition the idea of infinity; because with this endless repetition there is continued an enlargement, of which there can be no end. But in other ideas it is not so; for to the largest idea of extension or duration that I at present have, the addition of any the least part makes an increase; but to the perfectest idea I have of the whitest whiteness, if I add another of a less or equal whiteness, (and of a whiter than I have, I cannot add the idea,) it makes no increase, and enlarges not my idea at all; and therefore the different ideas of whiteness, &c., are called degrees. For those ideas that consist of parts are capable of being augmented by every addition of the least part; but if you take the idea of white, which one parcel of snow yielded yesterday to our sight, and another idea of white from another parcel of snow you see to-day, and put them together in your mind, they embody, as it were, and run into one, and the idea of whiteness is not at all increased; and if we add a less degree of whiteness to a greater, we are so far from increasing, that we diminish it. Those ideas that consist not of parts cannot be augmented to what proportion men please, or be stretched beyond what they have received by their senses; but space, duration, and number, being capable of increase by repetition, leave in the mind an idea of endless room for more: nor can we conceive anywhere a stop to a further addition or progression, and so those ideas alone lead our minds towards the thought of infinity.

7. *Difference between infinity of Space, and Space infinite.*—Though our idea of infinity arise from the contemplation of quantity, and the endless increase the mind is able to make in quantity, by the repeated additions of what portions thereof it pleases; yet I guess we cause great confusion in our thoughts, when we join infinity to any supposed idea of quantity the mind can be thought to have, and so discourse or reason about an infinite quantity, viz., an infinite space, or an infinite duration. For our idea of infinity being, as I think, an endless growing idea, by the idea of any quantity the mind has, being at that time terminated in that idea, (for be it as great as it will, it can be no greater than it is,) to join

infinity to it, is to adjust a standing measure to a growing bulk; and therefore I think it is not an insignificant subtilty, if I say that we are carefully to distinguish between the idea of the infinity of space, and the idea of a space infinite: the first is nothing but a supposed endless progression of the mind, over what repeated ideas of space it pleases; but to have actually in the mind the idea of a space infinite, is to suppose the mind already passed over, and actually to have a view of all those repeated ideas of space which an endless repetition can never totally represent to it; which carries in it a plain contradiction.

8. *We have no Idea of infinite Space.*—This, perhaps, will be a little plainer, if we consider it in numbers. The infinity of numbers, to the end of whose addition every one perceives there is no approach, easily appears to any one that reflects on it: but how clear soever this idea of the infinity of number be, there is nothing yet more evident, than the absurdity of the actual idea of an infinite number. Whatsoever positive ideas we have in our minds of any space, duration, or number, let them be ever so great, they are still finite; but when we suppose an inexhaustible remainder, from which we remove all bounds, and wherein we allow the mind an endless progression of thought, without ever completing the idea, there we have our idea of infinity: which, though it seems to be pretty clear when we consider nothing else in it but the negation of an end, yet, when we would frame in our minds the idea of an infinite space or duration, that idea is very obscure and confused, because it is made up of two parts, very different, if not inconsistent. For let a man frame in his mind an idea of any space or number, as great as he will: it is plain the mind rests and terminates in that idea, which is contrary to the idea of infinity, which consists in a supposed endless progression: and therefore I think it is that we are so easily confounded, when we come to argue and reason about infinite space or duration, &c.; because the parts of such an idea not being perceived to be, as they are, inconsistent, the one side or other always perplexes, whatever consequences we draw from the other; as an idea of motion not passing on would perplex any one who should argue from such an idea, which is not better than an idea of motion at rest: and such another seems to me to be

the idea of a space, or (which is the same thing) a number infinite, i. e., of a space or number which the mind actually has, and so views and terminates in; and of a space or number, which, in a constant and endless enlarging and progression, it can in thought never attain to. For how large soever an idea of space I have in my mind, it is no larger than it is that instant that I have it, though I be capable the next instant to double it, and so on in infinitum; for that alone is infinite which has no bounds, and that the idea of infinity in which our thoughts can find none.

9. *Number affords us the clearest Idea of Infinity.*—But of all other ideas, it is number, as I have said, which I think furnishes us with the clearest and most distinct idea of infinity we are capable of. For even in space and duration when the mind pursues the idea of infinity, it there makes use of the ideas and repetitions of numbers, as of millions and millions of miles, or years, which are so many distinct ideas, kept best by number from running into a confused heap, wherein the mind loses itself; and when it has added together as many millions, &c., as it pleases, of known lengths of space or duration, the clearest idea it can get of infinity, is the confused, incomprehensible remainder of endless addible numbers, which affords no prospect of stop or boundary.

10. *Our different Conceptions of the Infinity of Number, Duration, and Expansion.*—It will, perhaps, give us a little further light into the idea we have of infinity, and discover to us, that it is nothing but the infinity of number applied to determinate parts, of which we have in our minds the distinct ideas, if we consider that number is not generally thought by us infinite, whereas duration and extension are apt to be so; which arises from hence, that in number we are at one end, as it were; for there being in number nothing less than an unit, we there stop, and are at an end; but in addition, or increase of number, we can set no bounds. And so it is like a line, whereof one end terminating with us, the other is extended still forwards beyond all that we can conceive; but in space and duration it is otherwise. For in duration we consider it, as if this line of number were extended both ways to an unconceivable, undeterminate, and infinite length: which is evident to any one that will but reflect on what consideration he hath of eternity; which, I suppose, he will

find to be nothing else but the turning this infinity of number both ways, à parte ante, and à parte post, as they speak. For when we would consider eternity, à parte ante, what do we but, beginning from ourselves and the present time we are in, repeat in our minds the ideas of years, or ages, or any other assignable portion of duration past, with a prospect of proceeding in such addition, with all the infinity of number and when we would consider eternity, à parte post, we just after the same rate begin from ourselves, and reckon by multiplied periods yet to come, still extending that line of number, as before. And these two being put together, are that infinite duration we call eternity: which, as we turn our view either way, forwards or backwards, appears infinite, because we still turn that way the infinite end of number, i. e., the power still of adding more.

11. The same happens also in space, wherein conceiving ourselves to be, as it were, in the centre, we do on all sides pursue those indeterminable lines of number; and reckoning any way from ourselves, a yard, mile, diameter of the earth, or orbis magnus, by the infinity of number, we add others to them as often as we will; and having no more reason to set bounds to those repeated ideas than we have to set bounds to number, we have that indeterminable idea of immensity.

12. *Infinite Divisibility.*—And since, in any bulk of matter our thoughts can never arrive at the utmost divisibility, therefore there is an apparent infinity to us also in that, which has the infinity also of number; but with this difference, that, in the former considerations of the infinity of space and duration, we only use addition of numbers; whereas this is like the division of an unit into its fractions, wherein the mind also can proceed in infinitum, as well as in the former additions;* it being indeed, but the addition still of new numbers: though in the addition of the one, we can have no more the positive idea of a space infinitely great, than, in the division of the other, we can have the idea of a body infinitely little; our idea of infinity being, as I may say, a growing or fugitive idea, still in a boundless progression, that can stop nowhere.

* See Hobbes, Phil. Prim. c. vii. § 13, where the same doctrine is maintained; and compare Descartes Meditat. VI. p. 43; Ant. Le Grand, Inst. Phil. Part IV. art. vi. p. 153 et seq.—ED.

13. *No positive Idea of Infinity.*—Though it be hard, I think, to find any one so absurd as to say he has the positive idea of an actual infinite number; the infinity whereof lies only in a power still of adding any combination of units to any former number, and that as long and as much as one will; the like also being in the infinity of space and duration, which power leaves always to the mind room for endless additions; yet there be those who imagine they have positive ideas of infinite duration and space. It would, I think, be enough to destroy any such positive idea of infinite, to ask him that has it, whether he could add to it or not; which would easily show the mistake of such a positive idea. We can, I think, have no positive idea of any space or duration which is not made up, and commensurate to repeated numbers of feet or yards, or days and years, which are the common measures, whereof we have the ideas in our minds, and whereby we judge of the greatness of this sort of quantities. And therefore, since an infinite idea of space or duration must needs be made up of infinite parts, it can have no other infinity than that of number, capable still of further addition; but not an actual positive idea of a number infinite. For, I think, it is evident that the addition of finite things together (as are all lengths whereof we have the positive ideas) can never otherwise produce the idea of infinite, than as number does; which, consisting of additions of finite units one to another, suggests the idea of infinite, only by a power we find we have of still increasing the sum, and adding more of the same kind, without coming one jot nearer the end of such progression.

14. They who would prove their idea of infinite to be positive, seem to me to do it by a pleasant argument, taken from the negation of an end; which being negative, the negation of it is positive. He that considers that the end is, in body, but the extremity or superfices of that body, will not perhaps be forward to grant that the end is a bare negative: and he that perceives the end of his pen is black or white, will be apt to think that the end is something more than a pure negation. Nor is it, when applied to duration, the bare negation of existence, but more properly the last moment of it. But if they will have the end to be nothing but the bare negation of existence, I am sure they cannot deny but the

beginning is the first instant of being, and is not by any body conceived to be a bare negation; and therefore, by their own argument, the idea of eternal, à parte ante, or of a duration without a beginning, is but a negative idea.

15. *What is positive, what negative, in our Idea of infinite.*— The idea of infinite has, I confess, something of positive in all those things we apply to it. When we would think of infinite space or duration, we at first step usually make some very large idea, as perhaps of millions of ages, or miles, which possibly we double and multiply several times. All that we thus amass together in our thoughts is positive, and the assemblage of a great number of positive ideas of space or duration. But what still remains beyond this, we have no more a positive distinct notion of, than a mariner has of the depth of the sea; where, having let down a large portion of his sounding-line, he reaches no bottom: whereby he knows the depth to be so many fathoms, and more; but how much the more is, he hath no distinct notion at all; and could he always supply new line, and find the plummet always sink, without ever stopping, he would be something in the posture of the mind reaching after a complete and positive idea of infinity.* In which case, let this line be ten, or one thousand fathoms long, it equally discovers what is beyond it, and gives only this confused and comparative idea, that this is not all, but one may yet go farther. So much as the mind comprehends of any space, it has a positive idea of; but in endeavouring to make it infinite, it being always enlarging, always advancing, the idea is still imperfect and incomplete. So much space as the mind takes a view of in its contemplation of greatness, is a clear picture, and positive in the understanding: but infinite is still greater. 1. Then the idea of so much is positive and clear. 2. The idea of greater is also clear, but it is but a comparative idea, viz., the idea of so much greater as cannot be comprehended; and this is plainly negative, not positive. For he has no positive clear idea of the largeness of any extension, (which is that sought for in the idea of infinite,) that has not a comprehensive idea of the

* The expression here employed by Locke admirably paints the effort of the mind in the great act he speaks of. Indeed, all his speculations on this subject deserve the most profound attention.—Ed.

dimensions of it; and such, nobody, I think, pretends to in what is infinite. For to say a man has a positive clear idea of any quantity, without knowing how great it is, is as reasonable as to say, he has the positive clear idea of the number of the sands on the sea-shore, who knows not how many there be, but only that they are more than twenty. For just such a perfect and positive idea has he of an infinite space or duration, who says it is larger than the extent or duration of ten, one hundred, one thousand, or any other number of miles, or years, whereof he has or can have a positive idea; which is all the idea, I think, we have of infinite. So that what lies beyond our positive idea towards infinity, lies in obscurity and has the indeterminate confusion of a negative idea, wherein I know I neither do nor can comprehend all I would, it being too large for a finite and narrow capacity; and that cannot but be very far from a positive complete idea, wherein the greatest part of what I would comprehend is left out, under the undeterminate intimation of being still greater; for to say, that, having in any quantity measured so much, or gone so far, you are not yet at the end, is only to say that that quantity is greater. So that the negation of an end in any quantity is, in other words, only to say that it is bigger; and a total negation of an end is but carrying this bigger still with you, in all the progressions your thoughts shall make in quantity; and adding this idea of still greater to all the ideas you have, or can be supposed to have, of quantity. Now whether such an idea as that be positive, I leave any one to consider.

16. *We have no positive Idea of an infinite Duration.*—I ask those who say they have a positive idea of eternity, whether their idea of duration includes in it succession, or not? If it does not, they ought to show the difference of their notion of duration, when applied to an eternal Being, and to a finite; since, perhaps, there may be others as well as I, who will own to them their weakness of understanding in this point, and acknowledge that the notion they have of duration forces them to conceive, that whatever has duration, is of a longer continuance to-day than it was yesterday. If, to avoid succession in external existence, they return to the punctum stans of the schools, I suppose they will thereby very little mend the matter, or help us to a more clear and

positive idea of infinite duration, there being nothing more inconceivable to me than duration without succession. Besides, that punctum stans, if it signify anything, being not quantum, finite or infinite cannot belong to it. But if our weak apprehensions cannot separate succession from any duration whatsoever, our idea of eternity can be nothing but of infinite succession of moments of duration, wherein anything does exist; and whether any one has, or can have, a positive idea of an actual infinite number, I leave him to consider, till his infinite number be so great that he himself can add no more to it; and as long as he can increase it, I doubt he himself will think the idea he hath of it a little too scanty for positive infinity.

17. I think it unavoidable for every considering, rational creature, that will but examine his own or any other existence, to have the notion of an eternal, wise Being, who had no beginning: and such an idea of infinite duration I am sure I have. But this negation of a beginning, being but the negation of a positive thing, scarce gives me a positive idea of infinity; which, whenever I endeavour to extend my thoughts to, I confess myself at a loss, and I find I cannot attain any clear comprehension of it.

18. *No positive Idea of infinite Space.*—He that thinks he has a positive idea of infinite space, will, when he considers it, find that he can no more have a positive idea of the greatest, than he has of the least space. For in this latter, which seems the easier of the two, and more within our comprehension, we are capable only of a comparative idea of smallness, which will always be less than any one whereof we have the positive idea. All our positive ideas of any quantity, whether great or little, have always bounds; though our comparative idea, whereby we can always add to the one, and take from the other, hath no bounds: for that which remains either great or little, not being comprehended in that positive idea which we have, lies in obscurity; and we have no other idea of it, but of the power of enlarging the one and diminishing the other, without ceasing. A pestle and mortar will as soon bring any particle of matter to indivisibility, as the acutest thought of a mathematician; and a surveyor may as soon with his chain measure out infinite space, as a philosopher by the quickest flight of mind

reach it, or by thinking comprehend it, which is to have a positive idea of it. He that thinks on a cube of an inch diameter, has a clear and positive idea of it in his mind, and so can frame one of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, and so on, till he has the idea in his thoughts of something very little; but yet reaches not the idea of that incomprehensible littleness which division can produce. What remains of smallness, is as far from his thoughts as when he first began; and therefore he never comes at all to have a clear and positive idea of that smallness which is consequent to infinite divisibility.

19. *What is positive, what negative, in our Idea of Infinite.*—Every one that looks towards infinity does, as I have said, at first glance make some very large idea of that which he applies it to, let it be space or duration; and possibly he wearies his thoughts, by multiplying in his mind that first large idea; but yet by that he comes no nearer to the having a positive clear idea of what remains to make up a positive infinite, than the country fellow had of the water, which was yet to come and pass the channel of the river where he stood:

> "Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at ille
> Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum."*

20. *Some think they have a positive Idea of Eternity, and not of infinite Space.*—There are some I have met with that put so much difference between infinite duration and infinite space, that they persuade themselves that they have a positive idea of eternity, but that they have not nor can have any idea of infinite space. The reason of which mistake I suppose to be this: that, finding by a due contemplation of causes and effects, that it is necessary to admit some eternal Being, and so to consider the real existence of that Being, as taken up and commensurate to their idea of eternity; but, on the other side, not finding it necessary, but, on the contrary, apparently absurd, that no body should be infinite, they forwardly conclude that they have no idea of infinite space, because they can have no idea of infinite matter. Which consequence, I conceive, is very ill collected; because the existence of matter is no ways necessary to the

* Horat. Epist. I. ii. 42 et seq.: "Rusticus ille de quo fabula; qui noluit transire flumen, donec tota defluerit aqua." (Bentley.)—ED.

existence of space, no more than the existence of motion, or the sun, is necessary to duration, though duration uses to be measured by it: and I doubt not but that a man may have the idea of ten thousand miles square, without any body so big, as well as the idea of ten thousand years, without any body so old. It seems as easy to me to have the idea of space empty of body, as to think of the capacity of a bushel without corn, or the hollow of a nut-shell without a kernel in it: it being no more necessary that there should be existing a solid body, infinitely extended, because we have an idea of the infinity of space, than it is necessary that the world should be eternal, because we have an idea of infinite duration. And why should we think our idea of infinite space requires the real existence of matter to support it, when we find that we have as clear an idea of an infinite duration to come, as we have of infinite duration past? though I suppose nobody thinks it conceivable that anything does or has existed in that future duration. Nor is it possible to join our idea of future duration with present or past existence, any more than it is possible to make the ideas of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow to be the same; or bring ages past and future together, and make them contemporary. But if these men are of the mind, that they have clearer ideas of infinite duration than of infinite space, because it is past doubt that God has existed from all eternity, but there is no real matter co-extended with infinite space: yet those philosophers who are of opinion that infinite space is possessed by God's infinite omnipresence, as well as infinite duration by his eternal existence, must be allowed to have as clear an idea of infinite space as of infinite duration; though neither of them, I think, has any positive idea of infinity in either case. For whatsoever positive idea a man has in his mind of any quantity, he can repeat it, and add it to the former as easy as he can add together the ideas of two days, or two paces, which are positive ideas of lengths he has in his mind, and so on as long as he pleases: whereby if a man had a positive idea of infinite, either duration or space, he could add two infinites together; nay, make one infinite infinitely bigger than another—absurdities too gross to be confuted.

21. *Supposed positive Ideas of Infinity, cause of Mistakes.*—

But yet, after all this, there being men who persuade themselves that they have clear positive comprehensive ideas of infinity, it is fit they enjoy their privilege: and I should be very glad (with some others that I know, who acknowledge they have none such) to be better informed by their communication. For I have been hitherto apt to think that the great and inextricable difficulties which perpetually involve all discourses concerning infinity, whether of space, duration, or divisibility, have been the certain marks of a defect in our ideas of infinity, and the disproportion the nature thereof has to the comprehension of our narrow capacities. For whilst men talk and dispute of infinite space or duration, as if they had as complete and positive ideas of them as they have of the names they use for them, or as they have of a yard, or an hour, or any other determinate quantity; it is no wonder if the incomprehensible nature of the thing they discourse of or reason about, leads them into perplexities and contradictions, and their minds be overlaid by an object too large and mighty to be surveyed and managed by them.

22. *All these Ideas from Sensation and Reflection.*—If I have dwelt pretty long on the consideration of duration, space, and number, and what arises from the contemplation of them, infinity; it is possibly no more than the matter requires, there being few simple ideas whose modes give more exercise to the thoughts of men than these do. I pretend not to treat of them in their full latitude; it suffices to my design to show how the mind receives them, such as they are, from sensation and reflection; and how even the idea we have of infinity, how remote soever it may seem to be from any object of sense or operation of our mind, has, nevertheless, as all our other ideas, its original there. Some mathematicians perhaps of advanced speculations may have other ways to introduce into their minds ideas of infinity; but this hinders not but that they themselves, as well as all other men, got the first ideas which they had of infinity from sensation and reflection, in the method we have here set down.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF OTHER SIMPLE MODES.

1. *Modes of Motion.*—Though I have in the foregoing chapters shown, how from simple ideas, taken in by sensation, the mind comes to extend itself even to infinity; which, however, it may, of all others, seem most remote from any sensible perception, yet at last hath nothing in it, but what is made out of simple ideas, received into the mind by the senses, and afterwards there put together by the faculty the mind has to repeat its own ideas; though, I say, these might be instances enough of simple modes of the simple ideas of sensation, and suffice to show how the mind comes by them, yet I shall, for method's sake, though briefly, give an account of some few more, and then proceed to more complex ideas.

2. To slide, roll, tumble, walk, creep, run, dance, leap, skip, and abundance of others that might be named, are words which are no sooner heard, but every one who understands English has presently in his mind distinct ideas, which are all but the different modifications of motion. Modes of motion answer those of extension; swift and slow are two different ideas of motion, the measures whereof are made of the distances of time and space put together; so they are complex ideas, comprehending time and space with motion.

3. *Modes of Sounds.*—The like variety have we in sounds. Every articulate word is a different modification of sound; by which we see, that from the sense of hearing, by such modifications, the mind may be furnished with distinct ideas to almost an infinite number. Sounds, also, besides the distinct cries of birds and beasts, are modified by diversity of notes of different length put together, which make that complex idea called a tune, which a musician may have in his mind when he hears or makes no sound at all, by reflecting on the ideas of those sounds, so put together silently in his own fancy.

4. *Modes of Colours.*—Those of colours are also very various: some we take notice of, as the different degrees, or, as they are termed, shades of the same colour. But since we very seldom make assemblages of colours, either for use or delight, but figure is taken in also, and has its part in it,

as in painting, weaving, needleworks, &c., those which are taken notice of do most commonly belong to mixed modes, as being made up of ideas of divers kinds, viz., figure and colour, such as beauty, rainbow, &c.

5. *Modes of Taste*.—All compounded tastes and smells are also modes made up of the simple ideas of those senses. But they being such as generally we have no names for, are less taken notice of, and cannot be set down in writing; and therefore must be left without enumeration to the thoughts and experience of my reader.

6. *Some simple Modes have no Names.*—In general it may be observed, that those simple modes which are considered but as different degrees of the same simple idea, though they are in themselves many of them very distinct ideas, yet have ordinarily no distinct names, nor are much taken notice of as distinct ideas, where the difference is but very small between them. Whether men have neglected these modes, and given no names to them, as wanting measures nicely to distinguish them; or because, when they were so distinguished, that knowledge would not be of general or necessary use, I leave it to the thoughts of others: it is sufficient to my purpose to show, that all our simple ideas come to our minds only by sensation and reflection; and that when the mind has them, it can variously repeat and compound them, and so make new complex ideas. But though white, red, or sweet, &c. have not been modified or made into complex ideas, by several combinations, so as to be named, and thereby ranked into species, yet some others of the simple ideas, viz., those of unity, duration, and motion, &c., above instanced in, as also power and thinking, have been thus modified to a great variety of complex ideas, with names belonging to them.

7. *Why some Modes have, and others have not, Names.*—The reason whereof, I suppose, has been this, that the great concernment of men being with men one amongst another, the knowledge of men and their actions, and the signifying of them to one another, was most necessary; and therefore they made ideas of actions very nicely modified, and gave those complex ideas names, that they might the more easily record and discourse of those things they were daily conversant in, without long ambages and circumlocutions; and

that the things they were continually to give and receive information about, might be the easier and quicker understood. That this is so, and that men in framing different complex ideas, and giving them names, have been much governed by the end of speech in general, (which is a very short and expedite way of conveying their thoughts one to another,) is evident in the names which in several arts have been found out, and applied to several complex ideas of modified actions belonging to their several trades, for dispatch sake, in their direction or discourses about them. Which ideas are not generally framed in the minds of men not conversant about these operations. And thence the words that stand for them, by the greatest part of men of the same language are not understood: v. g., colshire, drilling, filtration, cohobation, are words standing for certain complex ideas, which being seldom in the minds of any but those few whose particular employments do at every turn suggest them to their thoughts, those names of them are not generally understood but by smiths and chymists; who having framed the complex ideas which these words stand for, and having given names to them, or received them from others, upon hearing of these names in communication, readily conceive those ideas in their minds; as by cohobation, all the simple ideas of distilling, and the pouring the liquor distilled from anything back upon the remaining matter, and distilling it again. Thus we see that there are great varieties of simple ideas, as of tastes and smells, which have no names; and of modes many more; which either not having been generally enough observed, or else not being of any great use to be taken notice of in the affairs and converse of men, they have not had names given to them, and so pass not for species. This we shall have occasion hereafter to consider more at large, when we come to speak of words.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE MODES OF THINKING.

1. *Sensation, Remembrance, Contemplation, &c.*—When the mind turns its view inwards upon itself, and contemplates its own actions, thinking is the first that occurs. In it the mind observes a great variety of modifications, and from

thence receives distinct ideas. Thus the perception which actually accompanies, and is annexed to any impression on the body, made by an external object, being distinct from all other modifications of thinking, furnishes the mind with a distinct idea, which we call sensation; which is, as it were, the actual entrance of any idea into the understanding by the senses.* The same idea, when it again recurs without the operation of the like object on the external sensory, is remembrance; if it be sought after by the mind, and with pain and endeavour found, and brought again in view, it is recollection; if it be held there long under attentive consideration, it is contemplation. When ideas float in our mind, without any reflection or regard of the understanding, it is that which the French call reverie:† our language has scarce a name for it. When the ideas that offer themselves (for, as I have observed in another place, whilst we are awake, there will always be a train of ideas succeeding one another in our minds) are taken notice of, and, as it were, registered in the memory, it is attention. When the mind with great earnestness, and of choice, fixes its view on any idea, considers it on all sides, and will not be called off by the ordinary solicitation of other ideas, it is that we call intention or study. Sleep, without dreaming, is rest from all these; and dreaming itself is the having of ideas (whilst the outward senses are stopped, so that they receive not outward objects with their usual quickness) in the mind, not suggested by any external objects or known occasions, nor under any choice or conduct of the understanding at all. And whether that which we call ecstasy be not dreaming with the eyes open, I leave to be examined.

2. These are some few instances of those various modes of thinking, which the mind may observe in itself, and so have

* Compare Hobbes on Human Nature, chap. ii. § 2 et seq., and chap. iii. § 16.—ED.

† Lavaux well describes this states of mind:—"Situation de l'âme qui s'abandonne doucement, et se livre enfin tout entière à ses pensées, à ses imaginations, à ses reflexions." Rousseau, who thoroughly understood the import of the word, says—"Livrés à cette douce contemplation, nous nous laissions entraîner à nos rêveries." And Madame de Sevigné, the Lady Montague of France, observes in one of her letters—"J'ai quelquefois des rêveries dans ces bois, d'une telle noirceur, que j'en reviens plus chargée que d'un acces de fièvre."—ED.

as distinct ideas of, as it hath of white and red, a square or a circle. I do not pretend to enumerate them all, nor to treat at large of this set of ideas, which are got from reflection: that would be to make a volume. It suffices to my present purpose to have shown here, by some few examples, of what sort these ideas are, and how the mind comes by them; especially since I shall have occasion hereafter to treat more at large of reasoning, judging, volition, and knowledge, which are some of the most considerable operations of the mind, and modes of thinking.

3. *The various Attention of the Mind in thinking.*—But perhaps it may not be an unpardonable digression, nor wholly impertinent to our present design, if we reflect here upon the different state of the mind in thinking, which those instances of attention, reverie, and dreaming, &c., before mentioned, naturally enough suggest. That there are ideas, some or other, always present in the mind of a waking man, every one's experience convinces him, though the mind employs itself about them with several degrees of attention. Sometimes the mind fixes itself with so much earnestness on the contemplation of some objects, that it turns their ideas on all sides, marks their relations and circumstances, and views every part so nicely and with such intention, that it shuts out all other thoughts, and takes no notice of the ordinary impressions made then on the senses, which at another season would produce very sensible perceptions: at other times it barely observes the train of ideas that succeed in the understanding, without directing and pursuing any of them: and at other times it lets them pass almost quite unregarded, as faint shadows that make no impression.

4. *Hence it is probable that Thinking is the Action, not the Essence of the Soul.*—This difference of intention and remission of the mind in thinking, with a great variety of degrees between earnest study and very near minding nothing at all, every one, I think, has experimented in himself. Trace it a little further, and you find the mind in sleep retired as it were from the senses, and out of the reach of those motions made on the organs of sense, which at other times produce very vivid and sensible ideas. I need not, for this, instance in those who sleep out whole stormy nights, without hearing the thunder, or seeing the lightning, or feeling the shaking

of the house, which are sensible enough to those who are waking; but in this retirement of the mind from the senses, it often retains a yet more loose and incoherent manner of thinking which we call dreaming;* and, last of all, sound

* On this subject Blumenbach, in his Physiology, has some observations which the reader may not be displeased to find here, more especially as they appear to have been partly suggested by the words of Locke:—"Dreams are a sporting, as it were, of the imagination, in which it recals the ideas of objects formerly perceived, especially of objects of sight, and appears to employ and interest itself with them. It has been disputed whether dreams are natural during health. Some believe that sleep never occurs without them, although they may escape our memory. Others conceive them the consequence only of derangement in some of the abdominal viscera. Very healthy adults have asserted that they never dreamed. Dreams are generally confused and irregular, but occasionally discover extraordinary marks of reason. The power of corporeal stimulants is very great in producing dreams; v. c., of the semen in producing lascivious trains of ideas, of excessive repletion in causing frightful appearances. There is an instance on record of a man, in whom any kind of dreams could be induced, if his friends, by gently addressing him, afforded the subject matter. This, however, appears to be a preternatural state, between sleeping and waking; as does also the truly diseased case of sleepwalkers, and the very different, though morbid affection of somnambulists, seized with what is termed magnetic ecstasis. Locke and others have regarded all dreams as a species of this mixed state." § 326. The causes of sleepwalking have been attempted to be given by Alexander Ross, celebrated in Hudibras, where we find mention of

"An ancient sage philosopher,
That had read Alexander Ross over;"

which is more, we dare say, than can be predicated of many sage philosophers of the present age. However this may be, our renowned reasoner writes as follows:—"Horatius and others record divers examples of sleepwalkers, who do strange things in their sleep; but this is also the work of nature; for I find that they are most subject to this infirmity, whose animal spirits are most active, subtil, and fiery, and whose imagination is strong; so that, by the strength of their fantasie, and agility of their spirits, the muscles are moved, though the will doth not then concur to this motion, nor reason make any opposition, which it would do if it were naked, and not suffer them to undergo such danger." (Hid. Secrets of Man's Body discovered, Book III. chap. ii. p. 76.) Lord Bacon has a short, but curious passage, on the immediate causes of dreams, pleasant or prophetic: "There be some perfumes prescribed by the writers of natural magic, which procure pleasant dreams; and some others, as they say, that procure prophetical dreams, as the seeds of flax, flea-wort, &c." (Nat. Hist. Cent. X. § 933.) Compare with the above the notions of Aristotle, as they are found in his three brief treatises on Sleep, Dreams, and Prophetic Visions Op. t. vii. pp. 129--158. —Ed.

sleep closes the scene quite, and puts an end to all appearances. This, I think almost every one has experience of in himself, and his own observation without difficulty leads him thus far. That which I would further conclude from hence is, that since the mind can sensibly put on, at several times, several degrees of thinking, and be sometimes, even in a waking man, so remiss, as to have thoughts dim and obscure to that degree, that they are very little removed from none at all; and at last, in the dark retirements of sound sleep, loses the sight perfectly of all ideas whatsoever: since, I say, this is evidently so in matter of fact and constant experience, I ask whether it be not probable, that thinking is the action and not the essence of the soul? since the operations of agents will easily admit of intention and remission; but the essences of things are not conceived capable of any such variation. But this by the by.

CHAPTER XX.

OF MODES OF PLEASURE AND PAIN.

1. *Pleasure and Pain, simple Ideas.*—Amongst the simple ideas which we receive both from sensation and reflection, pain and pleasure are two very considerable ones. For, as in the body there is sensation barely in itself, or accompanied with pain or pleasure; so the thought or perception of the mind is simply so, or else accompanied also with pleasure or pain, delight or trouble, call it how you please. These, like other simple ideas, cannot be described, nor their names defined; the way of knowing them is, as of the simple ideas of the senses, only by experience. For, to define them by the presence of good or evil, is no otherwise to make them known to us, than by making us reflect on what we feel in ourselves, upon the several and various operations of good and evil upon our minds, as they are differently applied to or considered by us.

2. *Good and Evil, what.*—Things, then, are good or evil, only in reference to pleasure or pain. That we call good, which is apt to cause or increase pleasure, or diminish pain in us; or else to procure or preserve us the possession of any other good or absence of any evil. And, on the contrary, we

name that evil which is apt to produce or increase any pain, or diminish any pleasure in us; or else to procure us any evil, or deprive us of any good.* By pleasure and pain, I must be understood to mean of body or mind, as they are commonly distinguished; though in truth they be only different constitutions of the mind, sometimes occasioned by disorder in the body, sometimes by thoughts of the mind.

3. *Our Passions moved by Good and Evil.*—Pleasure and pain and that which causes them, good and evil, are the hinges on which our passions turn: and if we reflect on ourselves, and observe how these, unde various considerations, operate in us; what modifications or tempers of mind, what internal sensations (if I may so call them) they produce in us, we may thence form to ourselves the ideas of our passions.†

4. *Love.*—Thus any one reflecting upon the thought he has of the delight which any present or absent thing is apt to produce in him, has the idea we call love.‡ For when a

* Locke, in this passage, barely paraphrases the briefer and more sententious Hobbes, who says, "Every man, for his own part, calleth that which pleaseth and is delightful to himself, good; and that evil, which displeaseth him: insomuch that while every man differeth from other in constitution, they differ also from one another concerning the common distinction of good and evil." (Human Nature, ch. vii. § 3.)—Ed.

† Compare with the enumeration and definitions of the passions, here given too cursorily, the masterly sketch of the same subject in Aristotle's Rhetoric, l. ii. c. 4—11; and Hobbes's Treatise on Human Nature, c. vii.—Ed.

‡ This is a very mean and imperfect idea of love. He confounds it with that weak feeling which we term *liking;* but every man who says he "loves grapes," must be sensible that he employs much too strong an expression. Hobbes observes that, "delight, contentment, or pleasure, is nothing really but motion about the heart, as conception is nothing but motion in the head; and the objects that cause it are called pleasant or delightful, or by some name equivalent. The Latins have *jucundum, à juvando,*—from helping; and the same delight, with reference to the object, is called *love.*" (Human Nature, ch. vii. § 1.) Aristotle observes justly, that love depends more for its origin and continuance on sight than on the other senses; and that, to those who love, nothing is so productive of delight as the beholding of the beloved object. (Ethic. Nicomach, ix. 12.) Upon this passage Victor has, in his usual manner, written a delightful commentary, which he thus concludes: "Nullo alio sensu tantopere affici, inflammarique amantes, quantopere aspectu formosarum illarum personarum, quas amare incœperint, sive attingant illas, sive loquentes audiant; quippe cum ex oculis ipsarum in eos cadat quiddam, sive lux illud est, sive liquor, qui macerat, ac liquefacit ipsos,

man declares in autumn when he is eating them, or in spring when there are none, that he loves grapes, it is no more but that the taste of grapes delights him: let an alteration of health or constitution destroy the delight of their taste, and he then can be said to love grapes no longer.

5. *Hatred.*—On the contrary, the thought of the pain which anything present or absent is apt to produce in us, is what we call hatred. Were it my business here to inquire any further than into the bare ideas of our passions, as they depend on different modifications of pleasure and pain, I should remark, that our love and hatred of inanimate insensible beings, is commonly founded on that pleasure and pain which we receive from their use and application any way to our senses, though with their destruction: but hatred or love, to beings capable of happiness or misery, is often the uneasiness or delight which we find in ourselves arising from a consideration of their very being or happiness. Thus the being and welfare of a man's children or friends, producing constant delight in him, he is said constantly to love them. But it suffices to note, that our ideas of love and hatred are but the dispositions of the mind, in respect of pleasure and pain in general, however caused in us.

6. *Desire.*—The uneasiness a man finds in himself upon the absence of anything whose present enjoyment carries the idea of delight with it, is that we call desire; which is greater or less, as that uneasiness is more or less vehement. Where, by the by, it may perhaps be of some use to remark, that the chief, if not only spur to human industry and action, is uneasiness. For whatsoever good is proposed, if its absence carries no displeasure or pain with it, if a man be easy and content without it, there is no desire of it, nor endeavour after it; there is no more but a bare velleity,* the term used to signify the lowest degree of desire, and that which is next

infusa eo voluptate mixta cum dolore, quam, ut narrat (Plutarchus) ipsi vocant γλυκύπικρον, nomine juncto e dulcedine, atque amarore, contrariis inter se rebus; quod expressit Catullus, qui de Venere ita locutus est. 'Quæ dulcem curis miscet amaritiem.'" (p. 550.)—ED.

* Hobbes understood this term in a very different manner. "The expression of vainglory is that with which some of the schools, mistaking it for some appetite distinct from all the rest, have called *velleity;* making a new word, as they made a new passion, which was not before." (Hum. Nat. c. ix. § 1.)—ED.

to none at all, when there is so little uneasiness in the absence of anything, that it carries a man no further than some faint wishes for it, without any more effectual or vigorous use of the means to attain it. Desire also is stopped or abated by the opinion of the impossibility or unattainableness of the good proposed, as far as the uneasiness is cured or allayed by that consideration. This might carry our thoughts further, were it seasonable in this place.

7. *Joy.*—Joy is a delight of the mind,* from the consideration of the present or assured approaching possession of a good: and we are then possessed of any good when we have it so in our power, that we can use it when we please. Thus a man almost starved has joy at the arrival of relief, even before he has the pleasure of using it: and a father, in whom the very well-being of his children causes delight, is always, as long as his children are in such a state, in the possession of that good; for he needs but to reflect on it, to have that pleasure.

8. *Sorrow.*—Sorrow is uneasiness in the mind, upon the thought of a good lost, which might have been enjoyed longer; or the sense of a present evil.†

* "The other sort of delight is not particular to any part of the body, and is called the *delight of the mind*, and is that which we call joy." (Hobbes's Hum. Nat. c. vii. § 8.) "Quatenus concipitur ab aliquo bonum sibi adveniens, sine compensatione ullius mali consequentis, quæ boni fruitio est, affectus vocatur *gaudium.*" (De Hom. c. xii. § 2.) "Lætitia dici potest, aliorum omnium animi nostri motuum terminus, qui uti ab admiratione oriuntur, ita in gaudio tanquam suo scopo finiuntur, et desinunt." (Ant. Le Grand, Part IX. Art. xii. p. 504.)—ED.

† "Of pains, some affect the body, and are therefore called the pains of the body; and some not, and those are called grief." (Hobbes's Hum. Nat. c. vii. § 8.) "Flentium passio contra est, quando quis ab aliqua vehementi spe subito se dejectum concipit. Itaque spe dilatati spiritus animalis, subito fallente spe contracti, impetum in organa lacrimandi facientes, humorem, qui in illis est, in oculos cogit redundare. Plurimum et sæpius flent, qui spem in se minimum, in amicis plurimum habent, ut fœminæ et infantes." (De Homine, c. xii. § 7.) "Passionum agmen Dolor claudit, communissimus inter mortales affectus, gaudii comes et hostes." (Ant. Le Grand, Part IX. Art. xiii. p. 506.) "Metrodorus disoit qu'en la tristesse, il y a quelque alliage de plaisir: (Senec. Epist. 99:) je ne scay s'il vouloit dire autre chose, mais moy j'imagine bien qu'il y a du dessein, du consentement, et de la complaisance à se nourrir en la mélancholie. Je dis outre l'ambition, qui s'y peut encore mesler: il y a quelque ombre de friandise et délicatesse, qui nous rit et qui nous flatte au giron même de la mélancholie." (Essais de Montaigne, l. II. c. xx. p. 149.) Sir Thomas Brown, though he had, as he himself tells us, (Relig. Med. Part II.) something of the leaden planet in him, was

9. *Hope.*—Hope is that pleasure in the mind, which every one finds in himself, upon the thought of a probable future enjoyment of a thing, which is apt to delight him.*

yet a foe to sorrow in others; and therefore condemned Heraclitus for his habit of weeping. For this reason he is with much ingenuity attacked by Alexander Ross, who undertakes to demonstrate that sorrow is a better and a wiser thing than mirth; in which idea he might have strengthened himself by the sentiment of the Greek proverb:

"Οπου τὶς ἀλγεῖ, κεῖσε καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχει."
Where there is sorrowing there is wisdom.
(Stob. Gaisf. Tit. 99, 25.)

"Whereas he (Sir Thomas Brown) condemneth Heraclitus, who, by his weeping, made a hell on earth, he is deceived; for oftentimes there hell in laughing, and a heaven in weeping; in tears there is often delight, and in laughing pain, and, as Solomon saith, madness. Aristotle saith, (1 Rhet.) that there is in sorrow and tears a certain sense of pleasure; and Prudentius saith:—

"Gaudia concipiunt lachryma, dant gaudia fletum."

This is δακρυγενᾶ. Tears, saith St. Ambrose, feed the mind and ease the heart, which David found when he said, My tears have been my meat day and night. Good men therefore found not all the uncomfortable attendments of hell in weeping, but rather the comfortable enjoyments of heaven." (Arcana Microcosmi, c. xv. p. 176.) This proposition he quaintly but beautifully corroborates by referring to the example of Christ; who, in the opinion of many learned men, though he wept often, never indulged in laughter. "No less than four Evangelists write the story of Christ so fully, that they mention all his passions and affections, as his anger, joy, sorrow, pity, hunger, thirst, fear, wearisomeness, &c. They speak that he mourned three several times. So when the prophets describe him, they set him out as a man of sorrow, acquainted with grief, smitten of God, and afflicted, wounded for our transgressions, bruised for our iniquities, and stricken for our sins. It is strange, then, that neither prophet, historian, apostle, nor evangelist should speak a word of his laughing, and yet so punctually mention to us his grief, sorrow, and weeping. Therefore, not without cause did Chrysostom, Austin, Basil, Bernard, and others, conclude negatively, that Christ never laughed, and yet he did not for that cease to be a man." The comic poet Antiphanes agreed with Sir Thomas Brown, denouncing sorrow, as the great disease of human nature, under many names:

"Απαν τὸ λυποῦν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ νόσος,
ὀνόματα δ' ἔχουσα πολλά."—(Stob. Gaisf. Tit. 99, 31.)—ED.

* See on Hope, Hume's Dissertation on the Passions, § i. p. 376, 40. The definition in the text may be regarded as a paraphrase of Hobbes, who says: "Hope is expectation of good to come, as fear is the expectation of evil." (Hum. Nat. c. ix. § 8.) The text of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume appears to be the following:—Τα δὲ ἐν ἐλπίδι, ὅσα παρόντα ἢ εὐφραίνειν, ἢ ὠφελεῖν φαίνεται μεγάλα, ἢ ἄνευ λύπης ὠφελεῖν. Ὅλως δὲ ὅσα παρόντα εὐφραίνει καὶ ἐλπιζοντας καὶ μεμνημένους, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ." (Arist. Rhet. i. 11.)—ED

10. *Fear.*—Fear is an uneasiness of the mind, upon the thought of future evil likely to befal us.*

11. *Despair.*—Despair is the thought of the unattainableness of any good, which works differently in men's minds, sometimes producing uneasiness or pain, sometimes rest and indolency.†

12. *Anger.*—Anger is uneasiness or discomposure of the mind, upon the receipt of any injury, with a present purpose of revenge.‡

* "ἐστω δὴ φόβος, λύπη τις ἢ ταραχὴ, ἐκ φαντασίας· μέλλοντος κακοῦ, ἢ φθαρτικοῦ ἢ λυπηροῦ." Let fear be—a certain anguish or trouble from the contemplation of evil to come, whether fatal, as fraught with affliction. (Arist. Rhet. ii. 5.) Hobbes, whom Hume in his Dissertation has but paraphrased, writes thus on hope and fear: "Quando vero concipimus una cum malo mutationem ejus per modum aliquem, quo ipsum malum evitetur, affectus ille oritur quam vocamus *spem.* Similiter, si incumbente bono concipimus modum aliquem quo amittatur, vel in malum aliquod illi connexum trahi imaginamus, *metus* dicitur. Itaque manifestum est *spem* et *metum* ita alternari inter se, ut nullum fere tempus tam breve sit, ut non possit eorum vicissitudinem continere. Itaque *spes* et *metus* perturbationes dicenda tunc sunt, quando ambæ brevissimo tempore continentur nominaturque secundum affectum prævalentem, simplicitur *spes* vel *metus.*" (De Homine, c. xii. § 3; Conf. Le Grand, Part IX. Art. xi. § 5, p. 503.)—ED.

† "Absolute privation of hope is despair; a degree whereof is diffidence." (Hobbes, Hum. Nat. c. ix. §. 8.)—ED.

‡ "On ne fait point de distinction dans les espèces de colères, bien qu'il y en ait une légère et quasi innocent, qui vient de l'ardeur de la complexion; et une autre très criminelle, qui est, à proprement parler, la fureur de l'orgueil." (Rochefoucault, Reflex. 184.) Montaigne has borrowed from Seneca (De Nat. c. xvi.) a story illustrative of the worst form of anger—that which revenges its own feelings upon others.—"J'ay retenu à ce propos un merveilleux exemple de l'antiquité. Piso, personage par tout ailleurs de notable vertu, s'estant esmeu contre un sien soldat, de quoi revenant seul du fourrage, il ne luy sçavoit rendre compte, où il avoit laissé un sien compaignon, tinst pour avere qu'il l'avoit tué, et le condamna soudain à la mort. Ainsi qu'il estoit au gibet, voicy arriver ce compaignon esgaré: toute l'armée en fit grand feste, et après force caresses et accolades des deux compaignons, le bourreau meine l'un et l'autre en la presence de Piso, s'attendant bien toute l'assistance, que ce luy seroit à luy mesmes un grand plaisir: mais ce fut au rebours, car par honte et despit, son ardeur qui estoit encore en son effort, se redoubla: et d'une subtilité que sa passion luy fournit soudain, il en fit trois coulpables, parce qu'il en avoit trouvé un innocent: et les fit dispescher tous trois: le premier soldat parce qu'il y avoit arrest contre luy; le second, qui s'estoit esgaré, parce qu'il estoit cause de la mort de son compaignon; et le bourreau pour n'avoir obéy au commandment qu'on lui avoit faist." (Essais, l. II. c. xxxi. p. 263;

13. *Envy.*—Envy is an uneasiness of the mind, caused by the consideration of a good we desire, obtained by one we think should not have had it before us.*

14. *What Passions all Men have.*—These two last, envy and anger, not being caused by pain and pleasure, simply in themselves, but having in them some mixed considerations of ourselves and others, are not therefore to be found in all men,† because those other parts of valuing their merits, or intending revenge, is wanting in them: but all the rest, terminating purely in pain and pleasure, are, I think, to be found in all men. For we love, desire, rejoice, and hope, only in respect of pleasure; we hate, fear, and grieve, only in respect of pain ultimately: in fine, all these passions are moved by things, only as they appear to be the causes of pleasure and pain, or to have pleasure or pain some way or other annexed to them. Thus we extend our hatred usually to the subject (at least, if a sensible or voluntary agent) which has produced pain in us, because the fear it leaves is a constant pain: but we do not so constantly love what has done us good; because pleasure operates not so strongly on us as pain, and because we are not so ready to have hope it will do so again. But this by the by.

15. *Pleasure and Pain, what.*—By pleasure and pain, delight and uneasiness, I must all along be understood (as I have above intimated) to mean not only bodily pain and pleasure, but whatsoever delight or uneasiness is felt by us,

Conf. Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 2; and Hobbes, De Homine, c. xvii. § 1.)—Ed.

* See Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 10. "Dolor ob prælatum sibi alium, conjunctus cum conatu proprio, est æmulatio: sed conjunctus cum voluntate prælatum sibi retrahendi, invidia est." (Hobbes, De Homine, c. xii. §. 11.) "L'orgueil qui nous inspire tant d'envie nous sert souvent ainsi à la modérer." (Rochefoucault, Reflex. 348.) Socrates defined envy to be a wound of the soul. "Ελκος ἐιναι τῆς ψυχῆς." (Stob. Gaisf. Tt. xxxviii. § 48.) Anaximenes said, that they who are determined by envy in their judgments, awarded the palm rather to the worst than to the best men: "Οἱ γαρ μέτα φθόνου κρίνοντες, τὸ πρωτεῖον απονέμουσι τοῖς χειριστοις οὐ τοῖς βελ τίσ τοις." (Idem. 44.) And Thucydides describes envy as the antagonist of the living, but the honourer of the dead. "Φθόνος τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντιπαλον τὸ δε μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνανταγωνιστῳ ευνοίᾳ τετίμηται. (II. 45.)—Ed.

† This is erroneous: the elements of all human passions are in all men; but in some are developed more, in others less. That is the whole difference.—Ed.

whether arising from any grateful or unacceptable sensation or reflection.

16. It is further to be considered, that, in reference to the passions, the removal or lessening of a pain is considered, and operates as a pleasure: and the loss or diminishing of a pleasure as a pain.

17. *Shame.*—The passions, too, have most of them in most persons operations on the body, and cause various changes in it; which not being always sensible, do not make a necessary part of the idea of each passion. For shame, which is an uneasiness of the mind upon the thought of having done something which is indecent, or will lessen the valued esteem which others have for us, has not always blushing accompanying it.

18. *These Instances to show how our Ideas of the Passions are got from Sensation and Reflection.*—I would not be mistaken here, as if I meant this as a discourse of the passions: they are many more than those I have here named; and those I have taken notice of would each of them require a much larger and more accurate discourse.* I have only mentioned these here as so many instances of modes of pleasure and pain resulting in our minds from various con-

* This larger and more accurate discourse, as I have before said, will be found in Aristotle, Rhet. l. ii. &c.: but for a brief and pithy description of most of the passions, I know of no writer to be compared with Hobbes. "The comparison," he says, "of the life of man to a race, though it hold not in every part, yet it holdeth so well for this our purpose, that we may thereby both see and remember almost all the passions before mentioned. But this race we must suppose to have no other goal nor other garland but being foremost: and in it, to endeavour, is appetite—to be remiss, is sensuality—to consider them behind, is glory—to consider them before, is humility—to lose ground with looking back, is vainglory—to be holden, is hatred—to turn back, repentance—to be in breath, hope—to be weary, despair—to endeavour to overtake the next, emulation—to supplant or overthrow, envy—to resolve to break through a stop foreseen, courage—to break through a sudden stop, anger—to break through with ease, magnanimity—to lose ground by little hinderances, pusillanimity—to fall on the sudden, is disposition to weep—to see another fall, is disposition to laugh—to see one outgone when we would not, is pity—to see one outgo whom we would not, is indignation—to hold fast by another, is to love—to carry him on who so holdeth, is charity—to hurt one's self for haste, is shame—continually to be outgone, is misery—continually to outgo the next before, is felicity—and to forsake the course, is to die." (Human Nature, c. ix. §. 21.)—Ed.

siderations of good and evil. I might perhaps have instanced in other modes of pleasure and pain more simple than these, as the pain of hunger and thirst, and the pleasure of eating and drinking to remove them; the pain of tender eyes, and the pleasure of music; pain from captious uninstructive wrangling, and the pleasure of rational conversation with a friend, or of well-directed study in the search and discovery of truth. But the passions being of much more concernment to us, I rather made choice to instance in them, and show how the ideas we have of them are derived from sensation and reflection.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF POWER.

1. *This Idea how got.*—THE mind being every day informed by the senses of the alteration of those simple ideas it observes in things without, and taking notice how one comes to an end, and ceases to be, and another begins to exist which was not before; reflecting also on what passes within itself, and observing a constant change of its ideas, sometimes by the impression of outward objects on the senses, and sometimes by the determination of its own choice; and concluding from what it has so constantly observed to have been, that the like changes will for the future be made in the same things, by like agents, and by the like ways; considers in one thing the possibility of having any of its simple ideas changed, and in another the possibility of making that change: and so comes by that idea which we call power.* Thus we say, fire has a power to melt gold, i. e., to destroy the consistency of its insensible parts, and consequently its hardness, and make it fluid; and gold has a power to be melted: that the sun has a power to blanch wax, and wax a power to be blanched by the sun, whereby the yellowness is destroyed, and whiteness made to exist in its room. In which, and the like cases, the power we consider is in reference to the change of perceivable ideas; for we cannot observe any alteration to be made in, or operation upon, anything, but by the observable change of its sensible ideas; nor conceive any

* This subject has been treated of at large by Aristotle, Metaphysic, l. viii. c. 1, et seq.—ED.

alteration to be made, but by conceiving a change of some of its ideas.*

2. *Power, active and passive.*—Power, thus considered, is two-fold; viz., as able to make, or able to receive, any change: the one may be called active, and the other passive power. Whether matter be not wholly destitute of active power, as its author, God, is truly above all passive power; and whether the intermediate state of created spirits be not that alone which is capable of both active and passive power, may be worth consideration.† I shall not now enter into that in-

* Here the word *idea* is used for form, which is a cause of confusion. Upon this hint Berkeley seems to have based his whole theory. (I. p. 41.) —ED.

† On the nature of angels, see Le Grand, Part iii. p. 110, et seq. On the nature and powers of the human soul, there is a splendid passage in Dr. Thomas Burnet's extraordinary work, De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium: "In animâ, præter cogitationes, aut vim cogitandi, nihil omnino experimus aut deprehendimus. Quicquid agit anima, sive in seipsâ, sive exterius, non tactu aut impulsu agit, sed vi alicujus cogitationis: intellectûs, voluntatis, appetitûs, aut alterius nominis. Et cùm patitur, sive à seipsâ, sive exterius, ea etiam est species aliqua cogitationis. Ut nihil prorsus in mente nostrâ reperiamus, præter varios modos aut vim cogitandi. Quòd si integra natura animæ, et essentia, ut dicunt, in cogitatione consistat, est essentialiter vita et in desinentes activa vel sui conscia: nec perire potest aliter quam annihilatione." (c. iii. p. 16.) Berkeley, according to whose theory nothing exists save spirits and the ideas excited in them, entertained several very extraordinary notions respecting the nature of these entities. In the first place, he maintains, that spirit is a proper object of knowledge: "ideas, spirits, and relations, are all, in their respective kinds, the objects of human knowledge." (Principles of Human Knowledge, § 89.) He next acknowledges the existence of numerous orders of spirits superior to man; the easiness of his belief in this respect, equalling the vigour of his incredulity in respect to matter:—"That there are a great variety of spirits of different orders and capacities, whose faculties, both in number and extent, are far exceeding those the Author of my being has bestowed on me, I see no reason to deny." (§ 81.) But however firmly he may believe in the existence of spirit, he confesses that we know it only in the same way as we know of the existence of matter, that is to say, by its effects: "such is the nature of spirit, or that which acts, that it cannot be of itself perceived but only by the effects which it produceth." (§ 27.) Again: "We cannot know the existence of other spirits, otherwise than by their operations, or the ideas by them excited in us." (§ 145.) Which is true: but in § 16 et seq. he ridicules our concluding the existence of matter in the same way, because its essence is inconceivable. Occasionally he appears inclined to think that we are further advanced in the science of spirit than philosophers usually admit: 'With regard to spirits, perhaps human knowledge is not

quiry, my present business being not to search into the original of power, but how we come by the idea of it. But since active powers make so great a part of our complex ideas of natural substances, (as we shall see hereafter,) and I mention them as such according to common apprehension; yet they being not perhaps so truly active powers as our hasty thoughts are apt to represent them, I judge it not amiss, by this intimation, to direct our minds to the consideration of God and spirits, for the clearest idea of active powers.

3. *Power includes Relation.*—I confess power includes in it some kind of relation, (a relation to action or change,) as indeed, which of our ideas, of what kind soever, when attentively considered, does not? For our ideas of extension, duration, and number, do they not all contain in them a secret relation of the parts? Figure and motion have something relative in them much more visibly: and sensible qualities, as colours and smells, &c., what are they but the powers of different bodies, in relation to our perception, &c.? And,

so deficient as is vulgarly imagined." (§ 135.) But how it would be possible to be more ignorant of a thing than to have no idea whatever of it, it were difficult to say; and yet such in Berkeley's opinion is one condition with respect to spirit. "The great reason that is assigned for our being thought ignorant of the nature of spirit, is our not having an idea of it. But surely it ought not to be looked on as a defect in a human understanding, that it does not perceive the idea of spirit, if it is manifestly impossible that there should be any such idea." (§ 135.) But however impossible it may be, it afterwards turns out that we have actually some notion of the thing, though we have no idea. "We may be said to have some knowledge or notion of our own minds, of spirits and active beings, whereof, in a strict sense, we have not ideas." (§ 89.) Again: "It must be owned that we have some notion of soul, spirit, and the operations of the mind, such as willing, loving, hating; inasmuch as we know or understand the meaning of those words." (§ 27.) Elsewhere the impossibility is more completely got over, for we find ourselves in possession even of an idea of spirit. "In a large sense, indeed, we may be said to have an idea (or rather, he adds, a notion) of spirit." (§ 140.) But how, in any sense, large or small, we can be said to have an idea of that of which it is impossible we should have an idea, I undertake not to determine. Pushed to its fullest extent, Berkeley's theory considerably narrows the domain of philosophy: there is no matter, he says, of which to form an idea; strictly speaking, we can form no idea of spirit: of what is it then that we can form an idea? His arguments go directly to prove that animals are spirits: for everything, he affirms, which thinks and perceives is a spirit: now animals think and perceive, therefore the elephant and rhinoceros are spiritual existences.—ED.

if considered in the things themselves, do they not depend on the bulk, figure, texture, and motion of the parts? All which include some kind of relation in them. Our idea therefore of power, I think, may well have a place amongst other simple ideas, and be considered as one of them: being one of those that make a principal ingredient in our complex ideas of substances, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.*

4. *The clearest Idea of active Power had from Spirit.*—We are abundantly furnished with the idea of passive power by almost all sorts of sensible things. In most of them we cannot avoid observing their sensible qualities, nay, their very substances, to be in a continual flux: and therefore with reason we look on them as liable still to the same change. Nor have we of active power (which is the more proper signification of the word power) fewer instances; since whatever change is observed, the mind must collect a power somewhere able to make that change, as well as a possibility in the thing itself to receive it. But yet, if we will consider it attentively, bodies, by our senses, do not afford us so clear and distinct an idea of active power, as we have from reflection on the operations of our minds. For all power relating to action, and there being but two sorts of action whereof we

* Aristotle recognises two classes of powers—the powers of matter unaccompanied by intelligence, and the powers of mind or intelligence itself. "*τῶν δυνάμεων, αἱ μεν ἔσονται ἄλογοι, αἱ δὲ μετὰ λόγου.*" (Metaph. l. viii. c. 11.) The philosophers of the Megaric sect taught that power exists only in activity: for example, that he has the power to build a house who is building one; and that the power only continues while he is building; for the act ceasing, therewith ceases the power. "*εἰσι δέ τινες οἳ φασιν εἶναι, οἷον Μεγαρεικοὶ, ὅταν ἐνεργῇ, μόνον δύνασθαι· ὅταν δὲ μὴ ἐνεργῇ, μὴ δύνασθαι· οἷον, τὸν μὴ οἰκοδομοῦντα, μὴ δύνασθαι οἰκοδομεῖν, ἀλλα τὸν μὴ οἰκοδομοῦντα ὅταν οἰκοδομῇ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων.*" (c. iii.) Perhaps, however, it ought to be remarked, that there existed a strong degree of enmity between Aristotle and Eubulides, next after Euclid, the principal philosopher of this school; so that the Stagirite may by some be suspected of having given a ludicrous turn to his exposition of their tenets. Diog. Laert. ii. 108, et seq See on this school, Tennemann, Man. of the Hist. of Phil. § 125. Hobbes observes, that cause and effect, power and act signify the same things; but that cause and effect have reference to the past, power and act to the future. His whole chapter on the subject, which it would be difficult to render intelligible by an outline, is well worthy of being compared with the speculation of Locke in the text. (Phil. Prim. c. x.; Opera, t. I. p. 113, et seq —Molesworth's edit.)—ED.

have any idea, viz., thinking and motion; let us consider whence we have the clearest ideas of the powers which produce these actions. 1. Of thinking, body affords us no idea at all; it is only from reflection that we have that. 2. Neither have we from body any idea of the beginning of motion. A body at rest affords us no idea of any active power to move; and when it is set in motion itself, that motion is rather a passion than an action in it. For when the ball obeys the motion of a billiard-stick, it is not any action of the ball, but bare passion: also, when by impulse it sets another ball in motion that lay in its way, it only communicates the motion it had received from another, and loses in itself so much as the other received; which gives us but a very obscure idea of an active power of moving in body, whilst we observe it only to transfer, but not produce any motion. For it is but a very obscure idea of power which reaches not the production of the action, but the continuation of the passion. For so is motion in a body impelled by another; the continuation of the alteration made in it from rest to motion being little more an action than the continuation of the alteration of its figure by the same blow is an action. The idea of the beginning of motion we have only from reflection on what passes in ourselves, where we find by experience, that, barely by willing it, barely by a thought of the mind, we can move the parts of our bodies, which were before at rest. So that it seems to me, we have, from the observation of the operation of bodies by our senses, but a very imperfect obscure idea of active power, since they afford us not any idea in themselves of the power to begin any action, either motion or thought. But if, from the impulse bodies are observed to make one upon another, any one thinks he has a clear idea of power, it serves as well to my purpose, sensation being one of those ways whereby the mind comes by its ideas: only I thought it worth while to consider here, by the way, whether the mind doth not receive its idea of active power clearer from reflection on its own operations, than it doth from any external sensation.

5. *Will and Understanding two Powers.*—This, at least, I think evident, that we find in ourselves a power to begin or forbear, continue or end several actions of our minds, and motions of our bodies, barely by a thought or preference of the mind ordering, or, as it were, commanding the doing or

not doing such or such a particular action. This power which the mind has thus to order the consideration of any idea, or the forbearing to consider it; or to prefer the motion of any part of the body to its rest, and vice versâ, in any particular instance, is that which we call the will. The actual exercise of that power, by directing any particular action, or its forbearance, is that which we call volition or willing. The forbearance of that action, consequent to such order or command of the mind, is called voluntary. And whatsoever action is performed without such a thought of the mind, is called involuntary. The power of perception is that which we call the understanding. Perception, which we make the act of the understanding, is of three sorts: 1. The perception of ideas in our minds. 2. The perception of the signification of signs. 3. The perception of the connexion or repugnancy, agreement or disagreement, that there is between any of our ideas. All these are attributed to the understanding, or perceptive power, though it be the two latter only that use allows us to say we understand.

6. *Faculties.*—These powers of the mind, viz., of perceiving, and of preferring, are usually called by another name: and the ordinary way of speaking, is, that the understanding and will are two faculties of the mind; a word proper enough, if it be used, as all words should be, so as not to breed any confusion in men's thoughts, by being supposed (as I suspect it has been) to stand for some real beings in the soul that performed those actions of understanding and volition. For when we say the will is the commanding and superior faculty of the soul; that it is or is not free; that it determines the inferior faculties; that it follows the dictates of the understanding, &c.; though these and the like expressions, by those that carefully attend to their own ideas, and conduct their thoughts more by the evidence of things than the sound of words, may be understood in a clear and distinct sense; yet I suspect, I say, that this way of speaking of faculties has misled many into a confused notion of so many distinct agents in us, which had their several provinces and authorities, and did command, obey, and perform several actions, as so many distinct beings; which has been no small occasion of wrangling, obscurity, and uncertainty, in questions relating to them.

7. *Whence the Ideas of Liberty and Necessity.*—Every one,

I think, finds in himself a power to begin or forbear, continue or put an end to several actions in himself. From the consideration of the extent of this power of the mind over the actions of the man, which every one finds in himself, arise the ideas of liberty and necessity.*

8. *Liberty, what.*—All the actions that we have any idea of, reducing themselves, as has been said, to these two, viz., thinking and motion; so far as a man has power to think or not to think, to move or not to move, according to the preference or direction of his own mind; so far is a man free. Wherever any performance or forbearance are not equally in a man's power; wherever doing or not doing will not equally follow upon the preference of his mind directing it; there he is not free, though perhaps the action may be voluntary. So that the idea of liberty is the idea of a power in any agent to

* Hobbes has written on this question a most crabbed and puzzle-headed treatise, his anger against Bramhall having disturbed his judgment. For example, in that part where he is writing upon the Bishop's "division of his forces," and undertakes to dispose of his texts from Scripture, he regards the powers of *election* and *choice* as every way compatible with *necessity;* and says, "in this following of one's hopes and fears consisteth the nature of election. So that a man may both *choose this,* and *cannot but choose this;* and, consequently, *choosing* and *necessity* are joined together." Which is as much as to say, "I have two legs because I choose to have two legs; and I choose to have two legs because I have two legs." But this is like a kitten running after its own tail: there is a great deal of bustle, but no progress; for, if one should inquire, "But suppose you should choose to have three legs? What then?" Why then comes the necessitarian's universal reply, "You *can't* choose that:" which, in plain English, is, "You are a mere machine, and have no liberty of choice at all." But, as often happens, the most irrational portion of the work is that in which the arguments from reason are considered. He says, that "the *necessity* of an action doth not make the laws that prohibit it *unjust.*" Which I take to be as arrant a piece of absurdity as can be found in print: for if it be as necessary that a man should thieve as that he should breathe, (and there can be no degree in necessity,) it were as just to prohibit breathing as thieving. Again, he puts the case himself: "Suppose the law, on pain of death, prohibited stealing; and that there be a man who by the strength of temptation is *necessitated to steal,* and is thereupon put to death: does not this punishment deter *others* from theft?" What, deter men from doing what they are *necessitated* to do? Would the hanging of men for touching the ground in walking deliver other men from the necessity of touching the ground? And if all actions are *necessary,* they must be equally necessary—the punishment as much as the act punished—but then there can be neither crime nor justice.—ED.

do or forbear any particular action, according to the determination or thought of the mind, whereby either of them is preferred to the other; where either of them is not in the power of the agent to be produced by him according to his volition, there he is not at liberty; that agent is under necessity. So that liberty cannot be where there is no thought, no volition, no will; but there may be thought, there may be will, there may be volition, where there is no liberty. A little consideration of an obvious instance or two may make this clear.

9. *Supposes the Understanding and Will.*—A tennis-ball, whether in motion by the stroke of a racket, or lying still at rest, is not by any one taken to be a free agent. If we inquire into the reason, we shall find it is because we conceive not a tennis-ball to think, and consequently not to have any volition, or preference of motion to rest, or vice versâ; and therefore has not liberty, is not a free agent; but all its both motion and rest come under our idea of necessary, and are so called. Likewise a man falling into the water, (a bridge breaking under him,) has not herein liberty, is not a free agent. For though he has volition, though he prefers his not falling to falling; yet the forbearance of that motion not being in his power, the stop or cessation of that motion follows not upon his volition, and therefore therein he is not free. So a man striking himself, or his friend, by a convulsive motion of his arm, which it is not in his power, by volition or the direction of his mind, to stop or forbear, nobody thinks he has in this liberty; every one pities him, as acting by necessity and constraint.

10. *Belongs not to Volition.*—Again, suppose a man be carried, whilst fast asleep, into a room, where is a person he longs to see and speak with; and be there locked fast in, beyond his power to get out; he awakes, and is glad to find himself in so desirable company, which he stays willingly in, i. e., prefers his stay to going away; I ask, is not this stay voluntary? I think nobody will doubt it; and yet being locked fast in, it is evident he is not at liberty not to stay, he has not freedom to be gone. So that liberty is not an idea belonging to volition, or preferring; but to the person having the power of doing, or forbearing to do, according as the mind shall choose or direct. Our idea of liberty reaches

as far as that power, and no farther. For wherever restraint comes to check that power, or cumpulsion takes away that indifferency of ability on either side to act, or to forbear acting, there liberty and our notion of it presently ceases.

11. *Voluntary opposed to involuntary, not to necessary.*—We have instances enough, and often more than enough, in our own bodies. A man's heart beats, and the blood circulates, which it is not in his power by any thought or volition to stop; and therefore in respect of these motions, where rest depends not on his choice, nor would follow the determination of his mind, if it should prefer it, he is not a free agent. Convulsive motions agitate his legs, so that though he wills it ever so much, he cannot by any power of his mind stop their motion, (as in that odd disease called chorea sancti viti,*) but he is perpetually dancing; he is not at liberty in this action, but under as much necessity of moving, as a stone that falls, or a tennis-ball struck with a racket. On the other side, a palsy or the stocks hinder his legs from obeying the determination of his mind, if it would thereby transfer his body to another place. In all these there is want of freedom; though the sitting still, even of a paralytic, whilst he prefers it to a removal, is truly voluntary. Voluntary, then, is not opposed to necessary, but to involuntary. For a man may prefer what he can do, to what he cannot do; the state he is in, to its absence or change; though necessity has made it in itself unalterable

12. *Liberty, what.*—As it is in the motions of the body, so it is in the thoughts of our minds: where any one is such, that we have power to take it up, or lay it by, according to the preference of the mind, there we are at liberty. A waking man being under the necessity of having some ideas constantly in his mind, is not at liberty to think or not to think; no more than he is at liberty, whether his body shall touch any other or no: but whether he will remove his contemplation from one idea to another, is many times in his choice; and then he is, in respect of his ideas, as much at liberty, as he is in respect of bodies he rests on: he can at pleasure remove himself from one to another. But yet some ideas to the mind, like some motions to the body, are such

* Similar were the movements of the countenance caused by the Sardonic laugh.—ED.

as in certain circumstances it cannot avoid, nor obtain their absence by the utmost effort it can use. A man on the rack is not at liberty to lay by the idea of pain, and divert himself with other contemplations:* and sometimes a boisterous passion hurries our thoughts as a hurricane does our bodies, without leaving us the liberty of thinking on other things, which we would rather choose. But as soon as the mind regains the power to stop or continue, begin or forbear, any of these motions of the body without, or thoughts within, according as it thinks fit to prefer either to the other, we then consider the man as a free agent again.

13. *Necessity, what.*—Wherever thought is wholly wanting, or the power to act or forbear according to the direction of thought, there necessity takes place. This in an agent capable of volition, when the beginning or continuation of any action is contrary to that preference of his mind, is called compulsion; when the hindering or stopping any action is contrary to his volition, it is called restraint. Agents that have no thought, no volition at all, are in everything necessary agents.

14. *Liberty belongs not to the Will.*—If this be so, (as I imagine it is,) I leave it to be considered, whether it may not help to put an end to that long agitated, and, I think, unreasonable, because unintelligible question, viz., Whether man's will be free or no? For if I mistake not, it follows from what I have said, that the question itself is altogether improper; and it is as insignificant to ask whether man's will be free, as to ask whether his sleep be swift, or his virtue square; liberty being as little applicable to the will, as swiftness of motion is to sleep, or squareness to virtue. Every one would laugh at the absurdity of such a question as either of these, because it is obvious that the modifications of motion belong not to sleep, nor the difference of figure to virtue; and when any one well considers it, I think he will as plainly perceive that liberty, which is but a power, belongs only to agents, and cannot be an attribute or modification of the will, which is also but a power.

Note

* For who can take a fire in his hand
By thinking of the frozen Caucasus,
Or wallow naked in December's snow
By only thinking of the summer's heat?—SHAKSPEARE.—ED.

15. *Volition.*—Such is the difficulty of explaining and giving clear notions of internal actions by sounds, that I must here warn my reader, that ordering, directing, choosing, preferring, &c., which I have made use of, will not distinctly enough express volition, unless he will reflect on what he himself does when he wills. For example, preferring, which seems perhaps best to express the act of volition, does it not precisely. For though a man would prefer flying to walking, yet who can say he ever wills it? Volition, it is plain, is an act of the mind knowingly exerting that dominion it takes itself to have over any part of the man, by employing it in, or withholding it from, any particular action. And what is the will, but the faculty to do this? And is that faculty anything more in effect than a power; the power of the mind to determine its thought, to the producing, continuing, or stopping any action, as far as it depends on us? For can it be denied, that, whatever agent has a power to think on its own actions, and to prefer their doing or omission either to other, has that faculty called will? Will, then, is nothing but such a power. Liberty, on the other side, is the power a man has to do or forbear doing any particular action, according as its doing or forbearance has the actual preference in the mind; which is the same thing as to say, according as he himself wills it.

16. *Powers belonging to Agents.*—It is plain, then, that the will is nothing but one power or ability, and freedom another power or ability; so that, to ask whether the will has freedom, is to ask whether one power has another power, one ability another ability; a question at first sight too grossly absurd to make a dispute, or need an answer. For who is it that sees not that powers belong only to agents, and are attributes only of substances, and not of powers themselves? So that this way of putting the question, viz., Whether the will be free? is in effect to ask, whether the will be a substance, an agent? or at least to suppose it; since freedom can properly be attributed to nothing else. If freedom can with any propriety of speech be applied to power, or may be attributed to the power that is in a man to produce or forbear producing motion in parts of his body, by choice or preference; which is that which denominates him free, and is freedom itself. But if any one should ask

whether freedom were free, he would be suspected not to understand well what he said; and he would be thought to deserve Midas's ears, who, knowing that rich was a denomination for the possession of riches, should demand whether riches themselves were rich.

17. However, the name faculty, which men have given to this power called the will, and whereby they have been led into a way of talking of the will as acting, may, by an appropriation that disguises its true sense, serve a little to palliate the absurdity; yet the will, in truth, signifies nothing but a power or ability to prefer or choose: and when the will, under the name of a faculty, is considered as it is, barely as an ability to do something, the absurdity in saying it is free, or not free, will easily discover itself. For if it be reasonable to suppose and talk of faculties as distinct beings, that can act, (as we do, when we say the will orders, and the will is free,) it is fit that we should make a speaking faculty, and a walking faculty, and a dancing faculty, by which these actions are produced, which are but several modes of motion; as well as we make the will and understanding to be faculties, by which the actions of choosing and perceiving are produced, which are but several modes of thinking: and we may as properly say that it is the singing faculty sings, and the dancing faculty dances, as that the will chooses, or that the understanding conceives; or, as is usual, that the will directs the understanding, or the understanding obeys or obeys not the will; it being altogether as proper and intelligible to say that the power of speaking directs the power of singing, or the power of singing obeys or disobeys the power of speaking.

18. This way of talking, nevertheless, has prevailed, and, as I guess, produced great confusion. For these being all different powers in the mind, or in the man, to do several actions, he exerts them as he thinks fit; but the power to do one action is not operated on by the power of doing another action. For the power of thinking operates not on the power of choosing; nor the power of choosing on the power of thinking; no more than the power of dancing operates on the power of singing, or the power of singing on the power of dancing, as any one who reflects on it will easily perceive: and yet this is it which we say when we thus speak, that the

will operates on the understanding, or the understanding on the will.

19. I grant, that this or that actual thought may be the occasion of volition,* or exercising the power a man has to choose; or the actual choice of the mind, the cause of actual thinking on this or that thing: as the actual singing of such a tune may be the cause of dancing such a dance, and the actual dancing of such a dance the occasion of singing such a tune. But in all these it is not one power that operates on another; but it is the mind that operates, and exerts these powers; it is the man that does the action, it is the agent that has power, or is able to do. For powers are relations, not agents: and that which has the power or not the power to operate, is that alone which is or is not free, and not the power itself. For freedom, or not freedom, can belong to nothing but what has or has not a power to act.

20. *Liberty belongs not to the Will.*—The attributing to faculties that which belonged not to them, has given occasion to this way of talking; but the introducing into discourses concerning the mind, with the name of faculties, a notion of their operating, has, I suppose, as little advanced our knowledge in that part of ourselves, as the great use and mention of the like invention of faculties in the operations of the body, has helped us in the knowledge of physic. Not that I deny there are faculties, both in the body and mind: they both of them have their powers of operating, else neither the one nor the other could operate. For nothing can operate that is not able to operate; and that is not able to operate that has no power to operate. Nor do I deny that those words, and the like, are to have their place in the common use of languages that have made them current. It looks like too much affectation wholly to lay them by: and philosophy itself, though it likes not a gaudy dress, yet, when it appears in public, must have so much complacency as to be clothed in the ordinary fashion and language of the country, so far as it can consist with truth and perspicuity. But the fault has been, that faculties have been spoken of and represented as so many distinct agents. For it being asked, what it was that digested the meat in our stomachs? it was a ready and very satisfactory answer to say, that it was the digestive

* See Pascal on the Pouvoir Prochain. Lettres Provinciales.—ED.

faculty. What was it that made anything come out of the body? the expulsive faculty. What moved? the motive faculty. And so in the mind, the intellectual faculty, or the understanding, understood; and the elective faculty, or the will, willed or commanded. This is, in short, to say, that the ability to digest, digested; and the ability to move, moved; and the ability to understand, understood. For faculty, ability, and power, I think, are but different names of the same things; which ways of speaking, when put into more intelligible words, will, I think, amount to thus much: that digestion is performed by something that is able to digest, motion by something able to move, and understanding by something able to understand. And, in truth, it would be very strange if it should be otherwise;* as strange as it would be for a man to be free without being able to be free.

21. *But to the Agent, or Man.*—To return, then, to the inquiry about liberty, I think the question is not proper, whether the will be free, but whether a man be free. Thus, I think:

First, That so far as any one can, by the direction or choice of his mind, preferring the existence of any action to the non-existence of that action, and vice versâ, make it to exist or not exist, so far he is free. For if I can, by a thought directing the motion of my finger, make it move when it was at rest, or vice versâ, it is evident, that in respect of that I am free: and if I can, by a like thought of my mind, preferring one to the other, produce either words or silence, I am at liberty to speak or hold my peace; and as far as this power reaches, of acting or not acting, by the determination of his own thought preferring either, so far is a man free. For how can we think any one freer, than to have the power to do what he will? And so far as any one can, by preferring any action to its not being, or rest to any action, produce that action or rest, so far can he do what he will. For such a preferring of action to its absence, is the willing of it; and we can scarce tell how to imagine any being freer, than to be able to do what he wills. So that in respect of actions within the reach of such a power in him, a man seems as free as it is possible for freedom to make him.

* As effective a piece of quiet humour as any perhaps in the language.—ED.

22. *In respect of willing, a Man is not free.*—But the inquisitive mind of man, willing to shift off from himself, as far as he can, all thoughts of guilt, though it be by putting himself into a worse state than that of fatal necessity, is not content with this: freedom, unless it reaches further than this, will not serve the turn; and it passes for a good plea that a man is not free at all, if he be not as free to will as he is to act what he wills. Concerning a man's liberty, there yet, therefore, is raised this further question, Whether a man be free to will? which I think is what is meant, when it is disputed whether the will be free. And as to that I imagine,

23. Secondly, That willing, or volition, being an action, and freedom consisting in a power of acting or not acting, a man in respect of willing or the act of volition, when any action in his power is once proposed to his thoughts, as presently to be done, cannot be free. The reason whereof is very manifest; for it being unavoidable that the action depending on his will should exist or not exist: and its existence or not existence following perfectly the determination and preference of his will, he cannot avoid willing the existence or non existence of that action; it is absolutely necessary that he will the one or the other; i. e., prefer the one to the other: since one of them must necessarily follow; and that which does follow, follows by the choice and determination of his mind; that is, by his willing it: for if he did not will it, it would not be. So that, in respect of the act of willing, a man in such a case is not free: liberty consisting in a power to act or not to act; which, in regard of volition, a man, upon such a proposal, has not. For it is unavoidably necessary to prefer the doing or forbearance of an action in a man's power, which is once so proposed to his thoughts; a man must necessarily will the one or the other of them, upon which preference or volition the action or its forbearance certainly follows, and is truly voluntary. But the act of volition, or preferring one of the two, being that which he cannot avoid, a man in respect of that act of willing is under a necessity, and so cannot be free; unless necessity and freedom can consist together, and a man can be free and bound at once.

24. This, then, is evident, that, in all proposals of present action, a man is not at liberty to will or not to will, because he cannot forbear willing: liberty consisting in a power to

act or to forbear acting, and in that only. For a man that sits still is said yet to be at liberty, because he can walk if he wills it. But if a man sitting still has not a power to remove himself, he is not at liberty; so likewise a man falling down a precipice, though in motion, is not at liberty, because he cannot stop that motion if he would. This being so, it is plain that a man that is walking, to whom it is proposed to give off walking, is not at liberty whether he will determine himself to walk, or give off walking or not: he must necessarily prefer one or the other of them, walking or not walking; and so it is in regard of all other actions in our power so proposed, which are the far greater number. For considering the vast number of voluntary actions that succeed one another every moment that we are awake in the course of our lives, there are but few of them that are thought on or proposed to the will, till the time they are to be done; and in all such actions, as I have shown, the mind in respect of willing has not a power to act or not to act, wherein consists liberty. The mind, in that case, has not a power to forbear willing; it cannot avoid some determination concerning them, let the consideration be as short, the thought as quick as it will; it either leaves the man in the state he was before thinking, or changes it; continues the action, or puts an end to it. Whereby it is manifest, that it orders and directs one, in preference to or with neglect of the other, and thereby either the continuation or change becomes unavoidably voluntary.

25. *The Will determined by something without it.*—Since, then, it is plain that, in most cases a man is not at liberty, whether he will or no, the next thing demanded is, whether a man be at liberty to will which of the two he pleases, motion or rest? This question carries the absurdity of it so manifestly in itself, that one might thereby sufficiently be convinced that liberty concerns not the will. For to ask whether a man be at liberty to will either motion or rest, speaking or silence, which he pleases, is to ask whether a man can will what he wills, or be pleased with what he is pleased with? A question which, I think, needs no answer; and they who can make a question of it, must suppose one will to determine the acts of another, and another to determine that, and so on in infinitum.

26. To avoid these and the like absurdities, nothing can

be of greater use than to establish in our minds determined ideas of the things under consideration. If the ideas of liberty and volition were well fixed in the understandings, and carried along with us in our minds, as they ought, through all the questions that are raised about them, I suppose a great part of the difficulties that perplex men's thoughts and entangle their understandings would be much easier resolved, and we should perceive where the confused signification of terms, or where the nature of the thing caused the obscurity.

27. *Freedom.*—First, then, it is carefully to be remembered, that freedom consists in the dependence of the existence or not existence of any action, upon our volition of it; and not in the dependence of any action, or its contrary, on our preference. A man standing on a cliff, is at liberty to leap twenty yards downwards into the sea, not because he has a power to do the contrary action, which is to leap twenty yards upwards, for that he cannot do; but he is therefore free, because he has a power to leap or not to leap. But if a greater force than his either holds him fast or tumbles him down, he is no longer free in that case; because the doing or forbearance of that particular action is no longer in his power. He that is a close prisoner in a room twenty feet square, being at the north side of his chamber, is at liberty to walk twenty feet southward, because he can walk or not walk it; but is not, at the same time, at liberty to do the contrary, i. e., to walk twenty feet northward.

In this, then, consists freedom, viz., in our being able to act or not to act, according as we shall choose or will.

28. *Volition, what.*—Secondly, we must remember, that volition or willing is an act of the mind directing its thought to the production of any action, and thereby exerting its power to produce it. To avoid multiplying of words, I would crave leave here, under the word action, to comprehend the forbearance too of any action proposed: sitting still, or holding one's peace, when walking or speaking are proposed, though mere forbearances, requiring as much the determination of the will, and being as often weighty in their consequences as the contrary actions, may, on that consideration, well enough pass for actions too: but this I say, that I may not be mistaken, if for brevity's sake I speak thus.

29. *What determines the Will.*— Thirdly, the will be nothing but a power in the mind to direct the operative faculties of a man to motion or rest, as far as they depend on such direction, to the question, what is it determines the will? the true and proper answer is, the mind. For that which determines the general power of directing to this or that particular direction, is nothing but the agent itself exercising the power it has that particular way. If this answer satisfies not, it is plain the meaning of the question, what determines the will? is this, What moves the mind, in every particular instance, to determine its general power of directing to this or that particular motion or rest? And to this I answer, the motive for continuing in the same state or action, is only the present satisfaction in it; the motive to change is always some uneasiness; nothing setting us upon the change of state, or upon any new action, but some uneasiness. This is the great motive that works on the mind to put it upon action, which for shortness' sake we will call determining of the will, which I shall more at large explain.

30. *Will and Desire must not be confounded.*—But, in the way to it, it will be necessary to premise, that, though I have above endeavoured to express the act of volition by choosing, preferring, and the like terms, that signify desire as well as volition, for want of other words to mark that act of the mind, whose proper name is willing or volition; yet it being a very simple act, whosoever desires to understand what it is, will better find it by reflecting on his own mind, and observing what it does when it wills, than by any variety of articulate sounds whatsoever. This caution of being careful not to be misled by expressions that do not enough keep up the difference between the will and several acts of the mind that are quite distinct from it, I think the more necessary; because I find the will often confounded with several of the affections, especially desire, and one put for the other; and that by men who would not willingly be thought not to have had very distinct notions of things, and not to have writ very clearly about them. This, I imagine, has been no small occasion of obscurity and mistake in this matter, and thererore is, as much as may be, to be avoided. For he that shall turn his thoughts inwards upon what passes in his mind when he wills, shall see that the

will or power of volition is conversant about nothing, but that particular determination of the mind, whereby barely by a thought the mind endeavours to give rise, continuation, or stop, to any action which it takes to be in its power. This, well considered, plainly shows that the will is perfectly distinguished from desire; which in the very same action may have a quite contrary tendency from that which our will sets us upon. A man whom I cannot deny, may oblige me to use persuasions to another, which, at the same time I am speaking, I may wish may not prevail on him. In this case, it is plain the will and desire run counter. I will the action that tends one way, whilst my desire tends another, and that the direct contrary way. A man who by a violent fit of the gout in his limbs finds a doziness in his head, or a want of appetite in his stomach removed, desires to be eased too of the pain of his feet or hands, (for wherever there is pain, there is a desire to be rid of it,) though yet, whilst he apprehends that the removal of the pain may translate the noxious humour to a more vital part, his will is never determined to any one action that may serve to remove this pain. Whence it is evident that desiring and willing are two distinct acts of the mind, and consequently, that the will, which is but the power of volition, is much more distinct from desire.

31. *Uneasiness determines the Will.*—To return, then, to the inquiry, what is it that determines the will in regard to our actions? And that, upon second thoughts, I am apt to imagine is not, as is generally supposed, the greater good in view, but some (and for the most part the most pressing) uneasiness a man is at present under. This is that which successively determines the will, and sets us upon those actions we perform. This uneasiness we may call, as it is, desire; which is an uneasiness of the mind for want of some absent good. All pain of the body, of what sort soever, and disquiet of the mind, is uneasiness; and with this is always joined desire, equal to the pain or uneasiness felt, and is scarce distinguishable from it. For desire being nothing but an uneasiness in the want of an absent good, in reference to any pain felt, ease is that absent good; and till that ease be attained, we may call it desire, nobody feeling pain that he wishes not to be eased of, with a desire equal to that pain,

and inseparable from it. Besides this desire of ease from pain, there is another of absent positive good; and here also the desire and uneasiness are equal. As much as we desire any absent good, so much are we in pain for it. But here all absent good does not, according to the greatness it has, or is acknowledged to have, cause pain equal to that greatness; as all, pain causes desire equal to itself: because the absence of good is not always a pain, as the presence of pain is. And therefore absent good may be looked on, and considered without desire. But so much as there is anywhere of desire, so much there is of uneasiness.

32. *Desire is Uneasiness.*—That desire is a state of uneasiness, every one who reflects on himself will quickly find. Who is there that has not felt in desire what the wise man says of hope, (which is not much different from it,) "that it being deferred makes the heart sick?" and that still proportionable to the greatness of the desire; which sometimes raises the uneasiness to that pitch, that it makes people cry out, "Give me children, give me the thing desired, or I die!"* Life itself, and all its enjoyments, is a burden cannot be borne under the lasting and unremoved pressure of such an uneasiness.

33. *The Uneasiness of Desire determines the Will.*—Good and evil, present and absent, it is true, work upon the mind: but that which immediately determines the will, from time to time, to every voluntary action, is the uneasiness of desire, fixed on some absent good: either negative, as indolence to one in pain; or positive, as enjoyment of pleasure. That it is this uneasiness that determines the will to the successive voluntary actions whereof the greatest part of our lives is made up, and by which we are conducted through different courses to different ends, I shall endeavour to show, both from experience and the reason of the thing.

34. *This is the Spring of Action.*—When a man is perfectly content with the state he is in, which is when he is perfectly without any uneasiness, what industry, what action, what will is there left, but to continue in it? Of this every man's observation will satisfy him. And thus we see our all-wise Maker, suitably to our constitution and frame, and

* Genesis, xxx. 1.

knowing what it is that determines the will, has put into man the uneasiness of hunger and thirst, and other natural desires, that return at their seasons, to move and determine their wills, for the preservation of themselves, and the continuation of their species. For I think we may conclude, that, if the bare contemplation of these good ends to which we are carried by these several uneasinesses, had been sufficient to determine the will, and set us on work, we should have had none of these natural pains, and perhaps in this world little or no pain at all. "It is better to marry than to burn," says St. Paul; where we may see what it is that chiefly drives men into the enjoyments of a conjugal life. A little burning felt pushes us more powerfully, than greater pleasures in prospect draw or allure.

35. *The greatest positive Good determines not the Will, but Uneasiness.*—It seems so established and settled a maxim by the general consent of all mankind, that good, the greater good, determines the will, that I do not at all wonder that, when I first published my thoughts on this subject, I took it for granted; and I imagine that, by a great many I shall be thought more excusable for having then done so, than that now I have ventured to recede from so received an opinion. But yet, upon a stricter inquiry, I am forced to conclude that good, the greater good, though apprehended and acknowledged to be so, does not determine the will, until our desire, raised proportionably to it, makes us uneasy in the want of it. Convince a man ever so much that plenty has its advantages over poverty; make him see and own that the handsome conveniences of life are better than nasty penury; yet, as long as he is content with the latter, and finds no uneasiness in it, he moves not; his will never is determined to any action that shall bring him out of it. Let a man be ever so well persuaded of the advantages of virtue, that it is as necessary to a man who has any great aims in this world, or hopes in the next, as food to life; yet, till he hungers or thirsts after righteousness, till he feels an uneasiness in the want of it, his will will not be determined to any action in pursuit of this confessed greater good; but any other uneasiness he feels in himself shall take place, and carry his will to other actions. On the other side, let a drunkard see that his health decays, his estate wastes, discredit and diseases, and the want of all things, even of his beloved

drink, attends him in the course he follows; yet the returns of uneasiness to miss his companions, the habitual thirst after his cups at the usual time, drives him to the tavern, though he has in his view the loss of health and plenty, and perhaps of the joys of another life: the least of which is no inconsiderable good, but such as he confesses is far greater than the tickling of his palate with a glass of wine, or the idle chat of a soaking club. It is not want of viewing the greater good; for he sees and acknowledges it, and, in the intervals of his drinking hours, will take resolutions to pursue the greater good; but when the uneasiness to miss his accustomed delight returns, the greater acknowledged good loses its hold, and the present uneasiness determines the will to the accustomed action; which thereby gets stronger footing to prevail against the next occasion, though he at the same time makes secret promises to himself that he will do so no more; this is the last time he will act against the attainment of those greater goods. And thus he is from time to time in the state of that unhappy complainer, video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor: which sentence, allowed for true, and made good by constant experience, may this, and possibly no other way, be easily made intelligible.

36. *Because the Removal of Uneasiness is the first Step to Happiness.*—If we inquire into the reason of what experience makes so evident in fact, and examine, why it is uneasiness alone operates on the will, and determines it in its choice, we shall find that, we being capable but of one determination of the will to one action at once, the present uneasiness that we are under does naturally determine the will, in order to that happiness which we all aim at in all our actions; forasmuch as whilst we are under any uneasiness, we cannot apprehend ourselves happy, or in the way to it; pain and uneasiness being by every one concluded and felt to be inconsistent with happiness, spoiling the relish even of those good things which we have; a little pain serving to mar all the pleasure we rejoiced in. And therefore that which of course determines the choice of our will to the next action, will always be the removing of pain, as long as we have any left, as the first and necessary step towards happiness.

37. *Because Uneasiness alone is present.*—Another reason

why it is uneasiness alone determines the will, is this: because that alone is present, and it is against the nature of things, that what is absent should operate where it is not. It may be said, that absent good may by contemplation be brought home to the mind, and made present. The idea of it indeed may be in the mind, and viewed as present there; but nothing will be in the mind as a present good, able to counterbalance the removal of any uneasiness which we are under, till it raises our desire; and the uneasiness of that has the prevalency in determining the will. Till then, the idea in the mind of whatever is good, is there only, like other ideas, the object of bare unactive speculation, but operates not on the will, nor sets us on work; the reason whereof I shall show by and by. How many are to be found, that have had lively representations set before their minds of the unspeakable joys of heaven, which they acknowledge both possible and probable too, who yet would be content to take up with their happiness here! And so the prevailing uneasiness of their desires, let loose after the enjoyments of this life, take their turns in the determining their wills; and all that while they take not one step, are not one jot moved, towards the good things of another life, considered as ever so great.

38. *Because all who allow the Joys of Heaven possible, pursue them not.*—Were the will determined by the views of good, as it appears in contemplation greater or less to the understanding, which is the state of all absent good, and that which in the received opinion the will is supposed to move to, and to be moved by, I do not see how it could ever get loose from the infinite eternal joys of heaven, once proposed and considered as possible. For all absent good, by which alone, barely proposed, and coming in view, the will is thought to be determined, and so to set us on action, being only possible, but not infallibly certain: it is unavoidable that the infinitely greater possible good should regularly and constantly determine the will in all the successive actions it directs: and then we should keep constantly and steadily in our course towards heaven, without ever standing still, or directing our actions to any other end: the eternal condition of a future state infinitely outweighing the expectation of riches, or honour, or any other worldly pleasure which we can propose to ourselves, though we should grant these the

more probable to be obtained for nothing future is yet in possession, and so the expectation even of these may deceive us. If it were so, that the greater good in view determines the will, so great a good, once proposed, could not but seize the will, and hold it fast to the pursuit of this infinitely greatest good, without ever letting it go again: for the will having a power over, and directing the thoughts as well as other actions, would, if it were so, hold the contemplation of the mind fixed to that good.

But any great Uneasiness is never neglected.—This would be the state of the mind, and regular tendency of the will in all its determinations, were it determined by that which is considered, and in view, the greater good; but that it is not so, is visible in experience: the infinitely greatest confessed good being often neglected, to satisfy the successive uneasiness of our desires pursuing trifles. But though the greatest allowed, even everlasting unspeakable good, which has sometimes moved and affected the mind, does not stedfastly hold the will, yet we see any very great and prevailing uneasiness, having once laid hold on the will, let it not go; by which we may be convinced what it is that determines the will. Thus any vehement pain of the body, the ungovernable passion of a man violently in love, or the impatient desire of revenge, keeps the will steady and intent; and the will, thus determined, never lets the understanding lay by the object, but all the thoughts of the mind and powers of the body are uninterruptedly employed that way, by the determination of the will, influenced by that topping uneasiness as long as it lasts; whereby it seems to me evident, that the will or power of setting us upon one action in preference to all others, is determined in us by uneasiness. And whether this be not so, I desire every one to observe in himself.

39. *Desire accompanies all Uneasiness.*—I have hitherto chiefly instanced in the uneasiness of desire, as that which determines the will; because that is the chief and most sensible, and the will seldom orders any action, nor is there any voluntary action performed without some desire accompanying it; which I think is the reason why the will and desire are so often confounded. But yet we are not to look upon the uneasiness which makes up, or at least accompanies most of the other passions, as wholly excluded in the case. Aversion, fear, anger, envy, shame, &c., have each their uneasiness

too, and thereby influence the will. These passions are scarce any of them in life and practice simple and alone, and wholly unmixed with others: though usually in discourse and contemplation, that carries the name which operates strongest, and appears most in the present state of the mind: nay, there is, I think, scarce any of the passions to be found without desire joined with it. I am sure wherever there is uneasiness, there is desire: for we constantly desire happiness; and whatever we feel of uneasiness, so much it is certain we want of happiness, even in our own opinion; let our state and condition otherwise be what it will. Besides, the present moment not being our eternity, whatever our enjoyment be, we look beyond the present, and desire goes with our foresight, and that still carries the will with it. So that even in joy itself, that which keeps up the action whereon the enjoyment depends, is the desire to continue it, and fear to lose it: and whenever a greater uneasiness than that takes place in the mind, the will presently is by that determined to some new action, and the present delight neglected.

40. *The most pressing Uneasiness naturally determines the Will.*—But we being in this world beset with sundry uneasiness, distracted with different desires, the next inquiry naturally will be, which of them has the precedency in determining the will to the next action? and to that the answer is, that ordinarily, which is the most pressing of those that are judged capable of being then removed. For the will being the power of directing our operative faculties, to some action, for some end, cannot at any time be moved towards what is judged at that time unattainable: that would be to suppose an intelligent being designedly to act for an end, only to lose its labour; for so it is to act for what is judged not attainable; and therefore very great uneasiness move not the will when they are judged not capable of a cure; they in that case put us not upon endeavours. But, these set apart, the most important and urgent uneasiness we at that time feel, is that which ordinarily determines the will successively, in that train of voluntary actions which makes up our lives. The greatest present uneasiness is the spur to action, that is constantly felt, and for the most part determines the will in its choice of the next action. For this we must carry along with us, that the proper and only object of the will is some action of ours, and nothing else: for we producing nothing by

our willing it, but some action in our power, it is there the will terminates, and reaches no further.*

41. *All desire Happiness.*—If it be further asked, what it is moves desire? I answer, happiness, and that alone. Happiness and misery are the names of two extremes, the utmost bounds whereof we know not; it is what "eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive." But of some degrees of both we have very lively impressions, made by several instances of delight and joy on the one side, and torment and sorrow on the other; which, for shortness' sake, I shall comprehend under the names of pleasure and pain, there being pleasure and pain of the mind as well as the body: "with him is fulness of joy, and pleasure for evermore:" or, to speak truly, they are all of the mind; though some have their rise in the mind from thought, others in the body from certain modifications of motion.

42. *Happiness, what.*—Happiness, then, in its full extent, is the utmost pleasure we are capable of, and misery the utmost pain; and the lowest degree of what can be called happiness is so much ease from all pain, and so much present pleasure, as without which any one cannot be content. Now, because pleasure and pain are produced in us by the operation of certain objects, either on our minds or our bodies, and in different degrees; therefore what has an aptness to produce pleasure in us is that we call good, and what is apt to produce pain in us we call evil, for no other reason but for its aptness to produce pleasure and pain in us, wherein consists our happiness and misery. Further, though what is apt to produce any degree of pleasure be in itself good, and what is apt to produce any degree of pain be evil, yet it often happens that we do not call it so when it comes in competition with a greater of its sort; because when they come in competition, the degrees also of pleasure and pain have justly a preference. So that if we will rightly estimate what we call good and evil, we shall find it lies much in comparison: for the cause of every less degree of pain, as well as every greater degree of pleasure, has the nature of good, and vice versa.

43 *What Good is desired, what not.*—Though this be

* The reader may consult Berkeley, Principles of Human Knowledge, § 28. —ED.

that which is called good and evil, and all good be the proper object of desire in general, yet all good, even seen, and confessed to be so, does not necessarily move every particular man's desire; but only that part, or so much of it as is considered and taken to make a necessary part of his happiness. All other good, however great in reality or appearance, excites not a man's desires, who looks not on it to make a part of that happiness wherewith he, in his present thoughts, can satisfy himself. Happiness, under this view, every one constantly pursues, and desires what makes any part of it: other things acknowledged to be good, he can look upon without desire, pass by, and be content without. There is nobody, I think, so senseless as to deny that there is pleasure in knowledge: and for the pleasures of sense, they have too many followers to let it be questioned whether men are taken with them or no. Now let one man place his satisfaction in sensual pleasures, another in the delight of knowledge: though each of them cannot but confess, there is great pleasure in what the other pursues; yet, neither of them making the other's delight a part of his happiness, their desires are not moved; but each is satisfied without what the other enjoys, and so his will is not determined to the pursuit of it. But yet as soon as the studious man's hunger and thirst make him uneasy, he, whose will was never determined to any pursuit of good cheer, poignant sauces, delicious wine, by the pleasant taste he has found in them, is, by the uneasiness of hunger and thirst, presently determined to eating and drinking, though possibly with great indifferency, what wholesome food comes in his way.* And,

* Extraordinary stories are related of the passion of several individuals for study; but there enters, perhaps, a little of the marvellous into these accounts, as a kind of seasoning to make them palatable. I have sometimes suspected that, although Aristotle might on particular occasions go to rest with a brazen basin by his bedside, and an iron ball in his hand stretched out over it, which might drop into the basin in case of deep sleep, yet, upon the whole, he slept without this apparatus. What they tell us of Pierre Castellan, grand almoner of France, seems likewise to require to be understood with some abatement; for we are informed that he hardly passed *three hours* in sleep, which he snatched upon the bare ground, with no other pillow than his robe, which he wrapped round his head; and that he was no sooner awake than he rushed to his books with the appetite of a wolf. He was reader to Francis I.; and when he received this appointment he resumed his

on the other side, the epicure buckles to study, when shame or the desire to recommend himself to his mistress shall make him uneasy in the want of any sort of knowledge. Thus, how much soever men are in earnest, and constant in pursuit of happiness, yet they may have a clear view of good, great and confessed good, without being concerned for it, or moved by it, if they think they can make up their happiness without it. Though as to pain, that they are always concerned for; they can feel no uneasiness without being moved. And therefore, being uneasy in the want of whatever is judged necessary to their happiness, as soon as any good appears to make a part of their portion of happiness, they begin to desire it.

44. *Why the greatest Good is not always desired.*—This, I think, any one may observe in himself and others, that the greater visible good does not always raise men's desires in proportion to the greatness it appears, and is acknowledged to have; though every little trouble moves us, and sets us on work to get rid of it. The reason whereof is evident from the nature of our happiness and misery itself. All present pain, whatever it be, makes a part of our present misery; but all absent good does not at any time make a necessary part of our present happiness, nor the absence of it make a part of our misery. If it did, we should be constantly and infinitely miserable; there being infinite degrees of happiness which are not in our possession. All uneasiness therefore being removed, a moderate portion of good serves at present to content men; and some few degrees of pleasure in a succession of ordinary enjoyments make up a happiness, wherein they can be satisfied. If this were not so, there could be no room for those indifferent and visibly trifling actions to which our wills are so often determined,

amazing application, which he appears for a while to have remitted. Time, in his eyes, was so precious that he would not spare himself sufficient time to eat his dinner, being satisfied with taking a morsel of bread in the morning, and eating supper at *five o'clock*. Fashionable people keep Castellan's hours now, only that they call supper dinner, and perhaps eat it an hour or two later. Galland, who wrote this book-worm's life, had reason and wit on his side when he said that he was chained to his books night and day, as Prometheus was to Caucasus. (See Bayle, art. Castellan, rem (G).) He used to be present at the king's dinners and suppers; who delighted in hearing him display his wit and learning. — Ed.

and wherein we voluntarily waste so much of our lives; which remissness could by no means consist with a constant determination of will or desire to the greatest apparent good. That this is so, I think few people need go far from home to be convinced. And indeed in this life there are not many whose happiness reaches so far as to afford them a constant train of moderate mean pleasures, without any mixture of uneasiness; and yet they could be content to stay here for ever: though they cannot deny, but that it is possible there may be a state of eternal durable joys after this life, far surpassing all the good that is to be found here. Nay, they cannot but see that it is more possible than the attainment and continuation of that pittance of honour, riches, or pleasure which they pursue, and for which they neglect that eternal state; but yet, in full view of this difference, satisfied of the possibility of a perfect, secure, and lasting happiness in a future state, and under a clear conviction that it is not to be had here, whilst they bound their happiness within some little enjoyment or aim of this life, and exclude the joys of heaven from making any necessary part of it; their desires are not moved by this greater apparent good, nor their wills determined to any action, or endeavour for its attainment.

45. *Why not being desired, it moves not the Will.*—The ordinary necessities of our lives fill a great part of them with the uneasiness of hunger, thirst, heat, cold, weariness with labour, and sleepiness, in their constant returns, &c.* To which, if, besides accidental harms, we add the fantastical uneasiness (as itch after honour, power, or riches, &c.) which acquired habits by fashion, example, and education have settled in us, and a thousand other irregular desires, which custom has made natural to us, we shall find that a very little part of our life is so vacant from these un-

* Sir Thomas More has a lively and somewhat sportive description of the way in which, when in high office, a man's days are usually spent: "While in pleading, and hearing, and in judging or compaiing of causes, in waiting on some men upon business, and others out of respect, the greatest part of the day is spent on other men's affairs, the remainder of it must be given to my family at home: so that I can reserve no part of it to myself, that is, to my study: I must talk with my wife, and chat with my children, and I have somewhat to say to my servants." (Utopia, p. 3.)—ED.

easinesses, as to leave us free to the attraction of remoter absent good.* We are seldom at ease, and free enough from the solicitation of our natural or adopted desires, but a constant succession of uneasinesses out of that stock which natural wants or acquired habits have heaped up, take the will in their turns: and no sooner is one action dispatched, which by such a determination of the will we are set upon, but another uneasiness is ready to set us on work. For the removing of the pains we feel, and are at present pressed with, being the getting out of misery, and consequently the first thing to be done in order to happiness, absent good, though thought on, confessed, and appearing to be good, not making any part of this unhappiness in its absence, is justled out, to make way for the removal of those uneasinesses we feel; till due and repeated contemplation has

* In fact, the most powerful and fortunate of human beings have been so little susceptible of the attraction of any good whatever, that, having enjoyed all that life in their station has to bestow, they have complained that it is all vanity and vexation of spirit. On this point, the reader will doubtless remember the well-known confession of the Spanish Caliph, Abder-rhaman: "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasures have waited on my call; nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation, I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to FOURTEEN. O man! place not thy confidence in this present world!" (Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, i. p. 329, et seq.) Upon which Gibbon has the following note: "This confession; the complaints of Solomon of the vanity of this world, (read Prior's verbose but eloquent poem,) and the happy ten days of the Emperor Seghed, (Rambler, No. 204, 205,) will be triumphantly quoted by the detractors of human life. Their expectations are commonly immoderate; their estimates are seldom impartial. If I may speak of myself, (the only person of whom I can speak with certainty,) my happy hours have far exceeded, and far exceed the scanty numbers of the Caipn of Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleasing labour of the present composition." (t. x. p. 39, et seq.) Martial had long ago drawn a similar picture of the miseries of human life.

At nostri bene computentur anni; etc.

"Let our years be fairly computed: that which is consumed in melancholy fevers, in heavy languor, in painful evils, must be separated from the valuable part of life—we are children, though we seem to be old. He who should consider the life of Priam, or of Nestor, as of long duration, would be much deceived, and in the wrong. Life is not *to live*, but *to be happy*." (Epig. vi. 70.)—ED.

brought it nearer to our mind, given some relish of it, and raised in us some desire: which then beginning to make a part of our present uneasiness, stands upon fair terms with the rest to be satisfied; and so, according to its greatness and pressure, comes in its turn to determine the will.

46. *Due Consideration raises Desire.*—And thus, by a due consideration, and examining any good proposed, it is in our power to raise our desires in a due proportion to the value of that good, whereby in its turn and place it may come to work upon the will, and be pursued. For good, though appearing, and allowed ever so great, yet till it has raised desires in our minds, and thereby made us uneasy in its want, it reaches not our wills; we are not within the sphere of its activity, our wills being under the determination only of those uneasinesses which are present to us, which (whilst we have any) are always soliciting, and ready at hand to give the will its next determination: the balancing, when there is any in the mind, being only which desire shall be next satisfied, which uneasiness first removed. Whereby it comes to pass, that as long as any uneasiness, any desire remains in our mind, there is no room for good, barely as such, to come at the will, or at all to determine it. Because, as has been said, the first step in our endeavours after happiness being to get wholly out of the confines of misery, and to feel no part of it, the will can be at leisure for nothing else, till every uneasiness we feel be perfectly removed; which, in the multitude of wants and desires we are beset with in this imperfect state, we are not like to be ever freed from in this world.

47. *The Power to suspend the Prosecution of any Desire makes way for Consideration.*—There being in us a great many uneasinesses always soliciting, and ready to determine the will, it is natural, as I have said, that the greatest and most pressing should determine the will to the next actione and so it does for the most part, but not always. For the mind having in most cases, as is evident in experience, a power to suspend the execution and satisfaction of any of its desires, and so all, one after another, is at liberty to consider the objects of them, examine them on all sides, and weigh them with others. In this lies the liberty man has; and from the not using of it right comes all that variety of

mistakes, errors, and faults which we run into in the conduct of our lives, and our endeavours after happiness;* whilst we precipitate the determination of our wills, and engage too soon before due examination. To prevent this, we have a power to suspend the prosecution of this or that desire, as every one daily may experiment in himself. This seems to me the source of all liberty; in this seems to consist that which is (as I think improperly) called free-will. For during this suspension of any desire, before the will be determined to action, and the action (which follows that determination) done, we have opportunity to examine, view, and judge of the good or evil of what we are going to do; and when, upon due examination, we have judged, we have done our duty, all that we can or ought to do in pursuit of our happiness; and it is not a fault, but a perfection of our nature, to desire, will, and act according to the last result of a fair examination.

48. *To be determined by our own Judgment, is no Restraint to Liberty.*—This is so far from being a restraint or diminution of freedom, that it is the very improvement and benefit of it; it is not an abridgment, it is the end and use of our liberty; and the further we are removed from such a determination, the nearer we are to misery and slavery. A perfect indifference in the mind, not determinable by its last judgment of the good or evil that is thought to attend its choice, would be so far from being an advantage and excellency of any intellectual nature, that it would be as great an imperfection, as the want of indifferency to act or not to act till determined by the will would be an imperfection on the other side. A man is at liberty to lift up his hand to his head, or let it rest quiet: he is perfectly indifferent in either; and it would be an imperfection in him, if he wanted that power, if he were deprived of that indifferency. But it would be as great an imperfection if he had the same indifferency, whether he would prefer the lifting up his hand, or its remaining in rest, when it would save his head or eyes from a blow he sees coming: it is as much a perfection, that desire, or the power of preferring, should be determined by good, as that the power of acting

* Hence the wisdom of the old Greek proverb, Σπεῦδε βραδέως (Hasten slowly.)—Ed.

should be determined by the will; and the certainer such determination is, the greater is the perfection. Nay, were we determined by anything but the last result of our own minds, judging of the good or evil of any action, we were not free; the very end of our freedom being, that we may attain the good we choose. And therefore every man is put under a necessity by his constitution, as an intelligent being, to be determined in willing by his own thought and judgment what is best for him to do; else he would be under the determination of some other than himself, which is want of liberty. And to deny that a man's will, in every determination, follows his own judgment, is to say, that a man wills and acts for an end that he would not have, at the time that he wills and acts for it. For if he prefers it in his present thoughts before any other, it is plain he then thinks better of it, and would have it before any other; unless he can have and not have it, will and not will it, at the same time; a contradiction too manifest to be admitted!

49. *The freest Agents are so determined.*—If we look upon those superior beings above us, who enjoy perfect happiness, we shall have reason to judge that they are more steadily determined in their choice of good than we; and yet we have no reason to think they are less happy, or less free than we are. And if it were fit for such poor finite creatures as we are to pronounce what infinite wisdom and goodness could do, I think we might say, that God himself cannot choose what is not good; the freedom of the Almighty hinders not his being determined by what is best.

50. *A constant Determination to a Pursuit of Happiness no Abridgment of Liberty.*—But to give a right view of this mistaken part of liberty, let me ask, "Would any one be a changeling, because he is less determined by wise considerations than a wise man? Is it worth the name of freedom to be at liberty to play the fool, and draw shame and misery upon a man's self?" If to break loose from the conduct of reason, and to want that restraint of examination and judgment which keeps us from choosing or doing the worse, be liberty, true liberty, madmen and fools are the only freemen; but yet, I think, nobody would choose to be mad for the sake of such liberty, but he that is mad already. The constant desire of happiness, and the constraint it puts upon

us to act for it, nobody, I think, accounts an abridgment of liberty, or at least an abridgment of liberty to be complained of. God Almighty himself is under the necessity of being happy; and the more any intelligent being is so, the nearer is its approach to infinite perfection and happiness. That in this state of ignorance we short-sighted creatures might not mistake true felicity, we are endowed with a power to suspend any particular desire, and keep it from determining the will, and engaging us in action. This is standing still where we are not sufficiently assured of the way: examination is consulting a guide. The determination of the will upon inquiry, is following the direction of that guide: and he that has a power to act or not to act, according as such determination directs, is a free agent; such determination abridges not that power wherein liberty consists. He that has his chains knocked off, and the prison doors set open to him, is perfectly at liberty, because he may either go or stay, as he best likes; though his preference be determined to stay, by the darkness of the night, or illness of the weather, or want of other lodging. He ceases not to be free, though the desire of some convenience to be had there absolutely determines his preference, and makes him stay in his prison.

51. *The Necessity of pursuing true Happiness the Foundation of Liberty.*—As, therefore, the highest perfection of intellectual nature lies in a careful and constant pursuit of true and solid happiness, so the care of ourselves, that we mistake not imaginary for real happiness, is the necessary foundation of our liberty. The stronger ties we have to an unalterable pursuit of happiness in general, which is our greatest good, and which, as such, our desires always follow, the more are we free from any necessary determination of our will to any particular action, and from a necessary compliance with our desire, set upon any particular, and then appearing preferable good, till we have duly examined whether it has a tendency to, or be inconsistent with, our real happiness: and therefore, till we are as much informed upon this inquiry as the weight of the matter and the nature of the case demands, we are, by the necessity of preferring and pursuing true happiness as our greatest good, obliged to suspend the satisfaction of our desires in particular cases.

52. *The Reason of it.*—This is the hinge on which turns the liberty of intellectual beings, in their constant endeavours after and a steady prosecution of true felicity, that they can suspend this prosecution in particular cases, till they had looked before them, and informed themselves whether that particular thing, which is then proposed or desired, lie in the way to their main end, and make a real part of that which is their greatest good: for the inclination and tendency of their nature to happiness is an obligation and motive to them, to take care not to mistake or miss it; and so necessarily puts them upon caution, deliberation, and wariness, in the direction of their particular actions, which are the means to obtain it. Whatever necessity determines to the pursuit of real bliss, the same necessity with the same force establishes suspense, deliberation, and scrutiny of each successive desire, whether the satisfaction of it does not interfere with our true happiness, and mislead us from it. This, as seems to me, is the great privilege of finite intellectual beings; and I desire it may be well considered, whether the great inlet and exercise of all the liberty men have, are capable of, or can be useful to them, and that whereon depends the turn of their actions, does not lie in this, that they can suspend their desires, and stop them from determining their wills to any action, till they have duly and fairly examined the good and evil of it, as far forth as the weight of the thing requires. This we are able to do; and when we have done it, we have done our duty, and all that is in our power, and indeed all that needs. For, since the will supposes knowledge to guide its choice, and all that we can do is to hold our wills undetermined, till we have examined the good and evil of what we desire. What follows after that, follows in a chain of consequences linked one to another, all depending on the last determination of the judgment, which whether it shall be upon a hasty and precipitate view, or upon a due and mature examination, is in our power; experience showing us that in most cases we are able to suspend the present satisfaction of any desire.

53. *Government of our Passions the right Improvement of Liberty.*—But if any extreme disturbance (as sometimes it happens) possesses our whole mind, as when the pain of the rack, an impetuous uneasiness, as of love, anger, or any other

violent passion, running away with us, allows us not the liberty of thought, and we are not masters enough of our own minds to consider thoroughly and examine fairly; God, who knows our frailty, pities our weakness, and requires of us no more than we are able to do, and sees what was and what was not in our power, will judge as a kind and merciful Father. But the forbearance of a too hasty compliance with our desires, the moderation and restraint of our passions, so that our understandings may be free to examine, and reason unbiassed give its judgment, being that whereon a right direction of our conduct to true happiness depends; it is in this we should employ our chief care and endeavours. In this we should take pains to suit the relish of our minds to the true intrinsic good or ill that is in things, and not permit an allowed or supposed possible great and weighty good to slip out of our thoughts, without leaving any relish, any desire of itself there, till, by a due consideration of its true worth, we have formed appetites in our minds suitable to it, and made ourselves uneasy in the want of it, or in the fear of losing it. And how much this is in every one's power, by making resolutions to himself, such as he may keep, is easy for every one to try. Nor let any one say he cannot govern his passions, nor hinder them from breaking out, and carrying him into action; for what he can do before a prince or a great man, he can do alone, or in the presence of God, if he will.

54. *How Men come to pursue different Courses.* — From what has been said, it is easy to give an account how it comes to pass, that, though all men desire happiness, yet their wills carry them so contrarily, and consequently, some of them to what is evil. And to this I say, that the various and contrary choices that men make in the world do not argue that they do not all pursue good, but that the same thing is not good to every man alike. This variety of pursuits shows, that every one does not place his happiness in the same thing, or choose the same way to it. Were all the concerns of man terminated in this life, why one followed study and knowledge, and another hawking and hunting: why one chose luxury and debauchery, and another sobriety and riches, would not be because every one of these did not aim at his own happiness, but because their happiness was placed in different things. And therefore it was a right

answer of the physician to his patient that had sore eyes: "If you have more pleasure in the taste of wine than in the use of your sight, wine is good for you; but if the pleasure of seeing be greater to you than that of drinking, wine is naught."

55. The mind has a different relish, as well as the palate, and you will as fruitlessly endeavour to delight all men with riches or glory (which yet some men place their happiness in) as you would to satisfy all men's hunger with cheese or lobsters, which, though very agreeable and delicious fare to some, are to others extremely nauseous and offensive; and many people would with reason prefer the griping of an hungry belly to those dishes which are a feast to others. Hence it was, I think, that the philosophers of old did in vain inquire, whether summum bonum consisted in riches, or bodily delights, or virtue, or contemplation. And they might have as reasonably disputed, whether the best relish were to be found in apples, plums, or nuts, and have divided themselves into sets upon it. For, as pleasant tastes depend not on the things themselves, but their agreeableness to this or that particular palate, wherein there is great variety, so the greatest happiness consists in the having those things which produce the greatest pleasure, and in the absence of those which cause any disturbance, any pain. Now these, to different men, are very different things. If, therefore, men in this life only have hope, if in this life they can only enjoy, it is not strange nor unreasonable, that they should seek their happiness by avoiding all things that disease them here, and by pursuing all that delight them; wherein it will be no wonder to find variety and difference. For if there be no prospect beyond the grave, the inference is certainly right, "Let us eat and drink;" let us enjoy what we delight in, "for to-morrow we shall die." This, I think, may serve to show us the reason, why, though all men's desires tend to happiness, yet they are not moved by the same object. Men may choose different things, and yet all choose aright; supposing them only like a company of poor insects, whereof some are bees, delighted with flowers and their sweetness; others beetles, delighted with other kinds of viands, which having enjoyed for a season, they would cease to be, and exist no more for ever.

56 *How Men come to choose ill.*—These things, duly weighed, will give us, as I think, a clear view into the state of human liberty. Liberty, it is plain, consists in a power to do, or not to do; to do, or forbear doing, as we will. This cannot be denied. But this seeming to comprehend only the actions of a man consecutive to volition, it is further inquired, "whether he be at liberty to will or no?" And to this it has been answered, that, in most cases, a man is not at liberty to forbear the act of volition; he must exert an act of his will, whereby the action proposed is made to exist or not to exist. But yet there is a case wherein a man is at liberty in respect of willing, and that is the choosing of a remote good as an end to be pursued. Here a man may suspend the act of his choice from being determined for or against the thing proposed, till he has examined whether it be really of a nature in itself and consequences to make him happy or not. For when he has once chosen it, and thereby it is become a part of his happiness, it raises desire, and that proportionably gives him uneasiness, which determines his will, and sets him at work in pursuit of his choice on all occasions that offer. And here we may see how it comes to pass that a man may justly incur punishment, though it be certain that, in all the particular actions that he wills, he does, and necessarily does, will that which he then judges to be good.* For, though his will be always determined by that which is judged good by his understanding, yet it excuses him not; because, by a too hasty choice of his own making, he has imposed on himself wrong measures of good and evil; which, however false and fallacious, have the same influence on all his future conduct, as if they were true and right. He has vitiated his own palate, and must be answerable to himself for the sickness and death that follows from it. The eternal law and nature of things must not be altered to comply with his ill-ordered choice. If the neglect or abuse of the liberty

* Only upon the theory of Plato, that punishment is to be contemplated simply as a corrective, and for the good of the punished. This great philosopher was not always consistent on the subject; for, after contending that every man is benefited by being punished for the injustice he commits, and that, consequently, whoever loves him, should desire his punishment, he shows the great impiety of a son who brought or designed to bring an action against his father for murder.—Ed.

he had to examine what would really and truly make for his happiness, misleads him, the miscarriages that follow on it must be imputed to his own election. He had a power to suspend his determination; it was given him, that he might examine, and take care of his own happiness, and look that he were not deceived. And he could never judge, that it was better to be deceived than not, in a matter of so great and near concernment.

What has been said may also discover to us the reason why men in this world prefer different things, and pursue happiness by contrary courses. But yet, since men are always constant and in earnest in matters of happiness and misery, the question still remains, How men come often to prefer the worse to the better; and to choose that, which, by their own confession, has made them miserable?

57. To account for the various and contrary ways men take, though all aim at being happy, we must consider whence the various uneasinesses that determine the will in the preference of each voluntary action, have their rise.

1. *From bodily Pains.*—Some of them come from causes not in our power; such as are often the pains of the body from want, disease, or outward injuries, as the rack, &c., which, when present and violent, operate for the most part forcibly on the will, and turn the courses of men's lives from virtue, piety, and religion, and what before they judged to lead to happiness; every one not endeavouring, or through disuse, not being able, by the contemplation of remote and future good, to raise in himself desires of them strong enough to counterbalance the uneasiness he feels in those bodily torments, and to keep his will steady in the choice of those actions which lead to future happiness. A neighbouring country* has been of late a tragical theatre from which we might fetch instances, if there needed any, and the world did not in all countries and ages furnish examples enough to confirm that received observation,—"necessitas cogit ad turpia;" and therefore there is great reason for us to pray, "Lead us not into temptation."

* France; where persecution for conscience' sake had produced dreadful scenes. The cruelty of the French laws is remarked by that quaint but able writer, the Lord Chancellor Fortescue, who says, "The law of France, in offences criminal, whereupon death dependeth, is not con-

2. *From wrong Desires arising from wrong Judgments.*— Other uneasinesses arise from our desires of absent good; which desires always bear proportion to, and depend on, the judgment we make and the relish we have of any absent good; in both which we are apt to be variously misled, and that by our own fault.

58. *Our judgment of present Good or Evil always right.*— In the first place, I shall consider the wrong judgments men make of future good and evil, whereby their desires are misled. For, as to present happiness and misery, when that alone comes into consideration, and the consequences are quite removed, a man never chooses amiss; he knows what best pleases him, and that he actually prefers. Things in their present enjoyment are what they seem; the apparent and real good are, in this case, always the same. For, the pain or pleasure being just so great and no greater than it is felt, the present good or evil is really so much as it appears. And, therefore, were every action of ours concluded within itself, and drew no consequences after it, we should undoubtedly never err in our choice of good; we should always infallibly prefer the best. Were the pains of honest industry, and of starving with hunger and cold set together before us, nobody would be in doubt which to choose: were the satisfaction of a lust and the joys of heaven offered at once to any one's present possession, he would not balance, or err in the determination of his choice.

59. But since our voluntary actions carry not all the

tent to convict the party accused by witnesses, lest by the testimony of false persons innocent blood should be condemned. But that law chooseth rather to torment such offenders with racking, until they themselves confess their own fault, rather than by deposition of witnesses, which many times, through wicked affections and sometimes by the subornation of evil men, are moved to perjury. Upon this, with such like cautels and respects, offenders and suspected persons are in that realm with so many kinds of rackings tormented, that my pen abhorreth to put them in writing. For some are stretched out upon a horse, in such wise that their sinews break, and their veins gush out with streams of blood. Again, other some have great weights hanged at their feet, whereby their limbs and joints are dissolved and unloosed. Some also have their mouths so long gagged open, till such abundance of water be poured in, that their belly swelleth like a hill or ton, to the intent that, then the belly being pierced with some boring instrument, the water may issue and spout out thereat." (Commendation of the Laws of England, c. xxii. p. 46.)—ED.

happiness and misery that depend on them along with them, in their present performance, but are the precedent causes of good and evil, which they draw after them and bring upon us, when they themselves are past and cease to be; our desires look beyond our present enjoyments, and carry the mind out to absent good, according to the necessity which we think there is of it, to the making or increase of our happiness. It is our opinion of such a necessity that gives it its attraction; without that, we are not moved by absent good. For, in this narrow scantling of capacity which we are accustomed to, and sensible of here, wherein we enjoy but one pleasure at once, which, when all uneasiness is away, is, whilst it lasts, sufficient to make us think ourselves happy; it is not all remote, and even apparent good that affects us. Because the indolency and enjoyment we have, sufficing for our present happiness, we desire not to venture the change, since we judge that we are happy already, being content, and that is enough. For who is content is happy. But as soon as any new uneasiness comes in, this happiness is disturbed, and we are set afresh on work in the pursuit of happiness.

60. *From a wrong Judgment of what makes a necessary Part of their Happiness.*—Their aptness therefore to conclude that they can be happy without it, is one great occasion that men often are not raised to the desire of the greatest absent good. For whilst such thoughts possess them, the joys of a future state move them not; they have little concern or uneasiness about them; and the will, free from the determination of such desires, is left to the pursuit of nearer satisfactions, and to the removal of those uneasinesses which it then feels, in its want of and longings after them. Change but a man's view of these things; let him see that virtue and religion are necessary to his happiness; let him look into the future state of bliss or misery, and see there God, the righteous Judge, ready to "render to every man according to his deeds; to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life; but unto every soul that doth evil, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish:" to him, I say, who hath a prospect of the different state of perfect happiness or misery that attends all men after this life, depending on their behaviour here, the measures of good and evil that govern his choice are

mightily changed. For, since nothing of pleasure and pain in this life can bear any proportion to the endless happiness or exquisite misery of an immortal soul hereafter, actions in his power will have their preference, not according to the transient pleasure or pain that accompanies or follows them here, but as they serve to secure that perfect durable happiness hereafter.

61. *A more particular Account of wrong Judgments.*—But, to account more particularly for the misery that men often bring on themselves, notwithstanding that they do all in earnest pursue happiness, we must consider how things come to be represented to our desires under deceitful appearances: and that is by the judgment pronouncing wrongly concerning them. To see how far this reaches, and what are the causes of wrong judgment, we must remember that things are judged good or bad in a double sense.

First, That which is properly good or bad, is nothing but barely pleasure or pain.

Secondly, But because not only present pleasure and pain, but that also which is apt by its efficacy or consequences to bring it upon us at a distance, is a proper object of our desires, and apt to move a creature that has foresight; therefore things also that draw after them pleasure and pain, are considered as good and evil.

62. The wrong judgment that misleads us, and makes the will often fasten on the worse side, lies in misreporting upon the various comparisons of these. The wrong judgment I am here speaking of, is not what one man may think of the determination of another, but what every man himself must confess to be wrong. For, since I lay it for a certain ground, that every intelligent being really seeks happiness, which consists in the enjoyment of pleasure, without any considerable mixture of uneasiness; it is impossible any one should willingly put into his own draught any bitter ingredient, or leave out anything in his power that would tend to his satisfaction, and the completing of his happiness, but only by wrong judgment. I shall not here speak of that mistake which is the consequence of invincible error, which scarce deserves the name of wrong judgment; out of that wrong judgment which every man himself must confess to be so.

63. *In comparing Present and Future.*—If, therefore, as to present pleasure and pain, the mind, as has been said, never mistakes that which is really good or evil; that which is the greater pleasure, or the greater pain, is really just as it appears. But, though present pleasure and pain show their difference and degrees so plainly as not to leave room to mistake; yet, when we compare present pleasure or pain with future, (which is usually the case in most important determinations of the will,) we often make wrong judgments of them, taking our measures of them in different positions of distance.* Objects near our view are apt to be thought greater than those of a larger size that are more remote: and so it is with pleasures and pains: the present is apt to carry it; and those at a distance have the disadvantage in the comparison. Thus most men, like spendthrift heirs, are apt to judge a little in hand better than a great deal to come; and so, for small matters in possession, part with greater ones in reversion. But that this is a wrong judgment, every one must allow, let his pleasure consist in whatever it will: since that which is future will certainly come to be present; and then, having the same advantage of nearness, will show itself in its full dimensions, and discover his wilful mistake, who judged of it by unequal measures. Were the pleasure of drinking accompanied the very moment a man takes off his glass with that sick stomach and aching head which, in some men, are sure to follow not many hours after; I think nobody, whatever pleasure he had in his cups,

* In illustration of this truth, Buffon has drawn a very ludicrous picture. In explaining the sensations of the first man:—"J'avois jeté les yeux sur mon corps. Je le jugeois d'un volume énorme, et si grand que tous les objets qui avoit frappé mes yeux ne me paraissoient être en comparaison que des points lumineux. Je m'examinai longtemps; je me regardois avec plaisir; ie suivois ma main de l'œil et j'observois ses mouvements; j'eus surtout cela les idées les plus étranges, je croyois que le mouvement de ma main n'etoit qu'une espêce d'existence fugitive, une succession de choses semblables; je l'approche de mes yeux: elle me parut encore plus grande que tout mon corps; et elle fit disparoître à ma vue un nombre infini d'objets. Je commençai à soupçonner qu'il y avoit de l'illusion dans cette sensation qui me venoit par les yeux. J'avoit vu distinctement que ma main n'etoit qu'une petite partie de mon corps; et je ne pouvais comprendre qu'elle fut augmenté au point de me paraître d'une grandeur démesurée, je resolus donc de ne me fier qu'au toucher qui ne m'avait pas encore trompé et d'être en garde sur toutes les autres façons de sentir et d'être.—ED.

would on these conditions even let wine touch his lips; which yet he daily swallows, and the evil side comes to be chosen only by the fallacy of a little difference in time. But if pleasure or pain can be so lessened only by a few hours' removal, how much more will it be so by a further distance, to a man that will not, by a right judgment, do what time will, i. e., bring it home upon himself, and consider it as present, and there take its true dimensions? This is the way we usually impose on ourselves, in respect of bare pleasure and pain, or the true degrees of happiness or misery: the future loses its just proportion, and what is present obtains the preference as the greater. I mention not here the wrong judgment, whereby the absent are not only lessened, but reduced to perfect nothing; when men enjoy what they can in present, and make sure of that, concluding amiss that no evil will thence follow. For that lies not in comparing the greatness of future good and evil, which is that we are here speaking of; but in another sort of wrong judgment, which is concerning good or evil, as it is considered to be the cause and procurement of pleasure or pain that will follow from it.

64. *Causes of this.*—The cause of our judging amiss, when we compare our present pleasure or pain with future, seems to me to be the weak and narrow constitution of our minds. We cannot well enjoy two pleasures at once, much less any pleasure almost, whilst pain possesses us. The present pleasure, if it be not very languid, and almost none at all, fills our narrow souls, and so takes up the whole mind, that it scarce leaves any thought of things absent: or if among our pleasures there are some which are not strong enough to exclude the consideration of things at a distance, yet we have so great an abhorrence of pain, that a little of it extinguishes all our pleasures: a little bitter mingled in our cup, leaves no relish of the sweet. Hence it comes that, at any rate, we desire to be rid of the present evil, which we are apt to think nothing absent can equal; because, under the present pain, we find not ourselves capable of any the least degree of happiness. Men's daily complaints are a loud proof of this: the pain that any one actually feels is still of all other the worst; and it is with anguish they cry out, "Any rather than this: nothing can be so intolerable as what I now suffer." And therefore our whole endeavours and thoughts are intent to

get rid of the present evil, before all things, as the first necessary condition to our happiness, let what will follow. Nothing, as we passionately think, can exceed, or almost equal, the uneasiness that sits so heavy upon us. And because th. abstinence from a present pleasure that offers itself is a pain, nay, oftentimes a very great one, the desire being inflamed by a near and tempting object, it is no wonder that that operates after the same manner pain does, and lessens in our thoughts what is future; and so forces us, as it were, blindfold into its embraces.

65. Add to this, that absent good, or, which is the same thing, future pleasure, especially if of a sort we are unacquainted with, seldom is able to counterbalance any uneasiness, either of pain or desire, which is present. For its greatness being no more than what shall be really tasted when enjoyed, men are apt enough to lessen that, to make it give place to any present desire; and conclude with themselves, that when it comes to trial, it may possibly not answer the report or opinion that generally passes of it; they having often found, that, not only what others have magnified, but even what they themselves have enjoyed with great pleasure and delight at one time, has proved insipid or nauseous at another; and therefore they see nothing in it for which they should forego a present enjoyment. But that this is a false way of judging, when applied to the happiness of another life, they must confess; unless they will say, "God cannot make those happy he designs to be so." For that being intended for a state of happiness, it must certainly be agreeable to every one's wish and desire: could we suppose their relishes as different there as they are here, yet the manna in heaven will suit every one's palate.* Thus much of the wrong judgment we make of present and future pleasure and pain, when they are compared together, and so the absent considered as future.

66. *In considering Consequences of Actions.*—As to things good or bad in their consequences, and by the aptness that is in them to procure us good or evil in the future, we judge amiss several ways.

* This thought owes, perhaps, its singular beauty, to the implicit reference to the dispensation of manna in the wilderness; where he who gathered much had none to spare, and he who gathered little lacked nothing.—ED.

1. When we judge that so much evil does not really depend on them, as in truth there does.

2. When we judge, that, though the consequence be of that moment, yet it is not of that certainty, but that it may otherwise fall out, or else by some means be avoided; as by industry, address, change, repentance, &c. That these are wrong ways of judging, were easy to show in every particular, if I would examine them at large singly; but I shall only mention this in general, viz., that it is a very wrong and irrational way of proceeding, to venture a greater good for a less, upon uncertain guesses, and before a due examination be made, proportionable to the weightiness of the matter, and the concernment it is to us not to mistake. This, I think every one must confess, especially if he considers the usual cause of this wrong judgment, whereof these following are some.

67. *Causes of this.*—I. Ignorance. He that judges without informing himself to the utmost that he is capable, cannot acquit himself of judging amiss.

II. Inadvertency. When a man overlooks even that which he does know. This is an affected and present ignorance, which misleads our judgments as much as the other. Judging is, as it were, balancing an account, and determining on which side the odds lie. If therefore either side be huddled up in haste, and several of the sums that should have gone into the reckoning be overlooked and left out, this precipitancy causes as wrong a judgment as if it were a perfect ignorance. That which most commonly causes this, is the prevalency of some present pleasure or pain, heightened by our feeble passionate nature, most strongly wrought on by what is present. To check this precipitancy, our understanding and reason were given us, if we will make a right use of them, to search and see, and then judge thereupon. Without liberty, the understanding would be to no purpose: and without understanding, liberty (if it could be) would signify nothing. If a man sees what would do him good or harm, what would make him happy or miserable, without being able to move himself one step towards or from it, what is he the better for seeing? And he that is at liberty to ramble in perfect darkness, what is his liberty better than if he were driven up and down as a bubble by the force of the

wind? The being acted by a blind impulse from without, or from within, is little odds. The first, therefore, and great use of liberty is to hinder blind precipitancy; the principal exercise of freedom is to stand still, open the eyes, look about, and take a view of the consequence of what we are going to do, as much as the weight of the matter requires. How much sloth and negligence, heat and passion, the prevalency of fashion or acquired indispositions do severally contribute, on occasion, to these wrong judgments, I shall not here further inquire. I shall only add one other false judgment, which I think necessary to mention, because perhaps it is little taken notice of, though of great influence.

68. *Wrong Judgment of what is necessary to our Happiness.*—All men desire happiness, that is past doubt; but, as has been already observed, when they are rid of pain, they are apt to take up with any pleasure at hand, or that custom has endeared to them, to rest satisfied in that; and so being happy, till some new desire, by making them uneasy, disturbs that happiness, and shows them that they are not so, they look no further; nor is the will determined to any action in pursuit of any other known or apparent good. For since we find that we cannot enjoy all sorts of good, but one excludes another; we do not fix our desires on every apparent greater good, unless it be judged to be necessary to our happiness; if we think we can be happy without it, it moves us not. This is another occasion to men of judging wrong, when they take not that to be necessary to their happiness which really is so. This mistake misleads us both in the choice of the good we aim at, and very often in the means to it, when it is a remote good. But which way ever it be, either by placing it where really it is not, or by neglecting the means as not necessary to it; when a man misses his great end, happiness, he will acknowledge he judged not right. That which contributes to this mistake, is the real or supposed unpleasantness of the actions, which are the way to this end; it seeming so preposterous a thing to men, to make themselves unhappy in order to happiness, that they do not easily bring themselves to it.

69. *We can change the Agreeableness or Disagreeableness in Things.*—The last inquiry, therefore, concerning this matter

is, "whether it be in a man's power to change the pleasantness and unpleasantness that accompanies any sort of action?" And as to that, it is plain, in many cases he can. Men may and should correct their palates, and give relish to what either has, or they suppose has none. The relish of the mind is as various as that of the body, and like that too may be altered; and it is a mistake to think that men cannot change the displeasingness or indifferency that is in actions into pleasure and desire, if they will do but what is in their power. A due consideration will do it in some cases; and practice, application, and custom in most. Bread or tobacco may be neglected, where they are shown to be useful to health, because of an indifferency or disrelish to them; reason and consideration at first recommend, and begin their trial, and use finds, or custom makes them pleasant. That this is so in virtue too, is very certain.* Actions are pleasing or displeasing, either in themselves, or considered as a means to a greater and more desirable end. The eating of a well-seasoned dish, suited to a man's palate, may move the mind by the delight itself that accompanies the eating, without reference to any other end; to which the consideration of the pleasure there is in health and strength (to which that meat is subservient) may add a new gusto, able to make us swallow an ill-relished potion. In the latter of these, any action is rendered more or less pleasing, only by the contemplation of the end, and the being more or less persuaded of its tendency to it, or necessary connexion with it: but the pleasure of the action itself is best acquired or increased by use and practice. Trials often reconcile us to that, which at a distance we looked on with aversion; and by repetitions wear us into a liking of what possibly, in the first essay, displeased us. Habits have powerful charms and put so strong attractions of easiness and pleasure into what we accustom ourselves to, that we cannot forbear to do, or at least be easy in the omission of actions, which habitual practice has suited, and thereby recommends to us. Though this be very visible, and every one's experience shows him he can do so; yet it is a part in the conduct of

* Indeed, according to Aristotle's theory, there can be no virtue but in customary actions, since virtue is merely the habit of doing good. (See Ethic. Nicom. l. ii. p. 74, with the Commentary of Victor.)—Ed.

men towards their happiness, neglected to a degree, that it will be possibly entertained as a paradox, if it be said, that men can make things or actions more or less pleasing to themselves; and thereby remedy that, to which one may justly impute a great deal of their wandering. Fashion and the common opinion having settled wrong notions, and education and custom ill habits, the just values of things are misplaced, and the palates of men corrupted. Pains should be taken to rectify these; and contrary habits change our pleasures, and give a relish to that which is necessary or conducive to our happiness. This every one must confess he can do; and when happiness is lost, and misery overtakes him, he will confess he did amiss in neglecting it, and condemn himself for it; and I ask every one, whether he has not often done so?

70. *Preference of Vice to Virtue a manifest wrong Judgment.*—I shall not now enlarge any further on the wrong judgments and neglect of what is in their power, whereby men mislead themselves. This would make a volume, and is not my business. But whatever false notions, or shameful neglect of what is in their power, may put men out of their way to happiness, and distract them, as we see, into so different courses of life, this yet is certain, that morality, established upon its true foundations, cannot but determine the choice in any one that will but consider: and he that will not be so far a rational creature as to reflect seriously upon infinite happiness and misery, must needs condemn himself as not making that use of his understanding he should.* The rewards and punishments of another life,

* On the subject of future punishment, here barely glanced at by Locke, whole volumes have been composed by theological writers; of which, the most extraordinary that has fallen in my way, is the work of the Jesuit Drexelius. entitled "De Damnatorum Carcere et Rogo." As, to borrow a phrase of Locke's, the book is not every day to be met with, it may not, perhaps, be amiss to introduce here some account of its character and contents. The design is unquestionably meritorious; being no other than to deter men from vice and iniquity, by laying before them a terrible picture of the results to which they inevitably lead. There is, however, something quaint and singular in the manner in which the work is executed. He makes a nine-fold division of the torments of hell; of which the first is darkness: "Primum æternitatis Tartaræ tormentum, tenebræ." (p. 17.) To this species of torture succeeds that of weeping and lamentation: "Alterum

which the Almighty has established as the enforcements of his laws, are of weight enough to determine the choice, against whatever pleasure or pain this life can show, when the eternal state is considered but in its bare possibility, which nobody can make any doubt of. He that will allow exquisite and endless happiness to be but the possible consequence of a good life here, and the contrary state the possible reward of a bad one, must own himself to judge very much amiss if he does not conclude that a virtuous life, with the certain expectation of everlasting bliss, which may come, is to be preferred to a vicious one, with the fear of

æternitatis Tartaræ lamentum, tormentum, fletus." (p. 37.) From the nature of the third kind of punishment, it may be inferred that the good Jesuit conceived part of the joys of Paradise to consist in eating and drinking; for, losing sight of the probable condition of disembodied spirits, he conceives a ninth part of the torments of hell to consist in eternal hunger and thirst: "Tertium æternitatis Tartaræ tormentum, fames et sitis." (p. 53.) The next division is illustrated by an engraving representing a multitude of human beings mingled confusedly with devils, in the form of goats, and all holding their noses. A flying devil, with bat's wings, goat's legs, a lion's tail, and a most hideous aspect, is emptying a stinkpot over their heads, floating beneath which is a label, with this device: "Hæc Arabia hoc thus gignit." On the back of the engraving is a head of the Virgin, full of sweetness and gentleness. In illustration of the torture inflicted by fetid odours, the author gives an account of the imprisonment of Carlo Spinola, in a fearful prison in Japan, which is too horrible to be repeated. The heading of the chapter is as follows:—"Quartum æternitatis Tartaræ tormentum, fœtor." (p. 71.) Next to this succeeds the punishment of fire: "Ignis." (p. 89.) Sixth, is the worm of conscience: "Vermis conscientiæ." (p. 109.) Seventh, the place and company: "Locus et societas." (p. 127.) This part is illustrated by a print, singularly grotesque, representing a company of fat and sleek devils dancing with a number of the damned, over a pavement of flames. They are evidently newly arrived, being just within the gates, which are strongly barred and bolted. Two infernal musicians, one with a dragon's tail, the other with the claws of an eagle, are flying over their heads, the one blowing a trumpet, and the other scraping a fiddle. Scattered among the roots of the flames are letters, which being put together form the following sentences: "Like dancers, like pipers;" —"Quales choreæ tales et Chorantæ." On the back of this horrid representation is the head of our Saviour. The eighth punishment consists in despair: "Desperatio." (p. 143.) And the ninth, in the never-ending duration of the whole: "Æternitas." (p. 155.) The work ends with a peroration, containing a brief recapitulation and exposition of the whole subject. Dr. Thomas Burnett, in his treatise De Statu mortuorum et Resurgentium, has a disquisition of considerable length on

that dreadful state of misery which it is very possible may overtake the guilty; or, at best, the terrible uncertain hope of annihilation.* This is evidently so, though the virtuous life here had nothing but pain, and the vicious continual pleasure; which yet is, for the most part, quite otherwise, and wicked men have not much the odds to brag of, even in their present possession; nay, all things rightly considered, have, I think, even the worst part here.† But when infinite happiness is put into one scale, against infinite misery in the other, if the worst that comes to the pious man, if he mistakes, be the best that the wicked can attain to if he be in the right, who can without madness run the venture? Who in his wits would choose to come within a possibility of infinite misery, which if he miss, there is yet nothing to be got by that hazard? Whereas on the other side, the sober man ventures nothing against infinite happiness to be got, if his expectation comes not to pass. If the good man be in the right, he is eternally happy; if he mistakes, he is not miserable, he feels nothing. On the other side, if the

the locality and pains of hell. (p. 283.) Further on (p. 291) he discusses the question, first, I believe, proposed by Origen, whether the punishments of a future life are to be eternal, or merely indefinite? and his reasonings are worthy the consideration of all Christians.—Ed.

* Addison has treated at greater length of this topic in the "Spectator," a work which the present generation appears disposed to neglect, notwithstanding its rare merit. Milton, too, in that poem which contains the exposition of all the hopes and fears of humanity, has glanced at this thought. He puts even into the mouth of devils a rejection of the hope which bad men entertain of annihilation, in verses which I have often quoted:—

> "Thus repulsed, our final hope
> Is flat despair: we must exasperate
> The Almighty victor, to spend all his rage,
> And that must end us—*that* must be our cure,
> To be no more: sad cure! for who would lose,
> Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
> *Those thoughts that wander through eternity,*
> To perish rather, swallowed up and lost
> In the wide womb of uncreated night,
> Devoid of sense and motion?"
>
> (Paradise Lost, II. 142 et seq.)—Ed.

† This was also the opinion of Plato, who, in the first and second books of the Republic, and in the Gorgias, has proved to demonstration that to be vicious is to be miserable.—Ed.

wicked man be in the right, he is not happy; if he mistakes, he is infinitely miserable. Must it not be a most manifest wrong judgment that does not presently see to which side, in this case, the preference is to be given? I have forborne to mention anything of the certainty or probability of a future state, designing here to show the wrong judgment that any one must allow he makes upon his own principles, laid how he pleases, who prefers the short pleasures of a vicious life upon any consideration, whilst he knows, and cannot but be certain, that a future life is at least possible.

71. *Recapitulation.*—To conclude this inquiry into human liberty, which, as it stood before, I myself from the beginning fearing, and a very judicious friend of mine, since the publication, suspecting to have some mistake in it, though he could not particularly show it me, I was put upon a stricter review of this chapter. Wherein lighting upon a very easy and scarce observable slip I had made, in putting one seemingly indifferent word for another, that discovery opened to me this present view,* which here, in this second edition, I submit to the learned world, and which, in short, is this: "Liberty is a power to act or not to act, according as the mind directs." A power to direct the operative faculties to motion or rest in particular instances is that which we call the will. That which in the train of our voluntary actions determines the will to any change of operation, is some present uneasiness; which is, or at least is always accompanied with that of desire. Desire is always moved by evil, to fly it; because a total freedom from pain always makes a necessary part of our happiness: but every good, nay, every greater good, does not constantly move desire, because it may not make, or may not be taken to make, any necessary

* It is remarked by Quintillian, where he is confessing certain erroneous opinions he had formerly held, that even Hippocrates distinguished as he was in the science of medicine, makes the acknowledgment that he had formerly maintained false positions. Cicero, too, in his riper years, acted upon the same principles, rejecting opinions which he had once advocated. (Quint. Institut. Orat. Liv. III. cap. vi. p. 153.) We have here a proof of the same greatness in Locke, who does not, like Sangrado, affect unerring consistency, which belongs not to man, but changing his opinion upon mature consideration, frankly avows it, and registers the fact for the encouragement of future philosophers.—Ed.

part of our happiness. For all that we desire, is only to be happy. But though this general desire of happiness operates constantly and invariably, yet the satisfaction of any particular desire can be suspended from determining the will to any subservient action, till we have maturely examined whether the particular apparent good which we then desire makes a part of our real happiness, or be consistent or inconsistent with it. The result of our judgment upon that examination is what ultimately determines the man, who could not be free if his will were determined by anything but his own desire, guided by his own judgment. I know that liberty, by some, is placed in an indifferency of the man, antecedent to the determination of his will. I wish they who lay so much stress on such an antecedent indifferency, as they call it, had told us plainly whether this supposed indifferency be antecedent to the thought and judgment of the understanding, as well as to the decree of the will. For it is pretty hard to state it between them; i. e., immediately after the judgment of the understanding, and before the determination of the will, because the determination of the will immediately follows the judgment of the understanding: and to place liberty in an indifferency, antecedent to the thought and judgment of the understanding, seems to me to place liberty in a state of darkness, wherein we can neither see nor say anything of it; at least it places it in a subject incapable of it, no agent being allowed capable of liberty, but in consequence of thought and judgment. I am not nice about phrases, and therefore consent to say with those that love to speak so, that liberty is placed in indifferency; but it is an indifferency which remains after the judgment of the understanding, yea, even after the determination of the will: and that is an indifferency not of the man, (for after he has once judged which is best, viz., to do or forbear, he is no longer indifferent,) but an indifferency of the operative powers of the man, which remaining equally able to operate or to forbear operating after, as before, the decree of the will, are in a state, which, if one pleases, may be called indifferency; and as far as this indifferency reaches, a man is free, and no further; v. g., I have the ability to move my hand, or to let it rest; that operative power is indifferent to move or not to move my hand: I am then. in

that respect, perfectly free. My will determines that operative power to rest; I am yet free, because the indifferency of that my operative power to act, or not to act, still remains; the power of moving my hand is not at all impaired by the determination of my will, which at present orders rest; the indifferency of that power to act or not to act, is just as it was before, as will appear, if the will puts it to the trial, by ordering the contrary. But if during the rest of my hand, it be seized with a sudden palsy, the indifferency of that operative power is gone, and with it my liberty; I have no longer freedom in that respect, but am under a necessity of letting my hand rest. On the other side, if my hand be put into motion by a convulsion, the indifferency of that operative faculty is taken away by that motion, and my liberty in that case is lost, for I am under a necessity of having my hand move. I have added this, to show in what sort of indifferency liberty seems to me to consist, and not in any other, real or imaginary.

72. True notions concerning the nature and extent of liberty are of so great importance, that I hope I shall be pardoned this digression, which my attempt to explain it has led me into. The ideas of will, volition, liberty, and necessity, in this chapter of power, came naturally in my way. In a former edition of this treatise I gave an account of my thoughts concerning them, according to the light I then had; and now, as a lover of truth, and not a worshipper of my own doctrines, I own some change of my opinion, which I think I have discovered ground for. In what I first writ, I with an unbiassed indifferency followed truth whither I thought she led me. But neither being so vain as to fancy infallibility, nor so disingenuous as to dissemble my mistakes for fear of blemishing my reputation, I have, with the same sincere design for truth only, not been ashamed to publish what a severer inquiry has suggested. It is not impossible but that some may think my former notions right, and some (as I have already found) these latter, and some neither. I shall not at all wonder at this variety in men's opinions: impartial deductions of reason in controverted points being so rare, and exact ones in abstract notions not so very easy, especially if of any length. And therefore I should think myself not a little beholden to any one, who would, upon

these or any other grounds, fairly clear this subject of liberty from any difficulties that may yet remain.*

Before I close this chapter, it may perhaps be to our purpose, and help to give us clearer conceptions about power, if we make our thoughts take a little more exact survey of action. I have said above, that we have ideas but of two sorts of action, viz., motion and thinking. These, in truth, though called and counted actions, yet, if nearly considered, will not be found to be always perfectly so. For, if I mistake not, there are instances of both kinds, which, upon due consideration, will be found rather passions than actions, and consequently so far the effects barely of passive powers in those subjects, which yet on their accounts are thought agents. For in these instances, the substance that hath motion or thought receives the impression, whereby it is put into that action purely from without, and so acts merely by the capacity it has to receive such an impression from some external agent; and such a power is not properly an active power, but a mere passive capacity in the subject. Sometimes the substance or agent puts itself into action by its own power, and this is properly active power. Whatsoever modification a substance has, whereby it produces any effect, that is called action; v. g., a solid substance, by motion, operates on or alters the sensible ideas of another substance, and therefore this modification of motion we call action. But yet this motion in that solid substance is, when rightly considered, but a passion, if it received it only from some external agent. So that the active power of motion is in no substance which cannot begin motion in itself or in another substance when at rest. So likewise in thinking, a power to receive ideas or thoughts from the operation of any external substance, is called a power of thinking: but this is but a passive power,

* It would require a treatise, not a note, to detail the attempts which have since been made to settle this question. Dr. Priestley, in England, however, and the authors of the Système de la Nature, in France, are among the writers who have chiefly distinguished themselves in its investigation. Like the origin of evil, the question has, in fact, become a mere commonplace for every metaphysician who is content to waste his strength upon inquiries that have been shown to lead to nothing; since, whatever may be written, man feels that he is free, and believes that he is accountable for the use he may make of his freedom. —Ed.

or capacity. But to be able to bring into view ideas out of sight at one's own choice, and to compare which of them one thinks fit, this is an active power. This reflection may be of some use to preserve us from mistakes about powers and actions, which grammar and the common frame of languages may be apt to lead us into; since what is signified by verbs that grammarians call active, does not always signify action: v. g., this proposition: I see the moon, or a star, or I feel the heat of the sun, though expressed by a verb active, does not signify any action in me, whereby I operate on those substances; but the reception of the ideas of light, roundness, and heat, wherein I am not active, but barely passive, and cannot in that position of my eyes, or body, avoid receiving them. But when I turn my eyes another way, or remove my body out of the sunbeams, I am properly active; because of my own choice, by a power within myself, I put myself into that motion. Such an action is the product of active power.

73. And thus I have, in a short draught, given a view of our original ideas, from whence all the rest are derived, and of which they are made up; which, if I would consider as a philosopher, and examine on what causes they depend, and of what they are made, I believe they all might be reduced to these very few primary and original ones, viz., extension, solidity, mobility, or the power of being moved; which by our senses we receive from body: perceptivity, or the power of perception, or thinking; motivity, or the power of moving: which by reflection we receive from our minds. I crave leave to make use of these two new words, to avoid the danger of being mistaken in the use of those which are equivocal. To which if we add existence, duration, number, which belong both to the one and the other, we have, perhaps, all the original ideas on which the rest depend. For by these, I imagine, might be explained the nature of colours, sounds, tastes, smells, and all other ideas we have, if we had but faculties acute enough to perceive the severally modified extensions and motions of these minute bodies, which produce those several sensations in us. But my present purpose being only to inquire into the knowledge the mind has of things, by those ideas and appearances which God has fitted it to receive from them, and how the mind comes by that

knowledge, rather than into their causes or manner of production, I shall not, contrary to the design of this essay, set myself to inquire philosophically into the peculiar constitution of bodies, and the configuration of parts, whereby they have the power to produce in us the ideas of their sensible qualities: I shall not enter any further into that disquisition; it sufficing to my purpose to observe, that gold or saffron has a power to produce in us the idea of yellow, and snow or milk the idea of white, which we can only have by our sight, without examining the texture of the parts of those bodies, or the particular figures or motion of the particles which rebound from them, to cause in us that particular sensation: though, when we go beyond the bare ideas in our minds, and would inquire into their causes, we cannot conceive anything else to be in any sensible object, whereby it produces different ideas in us, but the different bulk, figure, number, texture, and motion of its insensible parts.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF MIXED MODES.

1. *Mixed Modes, what.*—HAVING treated of simple modes in the foregoing chapters, and given several instances of some of the most considerable of them, to show what they are, and how we come by them; we are now in the next place to consider those we call mixed modes; such are the complex ideas we mark by the names obligation, drunkenness, a lie, &c., which consisting of several combinations of simple ideas of different kinds, I have called mixed modes, to distinguish them from the more simple modes, which consist only of simple ideas of the same kind. These mixed modes being also such combinations of simple ideas, as are not looked upon to be characteristical marks of any real beings that have a steady existence, but scattered and independent ideas put together by the mind, are thereby distinguished from the complex ideas of substances.

2. *Made by the Mind.*—That the mind, in respect of its simple ideas, is wholly passive, and receives them all from the existence and operations of things, such as sensation or reflection offers them, without being able to make any one idea,

experience shows us: but if we attentively consider the ideas I call mixed modes, we are now speaking of, we shall find their original quite different. The mind often exercises an active power in making these several combinations: for it being once furnished with simple ideas, it can put them together in several compositions, and so make variety of complex ideas, without examining whether they exist so together in nature. And hence I think it is that these ideas are called notions, as if they had their original and constant existence more in the thoughts of men, than in the reality of things; and to form such ideas, it sufficed that the mind puts the parts of them together, and that they were consistent in the understanding, without considering whether they had any real being; though I do not deny but several of them might be taken from observation, and the existence of several simple ideas so combined, as they are put together in the understanding. For the man who first framed the idea of hypocrisy, might have either taken it at first from the observation of one who made show of good qualities which he had not, or else have framed that idea in his mind without having any such pattern to fashion it by: for it is evident that, in the beginning of languages and societies of men several of those complex ideas, which were consequent to the constitutions established amongst them, must needs have been in the minds of men before they existed anywhere else: and that many names that stood for such complex ideas were in use, and so those ideas framed, before the combinations they stood for ever existed.

3. *Sometimes got by the Explication of their Names.*—Indeed, now that languages are made, and abound with words standing for such combinations, an usual way of getting these complex ideas is, by the explication of those terms that stand for them. For, consisting of a company of simple ideas combined, they may, by words standing for those simple ideas, be represented to the mind of one who understands those words, though that complex combination of simple ideas were never offered to his mind by the real existence of things. Thus a man may come to have the idea of sacrilege or murder, by enumerating to him the simple ideas which these words stand for, without ever seeing either of them committed.

4. *The Name ties the Parts of mixed Modes into one Idea.*—Every mixed mode consisting of many distinct simple ideas, it seems reasonable to inquire, "whence it has its unity, and how such a precise multitude comes to make but one idea, since that combination does not always exist together in nature?" To which I answer, it is plain it has its unity from an act of the mind, combining those several simple ideas together, and considering them as one complex one, consisting of those parts; and the mark of this union, or that which is looked on generally to complete it, is one name given to that combination. For it is by their names that men commonly regulate their account of their distinct species of mixed modes, seldom allowing or considering any number of simple ideas to make one complex one, but such collections as there be names for. Thus, though the killing of an old man be as fit in nature to be united into one complex idea, as the killing a man's father; yet, there being no name standing precisely for the one, as there is the name of parricide to mark the other, it is not taken for a particular complex idea, nor a distinct species of actions from that of killing a young man, or any other man.

5. *The Cause of making mixed Modes.*—If we should inquire a little further, to see what it is that occasions men to make several combinations of simple ideas into distinct and, as it were, settled modes, and neglect others which, in the nature of things themselves, have as much an aptness to be combined and make distinct ideas, we shall find the reason of it to be the end of language; which being to mark or communicate men's thoughts to one another with all the dispatch that may be, they usually make such collections of ideas into complex modes, and affix names to them, as they have frequent use of in their way of living and conversation, leaving others, which they have but seldom an occasion to mention, loose and without names to tie them together; they rather choosing to enumerate (when they have need) such ideas as make them up, by the particular names that stand for them, than to trouble their memories by multiplying of complex ideas with names to them, which they seldom or never have any occasion to make use of.

6. *Why Words in one Language have none answering in another.*—This shows us how it comes to pass that there are

in every language many particular words which cannot be rendered by any one single word of another. For the several fashions, customs, and manners of one nation, making several combinations of ideas familiar and necessary in one, which another people have had never any occasion to make, or perhaps so much as taken notice of; names come of course to be annexed to them, and to avoid long periphrases in things of daily conversation, and so they become so many distinct complex ideas in their minds. Thus ὀστρακισμὸς * amongst the Greeks, and proscriptio amongst the Romans, were words which other languages had no names that exactly answered, because they stood for complex ideas, which were not in the minds of the men of other nations. Where there was no such custom, there was no notion of any such actions; no use of such combinations of ideas as were united, and, as it were, tied together, by those terms; and therefore in other countries there were no names for them.

7. *And Languages change.*—Hence also we may see the reason why languages constantly change, take up new and lay by old terms; because change of customs and opinions bringing with it new combinations of ideas, which it is necessary frequently to think on and talk about; new names, to avoid long descriptions, are annexed to them, and so they become new species of complex modes. What a number of different ideas are by this means wrapped up in one short sound, and how much of our time and breath is thereby saved, any one will see, who will but take the pains to enumerate all the ideas that either reprieve or appeal stand for; and, instead of either of those names, use a periphrasis, to make any one understand their meaning.

8. *Mixed Modes where they exist.*—Though I shall have

* Of the Grecian *ostracism* the ideas generally prevailing are almost wholly false. Many appear to imagine that it was the punishment of superior virtue; whereas it was simply a preservative against the evil projects of men without principle or honour. That it might occasionally be perverted, is not to be denied: but what institution may not? Schömann takes the right view of the question where he observes: "Vere Plutarchus dixit, exilium illud, quod subibant ii, adversus quos suffragia lata erant, non maleficiorum pœnam, sed, *opum nimiarum potentiæque supra civilem modum auctæ castigationem fuisse.*" (On the Assemblies of the Athenians, II. vi 243 et seq.; Conf. Jul. Poll. viii. 19; Comment. v. p. 608.) With regard to the Roman *proscription*, people are better informed.—Ed.

occasion to consider this more at large when I come to treat of words and their use, yet I could not avoid to take thus much notice here of the names of mixed modes; which being fleeting and transient combinations of simple ideas, which have but a short existence anywhere but in the minds of men, and there too have no longer any existence than whilst they are thought on, have not so much anywhere the appearance of a constant and lasting existence as in their names: which are therefore, in this sort of ideas, very apt to be taken for the ideas themselves. For if we should inquire where the idea of a triumph or apotheosis exists, it is evident they could neither of them exist altogether anywhere in the things themselves, being actions that required time to their performance, and so could never all exist together: and as to the minds of men, where the ideas of these actions are supposed to be lodged, they have there too a very uncertain existence; and therefore we are apt to annex them to the names that excite them in us.

9. *How we get the Ideas of mixed Modes.*—There are therefore three ways whereby we get the complex ideas of mixed modes. 1. By experience and observation of things themselves. Thus, by seeing two men wrestle or fence, we get the idea of wrestling or fencing. 2. By invention, or voluntary putting together of several simple ideas in our own minds: so he that first invented printing or etching, had an idea of it in his mind before it ever existed. 3. Which is the most usual way, by explaining the names of actions we never saw, or notions we cannot see; and by enumerating, and thereby, as it were, setting before our imaginations all those ideas which go to the making them up, and are the constituent parts of them. For, having by sensation and reflection stored our minds with simple ideas, and by use got the names that stand for them, we can by those means represent to another any complex idea we would have him conceive; so that it has in it no simple ideas but what he knows, and has with us the same name for. For all our complex ideas are ultimately resolvable into simple ideas, of which they are compounded and originally made up, though perhaps their immediate ingredients, as I may so say, are also complex ideas. Thus, the mixed mode which the word lie stands for is made of these simple ideas: 1. Articulate

sounds. 2. Certain ideas in the mind of the speaker. 3. Those words the signs of those ideas. 4. Those signs put together by affirmation or negation, otherwise than the ideas they stand for, are in the mind of the speaker. I think I need not go any further in the analysis of that complex idea we call a lie; what I have said is enough to show that it is made up of simple ideas: and it could not be but an offensive tediousness to my reader, to trouble him with a more minute enumeration of every particular simple idea that goes to this complex one; which, from what has been said, he cannot but be able to make out to himself. The same may be done in all our complex ideas whatsoever; which, however compounded and decompounded, may at last be resolved into simple ideas, which are all the materials of knowledge or thought we have, or can have. Nor shall we have reason to fear that the mind is hereby stinted to too scanty a number of ideas, if we consider what an inexhaustible stock of simple modes number and figure alone afford us. How far then mixed modes which admit of the various combinations of different simple ideas and their infinite modes are from being few and scanty, we may easily imagine. So that, before we have done, we shall see that nobody need be afraid he shall not have scope and compass enough for his thoughts to range in, though they be, as I pretend, confined only to simple ideas, received from sensation or reflection, and their several combinations.

10. *Motion, Thinking, and Power have been most modified.*— It is worth our observing, which of all our simple ideas have been most modified, and had most mixed ideas made out of them, with names given to them; and those have been these three: thinking, and motion, (which are the two ideas which comprehend in them all action,) and power, from whence these actions are conceived to flow. The simple ideas, I say of thinking, motion, and power, have been those which have been most modified, and out of whose modifications have been made most complex modes, with names to them. For action being the great business of mankind, and the whole matter about which all laws are conversant, it is no wonder that the several modes of thinking and motion should be taken notice of, the ideas of them observed, and laid up in the memory, and have names assigned to them; without which

laws could be but ill made, or vice and disorder repressed. Nor could any communication be well had amongst men without such complex ideas, with names to them: and therefore men have settled names, and supposed settled ideas in their minds of modes of action distinguished by their causes, means, objects, ends, instruments, time, place, and other circumstances, and also of their powers fitted for those actions, v. g., boldness is the power to speak or do what we intend, before others, without fear or disorder; and the Greeks call the confidence of speaking by a peculiar name, *παῤῥησία*:* which power or ability in man of doing anything, when it has been acquired by frequent doing the same thing, is that idea we name habit; when it is forward, and ready upon every occasion to break into action, we call it disposition. Thus, testiness is a disposition or aptness to be angry.

To conclude: Let us examine any modes of action, v. g., consideration and assent, which are actions of the mind; running and speaking, which are actions of the body; revenge and murder, which are actions of both together; and we shall find them but so many collections of simple ideas, which, together, make up the complex ones signified by those names.

11. *Several Words seeming to signify Action, signify but the Effect.*—Power being the source from whence all action proceeds, the substances wherein these powers are, when they exert this power into act, are called causes; and the substances which thereupon are produced, or the simple ideas which are introduced into any subject by the exerting of that power, are called effects. The efficacy whereby the new substance or idea is produced, is called, in the subject exerting that power, action; but in the subject wherein any simple idea is changed or produced, it is called passion: which efficacy, however various, and the effects almost infinite, yet we can, I think, conceive it, in intellectual agents, to be nothing else but modes of thinking and willing; in corporeal agents, nothing else but modifications of motion.† I say I

* The word *παῤῥησία* was employed in a variety of senses by the Greeks, but properly signifies that frank confidence which enables a man to utter what he conceives to be the truth. Stobæus (tit. xiii. t. i. p. 320, et seq., *Gaisford*) has collected innumerable passages in illustration of this quality, which the reader will do well to consult.—ED.

† Compare with the remarks in the text the speculations of David

think we cannot conceive it to be any other but these two: for whatever sort of action besides these produces any effects. I confess myself to have no notion or idea of; and so it is quite remote from my thoughts, apprehensions, and knowledge; and as much in the dark to me as five other senses, or as the ideas of colours to a blind man: and therefore many words which seem to express some action, signify nothing of the action or modus operandi at all, but barely the effect, with some circumstances of the subject wrought on, or cause operating: v. g., creation, annihilation, contain in them no idea of the action or manner whereby they are produced, but barely of the cause, and the thing done. And when a countryman says the cold freezes water, though the word freezing seems to import some action, yet truly it signifies nothing but the effect, viz., that water that was before fluid is become hard and consistent, without containing any idea of the action whereby it is done.

12. *Mixed Modes made also of other Ideas.*—I think I shall not need to remark here that, though power and action make the greatest part of mixed modes, marked by names, and familiar in the minds and mouths of men; yet other simple ideas and their several combinations are not excluded: much less, I think, will it be necessary for me to enumerate all the mixed modes which have been settled with names to them. That would be to make a dictionary of the greatest part of the words made use of in divinity, ethics, law, and politics, and several other sciences. All that is requisite to my present design, is to show what sort of ideas those are which I call mixed modes, how the mind comes by them, and that they are compositions made up of simple ideas got from sensation and reflection: which, I suppose I have done.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF OUR COMPLEX IDEAS OF SUBSTANCES.

1. *Ideas of Substances, how made.*—THE mind being, as I have declared, furnished with a great number of the simple

Hartley, in his curious little treatise, entitled "Conjecturæ quædam de Sensu, Motu, et Idearum Generatione;" particularly in Propositions xii. xiii. p 22 et seq.—ED.

ideas conveyed in by the senses, as they are found in exterior things, or by reflection on its own operations, takes notice also that a certain number of these simple ideas go constantly together; which being presumed to belong to one thing, and words being suited to common apprehensions and made use of for quick dispatch, are called, so united in one subject, by one name; which, by inadvertency, we are apt afterward to talk of and consider as one simple idea, which indeed is a complication of many ideas together: because, as I have said, not imagining how these simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum wherein they do subsist, and from which they do result; which therefore we call substance.*

2. *Our Idea of Substance in general.*—So that if any one will examine himself concerning his notion of pure substance in general, he will find he has no other idea of it at all, but only a supposition of he knows not what support of such qualities which are capable of producing simple ideas in us; which qualities are commonly called accidents.† If any one should be asked, what is the subject wherein colour or weight

* On this subject much nonsense has been ere now written, of which Dr. Priestley has furnished his share. "This scheme of the *immateriality* of *matter*, as it may be called, or, rather, the mutual penetration of matter, first occurred to my friend, Mr. Mitchell, on reading Baxter, 'On the Immateriality of the Soul.' He found that this author's idea of matter was, that it consisted, as it were, of bricks, cemented together by an immaterial mortar. These bricks, if he would be consistent to his own reasoning, are again composed of less bricks, cemented likewise by an immaterial mortar, and so on, ad infinitum." (Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colours, p. 392, et seq.; Stewart's Philosophical Essays, p. 187. Compare Baxter's Dying Thoughts, p. 27, et seq.) Further on, Priestley says, "Finding it still necessary, in order to solve the appearances of nature, to admit of *extended* and penetrable immaterial substance, if he maintained the impenetrability of matter; and observing further, that all we perceive by contact, &c., is this penetrable immaterial substance, and not the impenetrable one, he began to think he might as well admit of penetrable material, as of penetrable immaterial substance, especially as we know nothing more of the nature of *substance* than that it is something which supports properties," &c. (See Appendix, No. IV. at end of vol. ii.)—ED.

† The expressions in the text furnished Berkeley with the whole ground-work of that ingenious raillery in which he indulges, on the word substance. (See Dialogues on Matter and Spirit, i. p. 142.) The way in which Collier disposes of everything external to the mind, is more summary, and no less peremptory. "To suppose the being of a thing granted to be unknown with him who affirms that it is nothing at all, is to beg the question; whereas to suppose it to be nothing at all, upon

inheres, he would have nothing to say, but the solid extended parts; and if he were demanded what is it that solidity and extension adhere in, he would not be in a much better case than the Indian before mentioned, who, saying that the world was supported by a great elephant, was asked what the elephant rested on; to which his answer was—a great tortoise. But being again pressed to know what gave support to the broad-backed tortoise, replied—something, he knew not what. And thus here, as in all other cases where we use words without having clear and distinct ideas, we talk like children; who being questioned what such a thing is, which they know not, readily give this satisfactory answer, that it is something: which in truth signifies no more, when so used either by children or men, but that they know not what; and that the thing they pretend to know and talk of, is what they have no distinct idea of at all, and so are perfectly ignorant of it, and in the dark. The idea then we have, to which we give the general name substance, being nothing but the supposed but unknown support of those qualities we find existing, which we imagine cannot subsist, "sine re substante," without something to support them, we call that support substantia; which, according to the true import of the word, is, in plain English, standing under or upholding.

3. *Of the Sorts of Substances.*—An obscure and relative idea of substance in general being thus made, we come to have the ideas of particular sorts of substances, by collecting such combinations of simple ideas as are, by experience and observation of men's senses, taken notice of to exist together, and are therefore supposed to flow from the particular internal constitution, or unknown essence of that substance. Thus we come to have the ideas of a man, horse, gold, water, &c., of which substances, whether any one has any other clear idea, further than of certain simple ideas coexistent together, I appeal to every one's own experience. It is the ordinary qualities observable in iron, or a diamond,

the same concessions, is not to beg the question—I mean any fair or legal one;—because, on one hand, no one has any right to make that a question which he professes he knows nothing of; and, on the other hand, every one has a right, not only to question the existence, but also to suppose the non-existence of what is granted to be unknown." (Clavis Universalis, Part II. cap. i. p. 43.) See Appendix, No. V. at end of vol. ii.—Ed.

put together, that make the true complex idea of those substances, which a smith or a jeweller commonly knows better than a philosopher; who, whatever substantial forms he may talk of, has no other idea of those substances, than what is framed by a collection of those simple ideas which are to be found in them; only we must take notice, that our complex ideas of substances, besides all those simple ideas they are made up of, have always the confused idea of something to which they belong, and in which they subsist. And therefore when we speak of any sort of substance, we say it is a thing having such or such qualities; as body is a thing that is extended, figured, and capable of motion; spirit, a thing capable of thinking; and so hardness, friability, and power to draw iron, we say, are qualities to be found in a loadstone. These, and the like fashions of speaking, intimate that the substance is supposed always something besides the extension, figure, solidity, motion, thinking, or other observable ideas, though we know not what it is.

4. *No clear idea of Substance in general.*—Hence, when we talk or think of any particular sort of corporeal substances, as horse, stone, &c., though the idea we have of either of them be but the complication or collection of those several simple ideas of sensible qualities, which we used to find united in the thing called horse or stone; yet, because we cannot conceive how they should subsist alone, nor one in another, we suppose them existing in and supported by some common subject; which support we denote by the name substance, though it be certain we have no clear or distinct idea of that thing we suppose a support.

5. *As clear an Idea of Spirit as Body.*—The same thing happens concerning the operations of the mind, viz., thinking, reasoning, fearing, &c., which we concluding not to subsist of themselves, nor apprehending how they can belong to body, or be produced by it, we are apt to think these the actions of some other substance, which we call spirit; whereby yet it is evident that, having no other idea or notion of matter, but something wherein those many sensible qualities which affect our senses do subsist; by supposing a substance wherein thinking, knowing, doubting, and a power of moving, &c., do subsist, we have as clear a notion of the substance of spirit, as we have of body: the one being sup-

posed to be (without knowing what it is) the substratum to those simple ideas we have from without; and the other supposed (with a like ignorance of what it is) to be the substratum to those operations we experiment in ourselves within. It is plain then, that the idea of corporeal substance in matter is as remote from our conceptions and apprehensions, as that of spiritual substance or spirit: and therefore, from our not having any notion of the substance of spirit, we can no more conclude its non-existence, than we can, for the same reason, deny the existence of body; it being as rational to affirm there is no body, because we have no clear and distinct idea of the substance of matter, as to say there is no spirit, because we have no clear and distinct idea of the substance of a spirit.

6. *Of the Sorts of Substances.*—Whatever therefore be the secret abstract nature of substance in general, all the ideas we have of particular distinct sorts of substances are nothing but several combinations of simple ideas, co-existing in such, though unknown, cause of their union, as make the whole subsist of itself. It is by such combinations of simple ideas, and nothing else, that we represent particular sorts of substances to ourselves; such are the ideas we have of their several species in our minds; and such only do we, by their specific names, signify to others, v. g., man, horse, sun, water, iron: upon hearing which words, every one who understands the language, frames in his mind a combination of those several simple ideas which he has usually observed, or fancied to exist together under that denomination; all which he supposes to rest in and be, as it were, adherent to that unknown common subject, which inheres not in anything else. Though, in the meantime, it be manifest, and every one, upon inquiry into his own thoughts, will find, that he has no other idea of any substance, v. g., let it be gold, horse, iron, man, vitriol, bread, but what he has barely of those sensible qualities, which he supposes to inhere, with a supposition of such a substratum, as gives, as it were, a support to those qualities or simple ideas, which he has observed to exist united together. Thus, the idea of the sun,—what is it but an aggregate of those several simple ideas, bright, hot, roundish, having a constant regular motion, at a certain distance from us, and perhaps some other? As he who thinks

and discourses of the sun has been more or less accurate in observing those sensible qualities, ideas, or properties, which are in that thing which he calls the sun.

7. *Power a great Part of our complex Ideas of Substances.*—For he has the perfectest idea of any of the particular sorts of substances, who has gathered and put together most of those simple ideas which do exist in it, among which are to be reckoned its active powers, and passive capacities; which, though not simple ideas, yet in this respect, for brevity's sake, may conveniently enough be reckoned amongst them. Thus, the power of drawing iron is one of the ideas of the complex one of that substance we call a loadstone; and a power to be so drawn is a part of the complex one we call iron: which powers pass for inherent qualities in those subjects. Because every substance, being as apt, by the powers we observe in it, to change some sensible qualities in other subjects, as it is to produce in us those simple ideas which we receive immediately from it, does, by those new sensible qualities introduced into other subjects, discover to us those powers which do thereby mediately affect our senses as regularly as its sensible qualities do it immediately, v. g., we immediately by our senses perceive in fire its heat and colour; which are, if rightly considered, nothing but powers in it to produce those ideas in us: we also by our senses perceive the colour and brittleness of charcoal, whereby we come by the knowledge of another power in fire, which it has to change the colour and consistency of wood. By the former, fire immediately; by the latter, it mediately discovers to us these several qualities, which therefore we look upon to be a part of the qualities of fire, and so make them a part of the complex idea of it. For all those powers that we take cognizance of, terminating only in the alteration of some sensible qualities in those subjects on which they operate, and so making them exhibit to us new sensible ideas; therefore it is that I have reckoned these powers amongst the simple ideas, which make the complex ones of the sorts of substances; though these powers considered in themselves, are truly complex ideas. And in this looser sense I crave leave to be understood, when I name any of these potentialities among the simple ideas, which we recollect in our minds when we think of particular substances. For the

powers that are severally in them are necessary to be considered, if we will have true distinct notions of the several sorts of substances.

8. *And why.*—Nor are we to wonder that powers make a great part of our complex ideas of substances; since their secondary qualities are those which in most of them serve principally to distinguish substances one from another, and commonly make a considerable part of the complex idea of the several sorts of them. For our senses failing us in the discovery of the bulk, texture, and figure of the minute parts of bodies, on which their real constitutions and differences depend, we are fain to make use of their secondary qualities as the characteristical notes and marks whereby to frame ideas of them in our minds, and distinguish them one from another: all which secondary qualities, as has been shown, are nothing but bare powers. For the colour and taste of opium are, as well as its soporific or anodyne virtues, mere powers depending on its primary qualities, whereby it is fitted to produce different operations on different parts of our bodies.

9. *Three Sorts of Ideas make our complex ones of Substances.*—The ideas that make our complex ones of corporeal substances, are of these three sorts. First, the ideas of the primary qualities of things which are discovered by our senses, and are in them even when we perceive them not; such are the bulk, figure, number, situation, and motion of the parts of bodies, which are really in them, whether we take notice of them or no.* Secondly, the sensible secondary qualities, which depending on these, are nothing but the powers those substances have to produce several ideas in us by our senses; which ideas are not in the things them-

* This the theory of Berkeley denies. "As to what is said of the absolute existence of unthinking things, without any relation to their being perceived, that seems perfectly unintelligible. Their *esse* is *percipi*, nor is it possible they should have any existence out of the minds or thinking things which perceive them. It is, indeed, an opinion *strangely prevailing* amongst men, that houses, mountains, rivers, and, in a word, all sensible objects have an existence, natural or real, distinct from their being perceived by the understanding." (Principles of Human Knowledge, § 3 et seq.) The language here employed sounds so much like banter, that one might almost suspect that, when Berkeley first started this hypothesis, he was about as earnest as Erasmus, when he wrote his encomium on folly.—ED.

selves, otherwise than as anything is in its cause. Thirdly, the aptness we consider in any substance to give or receive such alterations of primary qualities, as that the substance so altered should produce in us different ideas from what it did before; these are called active and passive powers: all which powers, as far as we have any notice or notion of them, terminate only in sensible simple ideas. For whatever alteration a loadstone has the power to make in the minute particles of iron, we should have no notion of any power it had at all to operate on iron, did not its sensible motion discover it: and I doubt not, but there are a thousand changes, that bodies we daily handle have a power to cause in one another, which we never suspect, because they never appear in sensible effects.

10. *Powers make a great Part of our complex Ideas of Substances.*—Powers therefore justly make a great part of our complex ideas of substances. He that will examine his complex idea of gold, will find several of its ideas that make it up to be only powers: as the power of being melted, but of not spending itself in the fire; of being dissolved in aqua regia; are ideas as necessary to make up our complex idea of gold, as its colour and weight; which, if duly considered, are also nothing but different powers. For, to speak truly, yellowness is not actually in gold; but is a power in gold to produce that idea in us by our eyes, when placed in a due light: and the heat, which we cannot leave out of our ideas of the sun, is no more really in the sun, than the white colour it introduces into wax. These are both equally powers in the sun, operating, by the motion and figure of its sensible parts, so on a man, as to make him have the idea of heat; and so on wax, as to make it capable to produce in a man the idea of white.

11. *The now secondary Qualities of Bodies would disappear, if we could discover the primary ones of their minute Parts.*—Had we senses acute enough to discern the minute particles of bodies, and the real constitution on which their sensible qualities depend, I doubt not but they would produce quite different ideas in us: and that which is now the yellow colour of gold, would then disappear, and instead of it we should see an admirable texture of parts, of a certain size and figure. This microscopes plainly discover to us;

for what to our naked eyes produces a certain colour, is, by thus augmenting the acuteness of our senses, discovered to be quite a different thing; and the thus altering, as it were, the proportion of the bulk of the minute parts of a coloured object to our usual sight, produces different ideas from what it did before. Thus, sand or pounded glass, which is opaque, and white to the naked eye, is pellucid in a microscope; and a hair seen in this way, loses its former colour, and is, in a great measure, pellucid, with a mixture of some bright sparkling colours, such as appear from the refraction of diamonds, and other pellucid bodies. Blood, to the naked eye, appears all red; but by a good microscope, wherein its lesser parts appear, shows only some few globules of red, swimming in a pellucid liquor, and how these red globules would appear, if glasses could be found that could yet magnify them a thousand or ten thousand times more, is uncertain.

12. *Our Faculties of Discovery suited to our State.*—The infinitely wise Contriver of us, and all things about us, hath fitted our senses, faculties, and organs, to the conveniences of life, and the business we have to do here. We are able, by our senses, to know and distinguish things; and to examine them so far, as to apply them to our uses, and several ways to accommodate the exigencies of this life. We have insight enough into their admirable contrivances and wonderful effects, to admire and magnify the wisdom, power, and goodness of their Author. Such a knowledge as this, which is suited to our present condition, we want not faculties to attain. But it appears not that God intended we should have a perfect, clear, and adequate knowledge of them: that perhaps is not in the comprehension of any finite being. We are furnished with faculties (dull and weak as they are) to discover enough in the creatures to lead us to the knowledge of the Creator, and the knowledge of our duty; and we are fitted well enough with abilities to provide for the conveniences of living: these are our business in this world. But were our senses altered, and made much quicker and acuter, the appearance and outward scheme of things would have quite another face to us; and, I am apt to think, would be inconsistent with our being, or at least wellbeing, in this part of the universe which we inhabit. He that considers how little our constitution is able to bear a remove into parts of this air,

not much higher than that we commonly breathe in, will have reason to be satisfied, that in this globe of earth allotted for our mansion, the all-wise Architect has suited our organs, and the bodies that are to affect them, one to another. If our sense of hearing were but one thousand times quicker than it is, how would a perpetual noise distract us! And we should in the quietest retirement be less able to sleep or meditate than in the middle of a sea-fight.* Nay, if that most instructive of our senses, seeing, were in any man a thousand or a hundred thousand times more acute than it is by the best microscope, things several millions of times less than the smallest object of his sight now, would then be visible to his naked eyes, and so he would come nearer to the discovery of the texture and motion of the minute parts of corporeal things; and in many of them, probably get ideas of their internal constitutions. But then he would be in a quite different world from other people: nothing would appear the same to him and others; the visible ideas of everything would be different. So that I doubt, whether he and the rest of men could discourse concerning the objects of sight, or have any communication about colours, their appearances being so wholly different. And perhaps such a quickness and tenderness of sight could not endure bright sunshine, or so much as open daylight; nor take in but a very small part of any object at once, and that too only at a very near distance. And if by the help of such microscopical eyes† (if I may so call them) a man could penetrate further than ordi-

* In this section we find the origin, even to the peculiar expressions, of a very admirable portion of the "Essay on Man," Epist. I. § 6. The remark, for example, in the text, is thus worked out by the poet:—

"If nature thundered in his opening ears,
And stunned him with the music of the spheres,
How would he wish that heaven had left him still,
The whispering zephyr, and the purling rill!"—ED.

† Here we have the very words of Pope:—

"Why has not man a *microscopic eye*?
For this plain reason—man is not a fly.
Say, what the use, were finer optics given,
To inspect a mite, not comprehend the heaven?
Or touch, if tremblingly alive all o'er,
To smart and agonise at every pore?
Or quick effluvia darting through the brain,
Die of a rose in aromatic pain?"—ED.

nary into the secret composition and radical texture of bodies, he would not make any great advantage by the change, if such an acute sight would not serve to conduct him to the market and exchange; if he could not see things he was to avoid, at a convenient distance; nor distinguish things he had to do with by those sensible qualities others do. He that was sharp-sighted enough to see the configuration of the minute particles of the spring of a clock, and observe upon what peculiar structure and impulse its elastic motion depends, would no doubt discover something very admirable: but if eyes so framed could not view at once the hand, and the characters of the hour-plate, and thereby at a distance see what o'clock it was, their owner could not be much benefited by that acuteness; which, whilst it discovered the secret contrivance of the parts of the machine, made him lose its use.

13. *Conjecture about Spirits.*—And here give me leave to propose an extravagant conjecture of mine, viz., that since we have some reason (if there be any credit to be given to the report of things, that our philosophy cannot account for) to imagine, that spirits can assume to themselves bodies of different bulk, figure, and conformation of parts;* whether one great advantage some of them have over us may not lie in this: that they can so frame and shape to themselves organs of sensation or perception, as to suit them to their present design, and the circumstances of the object they would

* Here again is a fancy which Pope has appropriated to himself, in his "Rape of the Lock:"—

> "For spirits, freed from moral laws, with ease,
> Assume what sexes and what shapes they please."

Though possibly both the philosopher, and the more modern poet, borrowed the hint from Milton, whose language they have run into in developing the notion:—

> "For spirts when they please
> Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
> And uncompounded is their essence pure;
> Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
> Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
> Like cumbrous flesh; but in what shape they choose,
> Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,
> Can execute their airy purposes,
> And works of love or enmity fulfil."
>
> PARADISE LOST, I. 423, et seq.—ED.

consider. For how much would that man exceed all others in knowledge, who had but the faculty so to alter the structure of his eyes, that one sense, as to make it capable of all the several degrees of vision, which the assistance of glasses (casually at first lighted on) has taught us to conceive? What wonders would he discover, who could so fit his eyes to all sorts of objects, as to see, when he pleased, the figure and motion of the minute particles in the blood, and other juices of animals, as distinctly as he does, at other times, the shape and motion of the animals themselves? But to us, in our present state, unalterable organs so contrived, as to discover the figure and motion of the minute parts of bodies, whereon depend those sensible qualities we now observe in them, would perhaps be of no advantage. God has, no doubt, made them so, as is best for us in our present condition. He hath fitted us for the neighbourhood of the bodies that surround us, and we have to do with: and though we cannot, by the faculties we have, attain to a perfect knowledge of things, yet they will serve us well enough for those ends abovementioned, which are our great concernment. I beg my reader's pardon for laying before him so wild a fancy concerning the ways of perception of beings above us; but how extravagant soever it be, I doubt whether we can imagine anything about the knowledge of angels, but after this manner, some way or other in proportion to what we find and observe in ourselves. And though we cannot but allow that the infinite power and wisdom of God may frame creatures with a thousand other faculties and ways of perceiving things without them, than what we have, yet our thoughts can go no further than our own: so impossible it is for us to enlarge our very guesses beyond the ideas received from our own sensation and reflection. The supposition, at least, that angels do sometimes assume bodies, needs not startle us; since some of the most ancient and most learned fathers of the church seemed to believe that they had bodies:* and

* This will surprise no one who is at all acquainted with the history of the fathers, of whom some believed the stars to be living beings, endued with souls, as Origen; (Phot. Biblioth. p. 4, 1. Bekk.) while others supposed the angels to be set over the different parts of the universe, like the inferior gods of paganism, as Chrysostom, (Phot. Bibl. p. 517, 35 et seq. Bekk.)—Ed.

this is certain, that their state and way of existence is unknown to us.

14. *Complex Ideas of Substances.*—But to return to the matter in hand, the ideas we have of substances, and the ways we come by them; I say, our specific ideas of substances are nothing else but a collection of a certain number of simple ideas, considered as united in one thing. These ideas of substances, though they are commonly simple apprehensions, and the names of them simple terms, yet in effect are complex and compounded. Thus the idea which an Englishman signifies by the name Swan, is white colour, * long neck, red beak, black legs, and whole feet, and all these of a certain size, with a power of swimming in the water, and making a certain kind of noise; and perhaps, to a man who has long observed this kind of birds, some other properties which all terminate in sensible simple ideas, all united in one common subject.

15. *Ideas of spiritual Substances, as clear as of bodily Substances.*—Besides the complex ideas we have of material sensible substances, of which I have last spoken, by the simple ideas we have taken from those operations of our own minds, which we experiment daily in ourselves, as thinking, understanding, willing, knowing, and power of beginning motion, &c., co-existing in some substance, we are able to frame the complex idea of an immaterial spirit. And thus, by putting together the ideas of thinking, perceiving, liberty, and power of moving themselves and other things, we have as clear a perception and notion of immaterial substances as we have of material. For putting together the ideas of thinking and willing, or the power of moving or quieting corporeal motion, joined to substance, of which we have no distinct idea, we have the idea of an immaterial spirit; and by putting together the ideas of coherent solid parts, and a power of being moved, joined with substance, of which likewise we have no positive idea, we have the idea of matter. The one

* Such, too, was the idea which Juvenal had formed of this bird, when he described a virtuous woman as

"Rara avis in terris, *nigroque* similima *cygno*."

But natural history having enlarged our notions, our idea of a swan is no longer the same; since we now know that black species of swans are found in the southern hemisphere.—ED.

is as clear and distinct an idea as the other: the idea of thinking, and moving a body, being as clear and distinct ideas, as the ideas of extension, solidity, and being moved. For our idea of substance is equally obscure, or none at all in both: it is but a supposed I know not what, to support those ideas we call accidents. It is for want of reflection that we are apt to think that our senses show us nothing but material things.* Every act of sensation, when duly considered, gives us an equal view of both parts of nature, the corporeal and spiritual. For whilst I know, by seeing or hearing, &c., that there is some corporeal being without me, the object of that sensation, I do more certainly know, that there is some spiritual being within me that sees and hears.† This, I must be convinced, cannot be the action of bare insensible matter; nor ever could be, without an immaterial thinking being.

16. *No Idea of abstract Substance.*—By the complex idea of extended, figured, coloured, and all other sensible qualities, which is all that we know of it, we are as far from the idea of the substance of body, as if we knew nothing at all: nor after all the acquaintance and familiarity which we imagine we have with matter, and the many qualities men assure themselves they perceive and know in bodies, will it perhaps upon examination be found, that they have any more or clearer primary ideas belonging to body, than they have belonging to immaterial spirit.

* There are, however, men who profess to believe in the existence of nothing but that which they can touch, see, and comprehend. It was in answer to one of these that Dr. Parr made one of the smartest and wittiest repartees on record:—"I will believe nothing," said the materialist, "but what I can understand." "Then," replied the doctor, "you will have the shortest creed of any man I know." Plato, in the Theatetus, has likewise made use of very sarcastic expressions when speaking on the same head. "Look carefully about you," cries Socrates, "and see that none of the profane are present. By these I mean such individuals as have faith in the existence of nothing but what they can grasp with both their hands, and deny the operations of spirit, and the generations of things, and whatever else is invisible." (Opera, III. p. 204, Bekk.)—ED.

† The consideration of passages like this, no doubt, gave rise to the theory of Berkeley, who, perceiving it already argued that the existence of spirit is better proved than that of matter, next contended that the latter cannot be proved at all; and not only so, but that the contrary way.—ED.

17. *The cohesion of solid Parts and Impulse the primary Ideas of Body.*—The primary ideas we have peculiar to body, as contradistinguished to spirit, are the cohesion of solid, and consequently separable, parts, and a power of communicating motion by impulse. These, I think, are the original ideas proper and peculiar to body; for figure is but the consequence of finite extension.

18. *Thinking and Motivity the primary Ideas of Spirit.*—The ideas we have belonging and peculiar to spirit, are thinking and will, or a power of putting body into motion by thought, and, which is consequent to it, liberty. For as body cannot but communicate its motion by impulse to another body, which it meets with at rest, so the mind can put bodies into motion, or forbear to do so, as it pleases. The ideas of existence, duration, and mobility, are common to them both.

19. *Spirits capable of Motion.*—There is no reason why it should be thought strange, that I make mobility belong to spirit; for having no other idea of motion, but change of distance with other beings that are considered as at rest, and finding that spirits, as well as bodies, cannot operate but where they are, and that spirits do operate at several times in several places, I cannot but attribute change of place to all finite spirits; (for of the Infinite Spirit I speak not here); for my soul, being a real being as well as my body, is certainly as capable of changing distance with any other body, or being, as body itself, and so is capable of motion. And if a mathematician can consider a certain distance, or a change of that distance between two points, one may certainly conceive a distance, and a change of distance, between two spirits, and so conceive their motion, their approach or removal, one from another.

20. Every one finds in himself that his soul can think, will, and operate on his body in the place where that is, but cannot operate on a body, or in a place an hundred miles distant from it. Nobody can imagine that his soul can think or move a body at Oxford, whilst he is at London; and cannot but know, that, being united to his body, it constantly changes place all the whole journey between Oxford and London, as the coach or horse does that carries him, and I think may be said to be truly all that while in mo-

tion; or if that will not be allowed to afford us a clear idea enough of its motion, its being separated from the body in death, I think, will; for to consider it as going out of the body, or leaving it, and yet to have no idea of its motion, seems to me impossible.

21. If it be said by any one that it cannot change place, because it hath none, for the spirits are not in loco, but ubi; I suppose that way of talking will not now be of much weight to many, in an age that is not much disposed to admire, or suffer themselves to be deceived by such unintelligible ways of speaking. But if any one thinks there is any sense in that distinction, and that it is applicable to our present purpose, I desire him to put it into intelligible English; and then from thence draw a reason to show that immaterial spirits are not capable of motion. Indeed motion cannot be attributed to God; not because he is an immaterial, but because he is an infinite spirit.

22. *Idea of Soul and Body compared.*—Let us compare, then, our complex idea of an immaterial spirit with our complex idea of body, and see whether there be any more obscurity in one than in the other, and in which most. Our idea of body, as I think, is an extended solid substance, capable of communicating motion by impulse: and our idea of soul, as an immaterial spirit, is of a substance that thinks, and has a power of exciting motion in body, by willing, or thought. These, I think, are our complex ideas of soul and body, as contradistinguished; and now let us examine which has most obscurity in it, and difficulty to be apprehended. I know that people whose thoughts are immersed in matter, and have so subjected their minds to their senses, that they seldom reflect on anything beyond them, are apt to say they cannot comprehend a thinking thing; which perhaps is true; but I affirm, when they consider it well, they can no more comprehend an extended thing.

23. *Cohesion of solid Parts in Body as hard to be conceived as thinking in a Soul.*—If any one say he knows not what it is thinks in him, he means he knows not what the substance is of that thinking thing: no more, say I, knows he what the substance is of that solid thing. Further, if he says he knows not how he thinks, I answer, neither knows he how he is extended, how the solid parts of body are united or

cohere together to make extension. For though the pressure of the particles of air may account for the cohesion of several parts of matter that are grosser than the particles of air, and have pores less than the corpuscles of air, yet the weight or pressure of the air will not explain, nor can be a cause of the coherence of the particles of air themselves. And if the pressure of the æther, or any subtiler matter than the air, may unite, and hold fast together the parts of a particle of air, as well as other bodies, yet it cannot make bonds for itself, and hold together the parts that make up every the least corpuscle of that materia subtilis. So that that hypothesis, how ingeniously soever explained, by showing that the parts of sensible bodies are held together by the pressure of other external insensible bodies, reaches not the parts of the æther itself; and by how much the more evident it proves, that the parts of other bodies are held together by the external pressure of the æther, and can have no other conceivable cause of their cohesion and union, by so much the more it leaves us in the dark concerning the cohesion of the parts of the corpuscles of the æther itself; which we can neither conceive without parts, they being bodies, and divisible, nor yet how their parts cohere, they wanting that cause of cohesion which is given of the cohesion of the parts of all other bodies.

24. But, in truth, the pressure of any ambient fluid, how great soever, can be no intelligible cause of the cohesion of the solid parts of matter. For though such a pressure may hinder the avulsion of two polished superfices, one from another, in a line perpendicular to them; as in the experiment of two polished marbles; yet it can never in the least hinder the separation by a motion, in a line parallel to those surfaces: because the ambient fluid, having a full liberty to succeed in each point of space, deserted by a lateral motion, resists such a motion of bodies, so joined, no more than it would resist the motion of that body were it on all sides environed by that fluid, and touched no other body; and therefore, if there were no other cause of cohesion, all parts of bodies must be easily separable by such a lateral sliding motion. For if the pressure of the æther be the adequate cause of cohesion, wherever that cause operates not, there can be no cohesion. And since it cannot operate against a

lateral separation, (as has been shown,) therefore in every imaginary plane, intersecting any mass of matter, there could be no more cohesion than of two polished surfaces, which will always, notwithstanding any imaginable pressure of a fluid, easily slide one from another. So that, perhaps, how clear an idea soever we think we have of the extension of body, which is nothing but the cohesion of solid parts, he that shall well consider it in his mind, may have reason to conclude, that it is as easy for him to have a clear idea how the soul thinks as how body is extended. For since body is no further, nor otherwise extended, than by the union and cohesion of its solid parts, we shall very ill comprehend the extension of body, without understanding wherein consists the union and cohesion of its parts; which seems to me as incomprehensible as the manner of thinking, and how it is performed.

25. I allow it is usual for most people to wonder how any one should find a difficulty in what they think they every day observe. Do we not see (will they be ready to say) the parts of bodies stick firmly together? Is there anything more common? And what doubt can there be made of it? And the like, I say, concerning thinking and voluntary motion. Do we not every moment experiment it in ourselves, and therefore can it be doubted? The matter of fact is clear, I confess; but when we would a little nearer look into it, and consider how it is done, there I think we are at a loss, both in the one and the other; and can as little understand how the parts of body cohere, as how we ourselves perceive or move. I would have any one intelligibly explain to me, how the parts of gold, or brass, (that but now in fusion were as loose from one another as the particles of water, or the sands of an hour-glass,) come in a few moments to be so united, and adhere so strongly one to another, that the utmost force of men's arms cannot separate them? A considering man will, I suppose, be here at a loss to satisfy his own or another man's understanding.

26. The little bodies that compose that fluid we call water, are so extremely small, that I have never heard of any one, who, by a microscope, (and yet I have heard of some that have magnified to ten thousand; nay, to much above a hundred thousand times,) pretended to perceive their distinct

bulk, figure, or motion; and the particles of water are also so perfectly loose one from another, that the least force sensibly separates them. Nay, if we consider their perpetual motion, we must allow them to have no cohesion one with another; and yet let but a sharp cold come, they unite, they consolidate; these little atoms cohere, and are not, without great force, separable. He that could find the bonds that tie these heaps of loose little bodies together so firmly, he that could make known the cement that makes them stick so fast one to another, would discover a great and yet unknown secret; and yet when that was done, would he be far enough from making the extension of body (which is the cohesion of its solid parts) intelligible, till he could show wherein consisted the union or consolidation of the parts of those bonds, or of that cement, or of the least particle of matter that exists. Whereby it appears that this primary and supposed obvious quality of body will be found, when examined, to be as incomprehensible as anything belonging to our minds, and a solid extended substance as hard to be conceived as a thinking immaterial one, whatever difficulties some would raise against it.*

27. For to extend our thoughts a little further, that pressure, which is brought to explain the cohesion of bodies, is as unintelligible as the cohesion itself. For if matter be considered, as no doubt it is, finite, let any one send his contemplation to the extremities of the universe, and there see what conceivable hoops, what bond he can imagine to hold this mass of matter in so close a pressure together; from whence steel has its firmness, and the parts of a diamond their hardness and indissolubility. If matter be finite, it must have its extremes, and there must be

* From not comprehending the nature of what seems to exist, men passed almost naturally to the questioning of all existence, save that of thinking beings; and thus the well-founded doubts of Locke led to scepticism. But if our incapacity to explain or to comprehend how anything exists be any reason for doubting its existence, we may as well doubt our own existence as that of any being, since we can no more explain the one than the other. Hume, with some justice, doubtless, accuses Berkeley of promoting, though very much against his intention, the cause of scepticism; "that all his arguments, he says, though otherwise intended, are in reality merely sceptical appears from this, *that they admit of no answer, and produce no conviction.*" (Essays, &c., p. 869, note, 4to.)—ED.

something to hinder it from scattering asunder. If, to avoid this difficulty, any one will throw himself into the supposition and abyss of infinite matter, let him consider what light he thereby brings to the cohesion of body, and whether he be ever the nearer making it intelligible, by resolving it into a supposition the most absurd and most incomprehensible of all other: so far is our extension of body (which is nothing but the cohesion of solid parts) from being clearer, or more distinct, when we would inquire into the nature, cause, or manner of it, than the idea of thinking.

28. *Communication of Motion by Impulse, or by Thought, equally intelligible.*—Another idea we have of body is, the power of communication of motion by impulse; and of our souls, the power of exciting motion by thought. These ideas, the one of body, the other of our minds, every day's experience clearly furnishes us with: but if here again we inquire how this is done, we are equally in the dark. For in the communication of motion by impulse, wherein as much motion is lost to one body as is got to the other, which is the ordinariest case, we can have no other conception, but of the passing of motion out of one body into another; which, I think, is as obscure and inconceivable as how our minds move or stop our bodies by thought, which we every moment find they do. The increase of motion by impulse, which is observed or believed sometimes to happen, is yet harder to be understood. We have by daily experience clear evidence of motion produced both by impulse and by thought; but the manner how, hardly comes within our comprehension; we are equally at a loss in both. So that, however we consider motion, and its communication, either from body or spirit, the idea which belongs to spirit is at least as clear as that which belongs to body. And if we consider the active power of moving, or, as I may call it, motivity, it is much clearer in spirit than body; since two bodies, placed by one another at rest, will never afford us the idea of a power in the one to move the other, but by a borrowed motion: whereas the mind every day affords us ideas of an active power of moving of bodies; and therefore it is worth our consideration, whether active power be not the proper attribute of spirits, and passive power of matter. Hence may be conjectured, that created spirits are not totally separate from

matter, because they are both active and passive. Pure spirit, viz., God, is only active; pure matter is only passive; those beings that are both active and passive, we may judge to partake of both. But be that as it will, I think, we have as many and as clear ideas belonging to spirit, as we have belonging to body, the substance of each being equally unknown to us; and the idea of thinking in spirit, as clear as of extension in body; and the communication of motion by thought, which we attribute to spirit, is as evident as that by impulse, which we ascribe to body. Constant experience makes us sensible of both these, though our narrow understandings can comprehend neither. For when the mind would look beyond those original ideas we have from sensation or reflection, and penetrate into their causes, and manner of production, we find still it discovers nothing but its own short-sightedness.

29. To conclude. Sensation convinces us that there are solid extended substances; and reflection, that there are thinking ones: experience assures us of the existence of such beings, and that the one hath a power to move body by impulse, the other by thought; this we cannot doubt of. Experience, I say, every moment furnishes us with the clear ideas both of the one and the other. But beyond these ideas, as received from their proper sources, our faculties will not reach. If we would inquire further into their nature, causes, and manner, we perceive not the nature of extension clearer than we do of thinking. If we would explain them any further, one is as easy as the other; and there is no more difficulty to conceive how a substance we know not should, by thought, set body into motion, than how a substance we know not should, by impulse, set body into motion. So that we are no more able to discover wherein the ideas belonging to body consist, than those belonging to spirit. From whence it seems probable to me, that the simple ideas we receive from sensation and reflection are the boundaries of our thoughts; beyond which the mind, whatever efforts it would make, is not able to advance one jot; nor can it make any discoveries, when it would pry into the nature and hidden causes of those ideas.

30. *Idea of Spirit and Body compared.*—So that, in short, the idea we have of spirit, compared with the idea we have

of body, stands thus: the substance of spirits is unknown to us; and so is the substance of body equally unknown to us. Two primary qualities or properties of body, viz., solid coherent parts and impulse, we have distinct clear ideas of: so likewise we know, and have distinct clear ideas, of two primary qualities or properties of spirit, viz., thinking, and a power of action; i. e., a power of beginning or stopping several thoughts or motions. We have also the ideas of several qualities inherent in bodies, and have the clear distinct ideas of them; which qualities are but the various modifications of the extension of cohering solid parts, and their motion. We have likewise the ideas of the several modes of thinking, viz., believing, doubting, intending, fearing, hoping; all which are but the several modes of thinking. We have also the ideas of willing, and moving the body consequent to it, and with the body itself too; for, as has been shown, spirit is capable of motion.

31. *The Notion of Spirit involves no more Difficulty in it than that of Body.*—Lastly, if this notion of immaterial spirit may have, perhaps, some difficulties in it not easily to be explained, we have therefore no more reason to deny or doubt the existence of such spirits, than we have to deny or doubt the existence of body; because the notion of body is cumbered with some difficulties very hard, and perhaps impossible to be explained or understood by us. For I would fain have instanced anything in our notion of spirit more perplexed, or nearer a contradiction, than the very notion of body includes in it: the divisibility in infinitum of any finite extension involving us, whether we grant or deny it, in consequences impossible to be explicated or made in our apprehensions consistent; consequences that carry greater difficulty, and more apparent absurdity, than anything can follow from the notion of an immaterial knowing substance.

32. *We know Nothing beyond our simple Ideas.*—Which we are not at all to wonder at, since we having but some few superficial ideas of things, discovered to us only by the senses from without, or by the mind, reflecting on what it experiments in itself within, have no knowledge beyond that, much less of the internal constitution, and true nature of things, being destitute of faculties to attain it. And therefore experimenting and discovering in ourselves knowledge, and the

power of voluntary motion, as certainly as we experiment. or discover in things without us, the cohesion and separation of solid parts, which is the extension and motion of bodies; we have as much reason to be satisfied with our notion of immaterial spirit, as with our notion of body, and the existence of the one as well as the other. For it being no more a contradiction that thinking should exist separate and independent from solidity, than it is a contradiction that solidity should exist separate and independent from thinking, they being both but simple ideas, independent one from another: and having as clear and distinct ideas in us of thinking, as of solidity, I know not why we may not as well allow a thinking thing without solidity, i. e., immaterial, to exist, as a solid thing without thinking, i. e., matter, to exist; especially since it is not harder to conceive how thinking should exist without matter, than how matter should think. For whensoever we would proceed beyond these simple ideas we have from sensation and reflection, and dive further into the nature of things, we fall presently into darkness and obscurity, perplexedness and difficulties, and can discover nothing further but our own blindness and ignorance. But whichever of these complex ideas be clearest, that of body, or immaterial spirit, this is evident, that the simple ideas that make them up are no other than what we have received from sensation or reflection: and so is it of all our other ideas of substances, even of God himself.

33. *Idea of God.*—For if we examine the idea we have of the incomprehensible Supreme Being, we shall find that we come by it the same way; and that the complex ideas we have both of God and separate spirits, are made up of the simple ideas we receive from reflection: v. g., having, from what we experiment in ourselves, got the ideas of existence and duration; of knowledge and power; of pleasure and happiness; and of several other qualities and powers, which it is better to have than to be without: when we would frame an idea the most suitable we can to the Supreme Being, we enlarge every one of these with our idea of infinity; and so putting them together, make our complex idea of God. For that the mind has such a power of enlarging some of its ideas, received from sensation and reflection, has been already shown.

34. If I find that I know some few things, and some of them, or all, perhaps imperfectly, I can frame an idea of knowing twice as many; which I can double again, as often as I can add to number; and thus enlarge my idea of knowledge, by extending its comprehension to all things existing, or possible. The same also I can do of knowing them more perfectly; i. e., all their qualities, powers, causes, consequences, and relations, &c., till all be perfectly known that is in them, or can any way relate to them: and thus frame the idea of infinite or boundless knowledge. The same may also be done of power, till we come to that we call infinite; and also of the duration of existence, without beginning or end, and so frame the idea of an eternal being. The degrees or extent wherein we ascribe existence, power, wisdom, and all other perfections (which we can have any ideas of) to that sovereign Being which we call God, being all boundless and infinite, we frame the best idea of him our minds are capable of: all which is done, I say, by enlarging those simple ideas we have taken from the operations of our own minds, by reflection; or by our senses, from exterior things, to that vastness to which infinity can extend them.*

35. *Idea of God.*—For it is infinity, which, joined to our ideas of existence, power, knowledge, &c., makes that complex idea, whereby we represent to ourselves the best we can, the Supreme Being. For though in his own essence (which certainly we do not know, not knowing the real essence of a pebble, or a fly, or of our own selves) God be simple and uncompounded, yet I think I may say we have no other idea of

* Compare Descartes' account of the manner in which the idea of God is produced in our minds, (Meditation III. p. 18 et seq.) where he observes that the idea of God has more objective reality than that of any finite substance:—"Illa per quam summum aliquem Deum æternum, infinitum, omniscium, omnipotentem, rerumque omnium, quæ præter ipsum sunt creatorem intelligo, plus profecto realitatis objectivæ in se habet quàm illæ per quas finitiæ substantiæ exhibentur." This is very closely resembled by the observations of Berkeley:—"We may even assert that the existence of God is far more evidently perceived than the existence of men; because the effects of nature are infinitely more numerous than those ascribed to human agents. There is not any one mark that denotes a man, or effect produced by him, which doth not more strongly evince the being of that Spirit who is the *author of nature.*" (Prin. of Human Knowledge, § 147.) On the knowledge of God, see St. Augustin. Confess. l. xii. c. 31; l. x. c. 6.—ED.

him, but a complex one of existence, knowledge, power, happiness, &c., infinite and eternal, which are all distinct ideas, and some of them, being relative, are again compounded of others: all which being, as has been shown, originally got from sensation and reflection, go to make up the idea or notion we have of God.

36. *No Ideas in our complex one of Spirits, but those got from Sensation or Reflection.*—This further is to be observed, that there is no idea we attribute to God, bating infinity, which is not also a part of our complex idea of other spirits; because, being capable of no other simple ideas belonging to anything but body, but those which by reflection we receive from the operation of our own minds, we can attribute to spirits no other but what we receive from thence: and all the difference we can put between them, in our contemplation of spirits, is only in the several extents and degrees of their knowledge, power, duration, happiness, &c. For that in our ideas, as well of spirits as of other things, we are restrained to those we receive from sensation and reflection, is evident from hence, that, in our ideas of spirits, how much soever advanced in perfection beyond those of bodies, even to that of infinite, we cannot yet have any idea of the manner wherein they discover their thoughts one to another; though we must necessarily conclude that separate spirits, which are beings that have perfecter knowledge and greater happiness than we, must needs have also a perfecter way of communicating their thoughts than we have, who are fain to make use of corporeal signs and particular sounds; which are therefore of most general use, as being the best and quickest we are capable of. But of immediate communication, having no experiment in ourselves, and consequently no notion of it at all, we have no idea how spirits, which use not words, can with quickness, or much less how spirits, that have no bodies, can be masters of their own thoughts, and communicate or conceal them at pleasure, though we cannot but necessarily suppose they have such a power.

37. *Recapitulation.*—And thus we have seen what kind of ideas we have of substances of all kinds, wherein they consist, and how we came by them. From whence, I think, it is very evident,

First, That all our ideas of the several sorts of substances

are nothing but collections of simple ideas, with a supposition of something to which they belong, and in which they subsist; though of this supposed something we have no clear distinct idea at all.

Secondly, That all the simple ideas, that, thus united in one common substratum, make up our complex ideas of several sorts of substances, are no other but such as we have received from sensation or reflection. So that even in those which we think we are most intimately acquainted with, and that come nearest the comprehension of our most enlarged conceptions, we cannot go beyond those simple ideas. And even in those which seem most remote from all we have to do with, and do infinitely surpass anything we can perceive in ourselves by reflection or discover by sensation in other things, we can attain to nothing but those simple ideas, which we originally received from sensation or reflection; as is evident in the complex ideas we have of angels, and particularly of God himself.

Thirdly, That most of the simple ideas that make up our complex ideas of substances, when truly considered, are only powers, however we are apt to take them for positive qualities; v. g., the greatest part of the ideas that make our complex idea of gold or yellowness, great weight, ductility, fusibility, and solubility in aqua regia, &c., all united together in an unknown substratum: all which ideas are nothing else but so many relations to other substances, and are not really in the gold, considered barely in itself, though they depend on those real and primary qualities of its internal constitution, whereby it has a fitness differently to operate and be operated on by several other substances.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF COLLECTIVE IDEAS OF SUBSTANCES.

1. *One Idea.*—Besides these complex ideas of several single substances, as of man, horse, gold, violet, apple, &c., the mind hath also complex collective ideas of substances; which I so call, because such ideas are made up of many particular substances considered together, as united into one idea, and which so joined are looked on as one; v. g., the idea

of such a collection of men as make an army, though consisting of a great number of distinct substances, is as much one idea as the idea of a man: and the great collective idea of all bodies whatsoever, signified by the name world, is as much one idea as the idea of any the least particle of matter in it; it sufficing to the unity of any idea, that it be considered as one representation or picture, though made up of ever so many particulars.

2. *Made by the Power of composing in the Mind.*—These collective ideas of substances the mind makes by its power of composition, and uniting severally either simple or complex ideas into one, as it does by the same faculty make the complex ideas of particular substances, consisting of an aggregate of divers simple ideas, united in one substance: and as the mind, by putting together the repeated ideas of unity, makes the collective mode, or complex idea of any number, as a score, or a gross, &c., so, by putting together several particular substances, it makes collective ideas of substances, as a troop an army, a swarm, a city, a fleet; each of which every one finds that he represents to his own mind by one idea, in one view; and so under that notion considers those several things as perfectly one, as one ship, or one atom. Nor is it harder to conceive how an army of ten thousand men should make one idea, than how a man should make one idea; it being as easy to the mind to unite into one the idea of a great number of men, and consider it as one, as it is to unite into one particular all the distinct ideas that make up the composition of a man, and consider them all together as one.

3. *All artificial Things are collective Ideas.*—Amongst such kind of collective ideas, are to be counted most part of artificial things, at least such of them as are made up of distinct substances: and, in truth, if we consider all these collective ideas aright, as army, constellation, universe, as they are united into so many single ideas, they are but the artificial draughts of the mind; bringing things very remote, and independent on one another, into one view, the better to contemplate and discourse of them, united into one conception, and signified by one name; for there are no things so remote, nor so contrary, which the mind cannot, by this art of composition, bring into one idea; as is visible in that signified by the name universe.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF RELATION.

1. *Relation, what.*—BESIDES the ideas, whether simple or complex, that the mind has of things, as they are in themselves, there are others it gets from their comparison one with another. The understanding, in the consideration of anything, is not confined to that precise object: it can carry any idea as it were beyond itself, or at least look beyond it, to see how it stands in conformity to any other. When the mind so considers one thing, that it does as it were bring it to and set it by another, and carries its view from one to the other: this is, as the words import, relation and respect; and the denominations given to positive things, intimating that respect, and serving as marks to lead the thoughts beyond the subject itself denominated, to something distinct from it, are what we call relatives; and the things so brought together, related. Thus, when the mind considers Caius as such a positive being, it takes nothing into that idea but what really exists in Caius; v. g., when I consider him as a man, I have nothing in my mind but the complex idea of the species, man. So likewise, when I say Caius is a white man, I have nothing but the bare consideration of a man who hath that white colour. But when I give Caius the name husband, I intimate some other person; and when I give him the name whiter, I intimate some other thing: in both cases my thought is led to something beyond Caius, and there are two things brought into consideration. And since any idea, whether simple or complex, may be the occasion why the mind thus brings two things together, and as it were takes a view of them at once, though still considered as distinct; therefore any of our ideas may be the foundation of relation. As in the above-mentioned instance, the contract and ceremony of marriage with Sempronia is the occasion of the denomination or relation of husband; and the colour white the occasion why he is said to be whiter than free-stone.

2. *Relations without correlative Terms not easily perceived.*—These, and the like relations expressed by relative terms, that have others answering them, with a reciprocal intima-

tion, as father and son, bigger and less, cause and effect, are very obvious to every one, and everybody at first sight perceives the relation. For father and son, husband and wife, and such other correlative terms, seem so nearly to belong one to another, and through custom do so readily chime and answer one another in people's memories, that, upon the naming of either of them, the thoughts are presently carried beyond the thing so named; and nobody overlooks or doubts of a relation, where it is so plainly intimated. But where languages have failed to give correlative names, there the relation is not always so easily taken notice of. Concubine is, no doubt, a relative name, as well as wife: but in languages where this and the like words have not a correlative term, there people are not so apt to take them to be so, as wanting that evident mark of relation which is between correlatives, which seem to explain one another, and not to be able to exist, but together. Hence it is, that many of those names, which, duly considered, do include evident relations, have been called external denominations. But all names that are more than empty sounds must signify some idea, which is either in the thing to which the name is applied, and then it is positive, and is looked on as united to and existing in the thing to which the denomination is given; or else it arises from the respect the mind finds in it to something distinct from it, with which it considers it, and then it includes a relation.

3. *Some seemingly absolute Terms contain Relations.*—Another sort of relative terms there is, which are not looked on to be either relative, or so much as external denominations; which yet, under the form and appearance of signifying something absolute in the subject, do conceal a tacit, though less observable, relation. Such are the seemingly positive terms of old, great, imperfect, &c., whereof I shall have occasion to speak more at large in the following chapters.

4. *Relation different from the Things related.*—This further may be observed, that the ideas of relation may be the same in men who have far different ideas of the things that are related, or that are thus compared; v. g., those who have far different ideas of a man, may yet agree in the notion of a father; which is a notion superinduced to the substance, or man, and refers only to an act of that thing called man,

whereby he contributed to the generation of one of his own kind; let man be what it will.

5. *Change of Relation may be without any Change in the Subject.*—The nature, therefore, of relation, consists in the referring or comparing two things one to another; from which comparison one or both comes to be denominated. And if either of those things be removed or cease to be, the relation ceases, and the denomination consequent to it, though the other receive in itself no alteration at all; v. g., Caius, whom I consider to-day as a father, ceases to be so to-morrow only by the death of his son, without any alteration made in himself. Nay, barely by the mind's changing the object to which it compares anything, the same thing is capable of having contrary denominations at the same time; v. g., Caius, compared to several persons, may truly be said to be older and younger, stronger and weaker, &c.

6. *Relation only betwixt two Things.*—Whatsoever doth or can exist, or be considered as one thing is positive; and so not only simple ideas and substances, but modes also, are positive beings: though the parts of which they consist are very often relative one to another; but the whole together considered as one thing, and producing in us the complex idea of one thing, which idea is in our minds, as one picture, though an aggregate of divers parts, and under one name, it is a positive or absolute thing, or idea. Thus a triangle, though the parts thereof compared one to another be relative, yet the idea of the whole is a positive absolute idea. The same may be said of a family, a tune, &c., for there can be no relation but betwixt two things considered as two things. There must always be in relation two ideas or things, either in themselves really separate, or considered as distinct, and then a ground or occasion for their comparison.

7. *All Things capable of Relation.*—Concerning relation in general, these things may be considered:

First, That there is no one thing, whether simple idea, substance, mode, or relation, or name of either of them, which is not capable of almost an infinite number of considerations, in reference to other things, and therefore this makes no small part of men's thoughts and words; v. g., one single man may at once be concerned in, and sustain all these following relations, and many more, viz., father, brother, son,

grandfather, grandson, father-in-law, son-in-law, husband, friend, enemy, subject, general, judge, patron, client, professor, European, Englishman, islander, servant, master, possessor, captain, superior, inferior, bigger, less, older, younger, contemporary, like, unlike, &c., to an almost infinite number; he being capable of as many relations as there can be occasions of comparing him to other things, in any manner of agreement, disagreement, or respect whatsoever. For, as I said, relation is a way of comparing or considering two things together, and giving one or both of them some appellation from that comparison; and sometimes giving even the relation itself a name.

8. *The Ideas of Relations clearer often than of the Subjects related.*—Secondly, This further may be considered concerning relation, that though it be not contained in the real existence of things, but something extraneous and superinduced, yet the ideas which relative words stand for are often clearer and more distinct than of those substances to which they do belong. The notion we have of a father or brother is a great deal clearer and more distinct than that we have of a man; or, if you will, paternity is a thing whereof it is easier to have a clear idea, than of humanity; and I can much easier conceive what a friend is, than what God; because the knowledge of one action, or one simple idea, is oftentimes sufficient to give me the notion of a relation; but to the knowing of any substantial being, an accurate collection of sundry ideas is necessary. A man, if he compares two things together, can hardly be supposed not to know what it is wherein he compares them; so that when he compares any things together, he cannot but have a very clear idea of that relation. The ideas, then, of relations, are capable at least of being more perfect and distinct in our minds than those of substances; because it is commonly hard to know all the simple ideas which are really in any substance, but for the most part easy enough to know the simple ideas that make up any relation I think on, or have a name for; v. g., comparing two men in reference to one common parent, it is very easy to frame the ideas of brothers, without having yet the perfect idea of man. For significant relative words, as well as others standing only for ideas, and those being all either simple or made up of simple ones, it suffices for

the knowing the precise idea the relative term stands for, to have a clear conception of that which is the foundation of the relation; which may be done without having a perfect and clear idea of the thing it is attributed to. Thus, having the notion that one laid the egg out of which the other was hatched, I have a clear idea of the relation of dam and chick between the two cassiowaries in St. James's Park; though perhaps I have but a very obscure and imperfect idea of those birds themselves.

9. *Relations all terminate in simple Ideas.*—Thirdly, Though there be a great number of considerations wherein things may be compared one with another, and so a multitude of relations, yet they all terminate in and are concerned about those simple ideas, either of sensation or reflection, which I think to be the whole materials of all our knowledge. To clear this, I shall show it in the most considerable relations that we have any notion of, and in some that seem to be the most remote from sense or reflection; which yet will appear to have their ideas from thence, and leave it past doubt that the notions we have of them are but certain simple ideas, and so originally derived from sense or reflection.

10. *Terms leading the Mind beyond the Subject denominated, are relative.*—Fourthly, That relation being the considering of one thing with another which is extrinsical to it, it is evident that all words that necessarily lead the mind to any other ideas than are supposed really to exist in that thing to which the words are applied, are relative words; v. g., a man black, merry, thoughtful, thirsty, angry, extended; these and the like are all absolute, because they neither signify nor intimate anything but what does or is supposed really to exist in the man thus denominated; but father, brother, king, husband, blacker, merrier, &c., are words which, together with the thing they denominate, imply also something else separate and exterior to the existence of that thing.

11. *Conclusion.*—Having laid down these premises concerning relation in general, I shall now proceed to show, in some instances, how all the ideas we have of relation are made up, as the others are, only of simple ideas; and that they all, how refined or remote from sense soever they seem, terminate at last in simple ideas. I shall begin with the most comprehensive relation, wherein all things that do, or

can exist, are concerned, and that is the relation of cause and effect: the idea whereof, how derived from the two fountains of all our knowledge, sensation and reflection, I shall in the next place consider.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF CAUSE AND EFFECT, AND OTHER RELATIONS.*

1. *Whence their Ideas got.*—In the notice that our senses take of the constant vicissitude of things, we cannot but observe that several particular, both qualities and substances, begin to exist; and that they receive this their existence from the due application and operation of some other being. From this observation we get our ideas of cause and effect. That which produces any simple or complex idea we denote by the general name, cause; and that which is produced, effect. Thus, finding that in that substance which we call wax, fluidity, which is a simple idea that was not in it before, is constantly produced by the application of a certain degree of heat; we call the simple idea of heat, in relation to fluidity in wax, the cause of it, and fluidity the effect. So also, finding that the substance of wood, which is a certain collection of simple ideas so called, by the application of fire, is turned into another substance, called ashes; i. e., another complex idea, consisting of a collection of simple ideas, quite different from that complex idea which we call wood; we consider fire in relation to ashes as cause, and the ashes as effect. So that whatever is considered by us to conduce or operate to the producing any particular simple idea, or collection of simple ideas, whether substance or mode, which did not before exist, hath thereby in our minds the relation of a cause, and so is denominated by us

2. *Creation, Generation, making Alteration.*—Having thus, from what our senses are able to discover in the operations of bodies on one another, got the notion of cause and effect, viz., that a cause is that which makes any other thing, either simple idea, substance, or mode, begin to be; and an effect

* Compare with what is here said, Hume's "Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding," §§ 3—7; more particularly the last, on Necessary Connexion, p. 317 et seq., 4to. edition. Arist. Metaph. lv. 1, 2, et seq. Hobbes' Princ. Phil. c. 10.—Ed.

is that which had its beginning from some other thing, the mind finds no great difficulty to distinguish the several originals of things into two sorts.

First, When the thing is wholly made new, so that no part thereof did ever exist before; as when a new particle of matter doth begin to exist, in rerum natura, which had before no being, and this we call creation.*

Secondly, When a thing is made up of particles, which did all of them before exist, but that very thing so constituted of pre-existing particles, which, considered all together, make up such a collection of simple ideas as had not any existence before; as this man, this egg, rose, or cherry, &c. And this, when referred to a substance, produced in the ordinary course of nature by internal principle, but set on work, and received from some external agent or cause, and working by insensible ways, which we perceive not, we call generation; when the cause is extrinsical, and the effect produced by a sensible separation, or juxta-position of discernible parts, we call it making; and such are all artificial things. When any simple idea is produced, which was not in that subject before, we call it alteration. Thus a man is generated, a picture made, and either of them altered, when any new sensible quality or simple idea is produced in either of them, which was not there before; and the things thus made to exist, which were not there before, are effects; and those things which operated to the existence, causes. In which, and all other causes, we may observe that the notion of cause and effect has its rise from ideas received by sensation or reflection; and that this relation, how comprehensive soever, terminates at last in them. For to have the idea of cause and effect, it suffices to consider any simple idea or substance, as beginning to exist by the operation of some other, without knowing the manner of that operation.

3. *Relations of Time.*—Time and place are also the foundations of very large relations, and all finite beings at least are concerned in them. But having already shown in another place how we get those ideas, it may suffice here to intimate, that most of the denominations of things received from time are only relations. Thus, when any one says that Queen Elizabeth lived sixty-nine, and reigned forty-five years, these words import only the relation of that duration to some

* See Confess. Div. August. l. xii. c. 4, s. 8; l. xi. c. 5.—Ed.

other, and mean no more than this, that the duration of her existence was equal to sixty-nine, and the duration of her government to forty-five annual revolutions of the sun; and so are all words, answering, How long? Again, William the Conqueror invaded England about the year 1066; which means this, that, taking the duration from our Saviour's time till now for one entire great length of time, it shows at what distance this invasion was from the two extremes; and so do all words of time answering to the question, When? which show only the distance of any point of time from the period of a longer duration, from which we measure, and to which we thereby consider it as related.

4. There are yet, besides those, other words of time, that ordinarily are thought to stand for positive ideas, which yet will, when considered, be found to be relative; such as are, young, old, &c., which include and intimate the relation anything has to a certain length of duration, whereof we have the idea in our minds. Thus, having settled in our thoughts the idea of the ordinary duration of a man to be seventy years, when we say a man is young, we mean that his age is yet but a small part of that which usually men attain to; and when we denominate him old, we mean that his duration is run out almost to the end of that which men do not usually exceed. And so it is but comparing the particular age or duration of this or that man, to the idea of that duration which we have in our minds, as ordinarily belonging to that sort of animals; which is plain, in the application of these names to other things; for a man is called young at twenty years, and very young at seven years old: but yet a horse we call old at twenty, and a dog at seven years, because in each of these we compare their age to different ideas of duration, which are settled in our minds as belonging to these several sorts of animals in the ordinary course of nature. But the sun and stars, though they have outlasted several generations of men, we call not old, because we do not know what period God hath set to that sort of beings.*

* Yet in the language of passion, we sometimes personify the heavens, and speak of their age, as where Lear exclaims:

"The heavens themselves are old."

And in common language, "as old as the hills," is a current phrase, although we know not what period may be set to the duration of the earth.—Ed.

This term belonging properly to those things which we can observe in the ordinary course of things, by a natural decay, to come to an end in a certain period of time; and so have in our minds, as it were, a standard to which we can compare the several parts of their duration; and, by the relation they bear thereunto, call them young or old; which we cannot, therefore, do to a ruby or a diamond, things whose usual periods we know not.

5. *Relations of Place and Extension.*—The relation also that things have to one another in their places and distances is very obvious to observe; as above, below, a mile distant from Charing-cross, in England, and in London. But as in duration, so in extension and bulk, there are some ideas that are relative, which we signify by names that are thought positive; as great and little are truly relations. For here also, having, by observation, settled in our minds the ideas of the bigness of several species of things from those we have been most accustomed to, we make them as it were the standards, whereby to denominate the bulk of others. Thus we call a great apple, such a one as is bigger than the ordinary sort of those we have been used to; and a little horse, such a one as comes not up to the size of that idea which we have in our minds to belong ordinarily to horses; and that will be a great horse to a Welchman, which is but a little one to a Fleming; they two having, from the different breed of their countries, taken several-sized ideas to which they compare, and in relation to which they denominate their great and their little.

6. *Absolute Terms often stand for Relations.*—So likewise weak and strong are but relative denominations of power, compared to some ideas we have at that time of greater or less power. Thus, when we say a weak man, we mean one that has not so much strength or power to move as usually men have, or usually those of his size have; which is a comparing his strength to the idea we have of the usual strength of men, or men of such a size. The like, when we say the creatures are all weak things; weak, there, is but a relative term, signifying the disproportion there is in the power of God and the creatures. And so abundance of words, in ordinary speech, stand only for relations (and perhaps the greatest part) which at first sight seem to have no such signi-

fication; v. g., the ship has necessary stores. Necessary and stores are both relative words; one having a relation to the accomplishing the voyage intended, and the other to future use. All which relations, how they are confined to and terminate in ideas derived from sensation or reflection, is too obvious to need any explication.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY.*

1. *Wherein Identity consists.*—ANOTHER occasion the mind often takes of comparing, is the very being of things; when, considering anything as existing at any determined time and place, we compare it with itself existing at another time, and thereon form the ideas of identity and diversity. When we see anything to be in any place in any instant of time, we are sure (be it what it will) that it is that very thing, and not another, which at that same time exists in another place, how like and undistinguishable soever it may be in all other respects: and in this consists identity, when the ideas it is attributed to vary not at all from what they were that moment wherein we consider their former existence, and to which we compare the present. For we never finding, nor conceiving it possible, that two things of the same kind should exist in the same place at the same time, we rightly conclude, that, whatever exists anywhere at any time, excludes all of the same kind, and is there itself alone. When therefore we demand whether anything be the same or no, it refers always to something that existed such a time in such a place, which it was certain at that instant was the same with itself, and no other. From whence it follows, that one thing cannot have two beginnings of existence, nor two things one beginning; it being impossible for two things of the same kind to be or exist in the same instant, in the very same place, or one and the same thing in different places. That, therefore, that had one beginning, is the same thing;

* Most readers, possibly, are acquainted with Bishop Butler's Dissertation on the subject of Personal Identity: (Bohn's ed. p. 328.) and it is certainly worth while to compare the speculations of these two distinguished writers; particularly as Dr. Butler is as remarkable for perspicuity and philosophical acumen as for piety.—ED.

There is no identity without diversity

and that which had a different beginning in time and place from that, is not the same, but diverse.* That which has made the difficulty about this relation has been the little care and attention used in having precise notions of the things to which it is attributed.

2. *Identity of Substances.*—We have the ideas but of three sorts of substances: 1. God. 2. Finite intelligences. 3 Bodies. First, God is without beginning, eternal, unalterable, and everywhere; and therefore concerning his identity there can be no doubt. Secondly, Finite spirits having had each its determinate time and place of beginning to exist, the relation to that time and place will always determine to each of them its identity, as long as it exists. Thirdly, The same will hold of every particle of matter, to which no addition or subtraction of matter being made, it is the same. For, though these three sorts of substances, as we term them, do not exclude one another out of the same place, yet we cannot conceive but that they must necessarily each of them exclude any of the same kind out of the same place; or else the notions and names of identity and diversity would be in vain, and there could be no such distinctions of substances, or anything else one from another. For example: could two bodies be in the same place at the same time, then those two parcels of matter must be one and the same, take them great or little; nay, all bodies must be one and the same. For, by the same reason that two particles of matter may be in one place, all bodies may be in one place; which, when it can be supposed, takes away the distinction of identity and diversity of one

* Exactly similar are the arguments of Hobbes, "Dictum hactenus est de corpore simpliciter, et accidentibus communibus, *magnitudine, motu, quiete, actione, passione, potentia, possibili*, etc. Descendendum jam esset ad accidentia illa, quibus unum corpus ab alio distinguitur, nisi prius declarandum esset, quid sit ipsum *distingui* et *non distingui*, nimirum quod sit *idem* et diversum; nam etiam hoc omnibus corporibus commune est ut unum ab alio distingui, sive diversum esse possit. Deferre autem inter se duo corpora dicuntur, cum de uno eorum dicitur aliquid quod de altero dici non potest eodem tempore. Imprimis autem, duo corpora idem non esse manifestum est; siquidem enim duo sint in duobus locis sunt eodem tempore, quod autem idem est, eodem tempore in eodem loco est. Omnia ergo corpora *differunt* inter se *numero*, nimirum ut unum et alterum; ita ut *idem*, et *numero differentia*, sunt nomina contradictorie opposita," etc. (Phil. Prim. c. xi. § 1, 2, et seq.)—ED.

and more, and renders it ridiculous. But it being a contradiction that two or more should be one, identity and diversity are relations and ways of comparing well founded, and of use to the understanding.

Identity of Modes.—All other things being but modes or relations ultimately terminated in substances, the identity and diversity of each particular existence of them too will be by the same way determined: only as to things whose existence is in succession, such as are the actions of finite beings, v. g., motion and thought, both which consist in a continued train of succession: concerning their diversity there can be no question; because each perishing the moment it begins, they cannot exist in different times, or in different places, as permanent beings can at different times exist in distant places; and therefore no motion or thought, considered as at different times, can be the same, each part thereof having a different beginning of existence.

3. *Principium Individuationis.*—From what has been said, it is easy to discover what is so much inquired after, the principium individuationis; and that, it is plain, is existence itself, which determines a being of any sort to a particular time and place, incommunicable to two beings of the same kind. This, though it seems easier to conceive in simple substances or modes, yet, when reflected on, is not more difficult in compound ones, if care be taken to what it is applied: v. g., let us suppose an atom, i. e., a continued body under one immutable superfices, existing in a determined time and place; it is evident, that, considered in any instant of its existence, it is in that instant the same with itself. For, being at that instant what it is, and nothing else, it is the same, and so must continue as long as its existence is continued; for so long it will be the same, and no other. In like manner, if two or more atoms be joined together into the same mass, every one of those atoms will be the same, by the foregoing rule: and whilst they exist united together, the mass, consisting of the same atoms, must be the same mass, or the same body, let the parts be ever so differently jumbled. But if one of these atoms be taken away, or one new one added, it is no longer the same mass or the same body. In the state of living creatures, their identity depends not on a mass of the same particles, but on something else.

For in them the variation of great parcels of matter alters not the identity: an oak growing from a plant to a great tree, and then lopped, is still the same oak; and a colt grown up to a horse, sometimes fat, sometimes lean, is all the while the same horse: though, in both these cases, there may be a manifest change of the parts; so that truly they are not either of them the same masses of matter, though they be truly one of them the same oak, and the other the same horse. The reason whereof is, that, in these two cases, a mass of matter, and a living body, identity is not applied to the same thing.

4. *Identity of Vegetables.*—We must therefore consider wherein an oak differs from a mass of matter, and that seems to me to be in this, that the one is only the cohesion of particles of matter any how united, the other such a disposition of them as constitutes the parts of an oak; and such an organization of those parts as is fit to receive and distribute nourishment, so as to continue and frame the wood, bark, and leaves, &c., of an oak, in which consists the vegetable life. That being then one plant which has such an organization of parts in one coherent body, partaking of one common life, it continues to be the same plant as long as it partakes of the same life, though that life be communicated to new particles of matter vitally united to the living plant, in a like continued organization conformable to that sort of plants. For this organization being at any one instant in any one collection of matter, is in that particular concrete distinguished from all other, and is that individual life, which existing constantly from that moment both forwards and backwards, in the same continuity of insensibly succeeding parts united to the living body of the plant, it has that identity which makes the same plant, and all the parts of it, parts of the same plant, during all the time that they exist united in that continued organization, which is fit to convey that common life to all the parts so united.*

* On this, Butler observes, that, "in a loose and popular sense, the life, and the organization, and the plant, are justly said to be the same, notwithstanding the perpetual change of the parts. But, in a strict and philosophical manner of speech, no man, no being, no mode of being, no anything, can be the same with that with which it hath indeed nothing the same." (Dissertation on Personal Identity, &c., Bohn's ed. p. 330.)—Ed.

5. *Identity of Animals.*—The case is not so much different in brutes, but that any one may hence see what makes an animal and continues it the same. Something we have like this in machines, and may serve to illustrate it. For example, what is a watch? It is plain it is nothing but a fit organization or construction of parts to a certain end, which, when a sufficient force is added to it, it is capable to attain. If we would suppose this machine one continued body, all whose organized parts were repaired, increased, or diminished by a constant addition or separation of insensible parts, with one common life, we should have something very much like the body of an animal;* with this difference, that, in an animal the fitness of the organization, and the motion wherein life consists, begin together, the motion coming from within; but in machines, the force coming sensibly from without, is often away when the organ is in order, and well fitted to receive it.

6. *The Identity of Man.*—This also shows wherein the identity of the same man consists; viz., in nothing but a participation of the same continued life, by constantly fleeting particles of matter, in succession vitally united to the same organized body. He that shall place the identity of man in anything else, but like that of other animals, in one fitly organized body, taken in any one instant, and from thence continued, under one organization of life, in several successively fleeting particles of matter united to it, will find it

* Descartes, pushing this idea a little further, affirmed boldly that animals are but living machines. "Descartes distinguait le principe de la vie du principe de l'ame. Le premier est dans la nature, la cause de tous les mouvemens vegetaux et animaux; l'autre est celle de la pensée et de la connaissance; le dernier n'appartient qu'à l'homme, et ne se rencontre pas chez les animaux. De là la célèbre assertion de Descartes, que les animaux sont seulement des machines vivantes, qui n'ont ni le sentiment, ni la conception, ni encore moins la volonté." (Buhle, Hist. de la Phil. Mod. l. iii. p. 15.) Perreira, on the other hand, sought to raise animals to the level of man, by affirming them to be possessed of immortal souls. (Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crît., art. Perreira.) This opinion seems to have prevailed among mankind from the earliest ages; since we find Homer representing Orion chasing the souls of stags and other animals, over the plains of hell. The North American Indian, too, thinks,

"Admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company."—ED.

hard to make an embryo, one of years, mad and sober, the same man, by any supposition, that will not make it possible for Seth, Ismael, Socrates, Pilate, St. Austin, and Cæsar Borgia, to be the same man. For, if the identity of soul alone makes the same man, and there be nothing in the nature of matter why the same individual spirit may not be united to different bodies, it will be possible that those men living in distant ages, and of different tempers, may have been the same man: which way of speaking must be, from a very strange use of the word man, applied to an idea, out of which body and shape are excluded. And that way of speaking would agree yet worse with the notions of those philosophers who allow of transmigration, and are of opinion that the souls of men may, for their miscarriages, be detruded into the bodies of beasts, as fit habitations, with organs suited to the satisfaction of their brutal inclinations. But yet I think nobody, could he be sure that the soul of Heliogabalus were in one of his hogs, would yet say that hog were a man or Heliogabalus.*

7. *Identity suited to the Idea.*—It is not therefore unity of substance that comprehends all sorts of identity, or will determine it in every case; but to conceive and judge of it aright, we must consider what idea the word it is applied to stands for: it being one thing to be the same substance, another the same man, and a third the same person, if person, man, and substance, are three names standing for three different ideas; for such as is the idea belonging to that name, such must be the identity; which, if it had been a little more carefully attended to, would possibly have prevented a great deal of that confusion which often occurs about this matter, with no small seeming difficulties, especially concerning personal identity, which therefore we shall in the next place a little consider.

8. *Same Man.*—An animal is a living organized body; and consequently the same animal, as we have observed, is the same continued life communicated to different particles of matter, as they happen successively to be united to that organized living body. And whatever is talked of other definitions, ingenious observation puts it past doubt, that

* Of the history and hoggish propensities of this master of the world, see Gibbon.—ED.

the idea in our minds, of which the sound man in our mouths is the sign, is nothing else but of an animal of such a certain form: since I think I may be confident, that, whoever should see a creature of his own shape or make, though it had no more reason all its life than a cat or a parrot, would call him still a man; or whoever should hear a cat or a parrot discourse, reason, and philosophize, would call or think it nothing but a cat or a parrot; and say, the one was a dull irrational man, and the other a very intelligent rational parrot. A relation we have in an author of great note, is sufficient to countenance the supposition of a rational parrot. His words are:*

"I had a mind to know, from Prince Maurice's own mouth, the account of a common, but much credited story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old parrot he had in Brazil, during his government there, that spoke, and asked, and answered common questions, like a reasonable creature: so that those of his train there generally concluded it to be witchery or possession; and one of his chaplains, who lived long afterwards in Holland, would never from that time endure a parrot, but said they all had a devil in them. I had heard many particulars of this story, and assevered by people hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince Maurice what there was of it. He said, with his usual plainness and dryness in talk, there was something true, but a great deal false of what had been reported. I desired to know of him what there was of the first. He told me short and coldly, that he had heard of such an old parrot when he had been at Brazil; and though he believed nothing of it, and it was a good way off, yet he had so much curiosity as to send for it: that it was a very great and a very old one; and when it came first into the room where the prince was, with a great many Dutchmen about him, it said presently, What a company of white men are here! They asked it, what it thought that man was, pointing to the prince. It answered, Some General or other. When they brought it close to him, he asked it, D'ou venez-vous? It answered, De Marinnan. The Prince, A qui estes-vous? The parrot, A un Portugais. The Prince, Que fais-tu là? Je

* Memoirs of what passed in Christendom from 1672 to 1679, p. 57, 392.

garde les poulles. The Prince laughed, and said, Vous gardez les poulles? The parrot answered, Oui, moi, et je sçai bien faire;* and made the chuck four or five times that people use to make to chickens when they call them. I set down the words of this worthy dialogue in French, just as Prince Maurice said them to me. I asked him in what language the parrot spoke, and he said in Brazilian. I asked whether he understood Brazilian; he said no: but he had taken care to have two interpreters by him, the one a Dutchman that spoke Brazilian, and the other a Brazilian that spoke Dutch; that he asked them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing that the parrot had said. I could not but tell this odd story, because it is so much out of the way, and from the first hand, and what may pass for a good one; for I dare say this prince at least believed himself in all he told me, having ever passed for a very honest and pious man: I leave it to naturalists to reason, and to other men to believe, as they please upon it; however, it is not, perhaps, amiss to relieve or enliven a busy scene sometimes with such digressions, whether to the purpose or no."†

Same Man.—I have taken care that the reader should have the story at large in the author's own words, because he seems to me not to have thought it incredible; for it cannot be imagined that so able a man as he, who had suf-

* Whence come ye? It answered, From Marinnan. The Prince, To whom do you belong? The parrot, To a Portuguese. Prince, What do you there? Parrot, I look after the chickens. The Prince laughed and said, You look after the chickens? The parrot answered, Yes I, and I know well enough how to do it.

† This is, to a certain extent, corroborated, or at least shown to be possible, by what Navarrette relates of the parrots and cockatoos of the Indian Ocean. "At Macassar there are a great many of a sort of bird they call cacatua: they are all white, some bigger than hens, their beak like a parrot; they are easily made tame, and talk. When they stand upon their guard, they are very sightly, for they spread a tuft of feathers that is on their heads, and look most lively. The Portuguese carry them to China, and those people give good rates for them. In the islands there are innumerable parrots and paroquites; but those of Ternanese carry the day from the rest. I saw one at Manilla that cost two hundred pieces-of-eight, and would certainly have fetched two thousand at Madrid. It sang so distinctly that it deceived me twice, and others oftener." (Account of China, l. i. c. 18.)—Ed.

ficiency enough to warrant all the testimonies he gives of himself, should take so much pains, in a place where it had nothing to do, to pin so close not only on a man whom he mentions as his friend, but on a prince in whom he acknowledges very great honesty and piety, a story which, if he himself thought incredible, he could not but also think ridiculous. The prince, it is plain, who vouches this story, and our author, who relates it from him, both of them call this talker a parrot: and I ask any one else who thinks such a story fit to be told, whether,—if this parrot, and all of its kind, had always talked, as we have a prince's word for it this one did,—whether, I say, they would not have passed for a race of rational animals; but yet, whether, for all that, they would have been allowed to be men, and not parrots? For I presume it is not the idea of a thinking or rational being alone that makes the idea of a man in most people's sense, but of a body, so and so shaped, joined to it; and if that be the idea of a man, the same successive body not shifted all at once, must, as well as the same immaterial spirit, go to the making of the same man.

9. *Personal Identity.*—This being premised, to find wherein personal identity consists, we must consider what person stands for; which, I think, is a thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing, in different times and places; which it does only by that consciousness which is inseparable from thinking, and, as it seems to me, essential to it: it being impossible for any one to perceive without perceiving that he does perceive. When we see, hear, smell, taste, feel, meditate, or will anything, we know that we do so. Thus it is always as to our present sensations and perceptions: and by this every one is to himself that which he calls self; it not being considered, in this case, whether the same self be continued in the same or divers substances. For, since consciousness always accompanies thinking, and it is that which makes every one to be what he calls self, and thereby distinguishes himself from all other thinking things: in this alone consists personal identity, i. e., the sameness of a rational being; and as far as this consciousness can be extended backwards to any past action or thought, so far reaches the identity of that person; it is the same self now it was then;

and it is by the same self with this present one that now reflects on it, that that action was done.*

10. *Consciousness makes personal Identity.* — But it is further inquired, whether it be the same identical substance? This, few would think they had reason to doubt of, if these perceptions, with their consciousness, always remained present in the mind, whereby the same thinking thing would be always consciously present, and, as would be thought, evidently the same to itself. But that which seems to make the difficulty is this, that this consciousness being interrupted always by forgetfulness, there being no moment of our lives wherein we have the whole train of all our past actions before our eyes in one view, but even the best memories losing the sight of one part whilst they are viewing another; and we sometimes, and that the greatest part of our lives, not reflecting on our past selves, being intent on our present thoughts, and in sound sleep having no thoughts at all, or at least none with that consciousness which remarks our waking thoughts; I say, in all these cases, our consciousness being interrupted, and we losing the sight of our past selves, doubts are raised whether we are the same thinking thing, i. e., the same substance or no. Which, however reasonable or unreasonable, concerns not personal identity at all: the question being, what makes the same person, and not whether it be the same identical substance, which always thinks in the same person; which, in this case, matters not at all: different substances, by the same consciousness (where they do partake in it) being united into one person, as well as different bodies by the same life are united into one animal, whose identity is preserved in that change of substances by the unity of one continued life. For it being the same consciousness that makes a man be himself to himself, personal identity depends on that only, whether it be annexed solely to one individual substance, or can be con-

* "Remembering or forgetting," observes Dr. Butler, "can make no alteration in the truth of past matter of fact. And suppose this being endowed with limited powers of knowledge and memory, there is no more difficulty in conceiving it to have a power of knowing itself to be the same living being which it was some time ago, of remembering some of its actions, sufferings, and enjoyments, and forgetting others, than in conceiving it to know, or remember, or forget anything else." (Diss. on Pers. Ident. p. 333.)—ED.

tinued in a succession of several substances. For as far as any intelligent being can repeat the idea of any past action with the same consciousness it had of it at first, and with the same consciousness it has of any present action; so far it is the same personal self. For it is by the consciousness it has of its present thoughts and actions, that it is self to itself now, and so will be the same self, as far as the same consciousness can extend to actions past or to come; and would be by distance of time, or change of substance, no more two persons, than a man be two men by wearing other clothes to-day than he did yesterday, with a long or a short sleep between: the same consciousness uniting those distant actions into the same person, whatever substances contributed to their production.

11. *Personal Identity in Change of Substances.*—That this is so, we have some kind of evidence in our very bodies, all whose particles, whilst vitally united to this same thinking conscious self, so that we feel when they are touched, and are affected by, and conscious of good or harm that happens to them, are a part of ourselves; i. e., of our thinking conscious self. Thus, the limbs of his body are to every one a part of himself; he sympathizes and is concerned for them. Cut off a hand, and thereby separate it from that consciousness he had of its heat, cold, and other affections, and it is then no longer a part of that which is himself, any more than the remotest part of matter. Thus, we see the substance whereof personal self consisted at one time may be varied at another, without the change of personal identity; there being no question about the same person, though the limbs which but now were a part of it, be cut off.

12. But the question is, "Whether, if the same substance, which thinks, be changed, it can be the same person; or, remaining the same, it can be different persons?"

Whether in the Change of thinking Substances.—And to this I answer: First, This can be no question at all to those who place thought in a purely material animal constitution, void of an immaterial substance. For, whether their supposition be true or no, it is plain they conceive personal identity preserved in something else than identity of substance; as animal identity is preserved in identity of life, and not of substance. And therefore those who place thinking in an

immaterial substance only, before they can come to deal with these men, must show why personal identity cannot be preserved in the change of immaterial substances, or variety of particular immaterial substances, as well as animal identity is preserved in the change of material substances, or variety of particular bodies: unless they will say, it is one immaterial spirit that makes the same life in brutes, as it is one immaterial spirit that makes the same person in men; which the Cartesians at least will not admit, for fear of making brutes thinking things too.

13. But next, as to the first part of the question, "Whether, if the same thinking substance (supposing immaterial substances only to think) be changed, it can be the same person?" I answer, that cannot be resolved, but by those who know what kind of substances they are that do think, and whether the consciousness of past actions can be transferred from one thinking substance to another. I grant, were the same consciousness the same individual action, it could not: but it being a present representation of a past action, why it may not be possible that that may be represented to the mind to have been, which really never was, will remain to be shown. And therefore how far the consciousness of past actions is annexed to any individual agent, so that another cannot possibly have it, will be hard for us to determine, till we know what kind of action it is that cannot be done without a reflex act of perception accompanying it, and how performed by thinking substances, who cannot think without being conscious of it. But that which we call the same consciousness, not being the same individual act, why one intellectual substance may not have represented to it, as done by itself, what it never did, and was perhaps done by some other agent; why, I say, such a representation may not possibly be without reality of matter of fact, as well as several representations in dreams are, which yet whilst dreaming we take for true, will be difficult to conclude from the nature of things. And that it never is so, will by us, till we have clearer views of the nature of thinking substances, be best resolved into the goodness of God, who, as far as the happiness or misery of any of his sensible creatures is concerned in it, will not, by a fatal error of theirs, transfer from one to another that consciousness which draws reward

or punishment with it. How far this may be an argument against those who would place thinking in a system of fleeting animal spirits, I leave to be considered. But yet, to return to the question before us, it must be allowed, that, if the same consciousness (which, as has been shown, is quite a different thing from the same numerical figure or motion in body) can be transferred from one thinking substance to another, it will be possible that two thinking substances may make but one person. For the same consciousness being preserved, whether in the same or different substances, the personal identity is preserved.

14. As to the second part of the question, "Whether the same immaterial substance remaining, there may be two distinct persons?" which question seems to me to be built on this, whether the same immaterial being, being conscious of the action of its past duration, may be wholly stripped of all the consciousness of its past existence, and lose it beyond the power of ever retrieving it again; and so as it were beginning a new account from a new period, have a consciousness that cannot reach beyond this new state. All those who hold pre-existence are evidently of this mind, since they allow the soul to have no remaining consciousness of what it did in that pre-existent state, either wholly separate from body, or informing any other body; and if they should not, it is plain experience would be against them. So that personal identity reaching no further than consciousness reaches, a pre-existent spirit not having continued so many ages in a state of silence, must needs make different persons. Suppose a Christian Platonist or a Pythagorean should, upon God's having ended all his works of creation the seventh day, think his soul hath existed ever since;*

* Many ancient sects of philosophers—the Stoics among others—conceived that, at least, the soul was not transmissible, but descended to animate the body from a spiritual dwelling on high. "Sunt qui præsumant, non *in utero concipi* animam, nec cum carnis figulatione compingi atque produci, sed et effuso jam partu nondum viro infanti *extrinsecus* imprimi." (Tertul. de Anim. c. 25.) Lucretius objects to the Stoics, who contend for the pre-existence of souls, that there remains to us no memory of our former existence:

"Præterea si immortalis natura animai
Constat, et in corpus nascentibus insinuatur;
Cur super *vetustam ætatim* meminisse nequimus?"
(De Rerum Naturâ, l. iii.)—Ed

and would imagine it has revolved in several human bodies, as I once met with one, who was persuaded his had been the soul of Socrates; (how reasonably I will not dispute; this I know, that in the post he filled, which was no inconsiderable one, he passed for a very rational man, and the press has shown that he wanted not parts or learning;) would any one say, that he, being not conscious of any of Socrates' actions or thoughts, could be the same person with Socrates? Let any one reflect upon himself, and conclude that he has in himself an immaterial spirit, which is that which thinks in him, and, in the constant change of his body keeps him the same: and is that which he calls himself: let him also suppose it to be the same soul that was in Nestor or Thersites, at the siege of Troy, (for souls being, as far as we know anything of them, in their nature indifferent to any parcel of matter, the supposition has no apparent absurdity in it,) which it may have been, as well as it is now the soul of any other man: but he now having no consciousness of any of the actions either of Nestor or Thersites, does or can he conceive himself the same person with either of them? Can he be concerned in either of their actions? attribute them to himself, or think them his own, more than the actions of any other men that ever existed? So that this consciousness not reaching to any of the actions of either of those men, he is no more one self with either of them, than if the soul or immaterial spirit that now informs him had been created, and began to exist, when it began to inform his present body, though it were ever so true, that the same spirit that informed Nestor's or Thersites' body were numerically the same that now informs his. For this would no more make him the same person with Nestor, than if some of the particles of matter that were once a part of Nestor, were now a part of this man; the same immaterial substance, without the same consciousness, no more making the same person by being united to any body, than the same particle of matter, without consciousness united to any body, makes the same person. But let him once find himself conscious of any of the actions of Nestor, he then finds himself the same person with Nestor.

15. And thus may we be able, without any difficulty, to conceive the same person at the resurrection, though in a

body not exactly in make or parts the same which he had here, the same consciousness going along with the soul that inhabits it.* But yet the soul alone, in the change of bodies, would scarce to any one but to him that makes the soul the man, be enough to make the same man. For should the soul of a prince, carrying with it the consciousness of the prince's past life, enter and inform the body of a cobbler, as soon as deserted by his own soul, every one sees he would be the same person with the prince, accountable only for the

* Sir Kenelm Digby, whose thoughts are sometimes highly philosophical, remarks on this subject,—"Methinks it is but a gross conception, to think that every atom of the present individual matter of a body, every grain of ashes of a buried cadaver, scattered by the wind throughout the world, and, after numerous variations, changed, peradventure into the body of another man, should, at the sounding of the last trumpet, be raked together again from all the corners of the earth, and be made up anew into the same body it was before of the first man." (Observations on Religio Medici, &c., p. 170, et. seq.) Similar speculations are found in the eloquent work of Dr. Burnet, "On the State of the Dead, and the Children of the Resurrection." First he observes, that, like the woman quoted by the Sadducees in Scripture, the soul, during a long life, is sometimes married to six or seven different bodies. "Corpus nostrum in hodiernâ vitâ est multiplex: dissipatur et resarcitur indies, et post aliquot annos fit ex integro novum. Proinde in curriculo totius vitæ, sex aut septem habemus diversa corpora; et adhuc quidem plura, si vivaces et longævi simus." (c. ix. p. 198.) He next pursues, in imagination, the various transformations which the material particles composing our bodies undergo after death. "Cineres et particulæ cadaverum multifariàm disperguntur, per mare, per terras; neque tantùm per terrarum orbem, sed etiam in regiones aëris: à colore solis evecti, in mille plagas dissipati. Præterea, non tantum disseminantur sparsim et solutè per omnia elementa, sed etiam inseruntur in corpora animalium, arborum, fontium, rerumque aliarum, unde facilè eximi aut extricari nequeunt. Denique, in his migrationibus ex aliis corporibus in alia, novas induunt formas et figuras, neque eandem retinent naturam et qualitatem. His positis et concessis, quæritur à quibus causis fiat, et quâ ratione hæc re-collectio partium et particularum unius cujusque corporis, quantumcunque dissitarum utrumque latentium." (Ib. p. 202.) And again: "Si cujusque cineres ab exordio mundi asseverati fuissent in suis urnis et capsulis seorsim: vel potius si singula cadavera in mumiam conversa, manerent magna ex parte integra: aliqua esset spes recuperandi partes bene multas ejusdem corporis, absque alterarum mistura. Quandoquidem verò cadavera, ut plurimum dissolvuntur et dissipantur, partesque eorum magno se corpore miscent: exhalantur in aërem, reciduntque in rore et pluviâ: imbibuntur à radicibus plantarum, et facerunt in gramina, frumenta, et fructus, unde redeunt in orbem ut corpora humana." (Ib. p. 203.)—Ed.

prince's actions: but who would say it was the same man? The body too goes to the making the man, and would, I guess, to everybody determine the man in this case; wherein the soul, with all its princely thoughts about it, would not make another man: but he would be the same cobbler to every one besides himself. I know that, in the ordinary way of speaking, the same person, and the same man, stand for one and the same thing. And indeed every one will always have a liberty to speak as he pleases, and to apply what articulate sounds to what ideas he thinks fit, and change them as often as he pleases. But yet, when we will inquire what makes the same spirit, man, or person, we must fix the ideas of spirit, man, or person in our minds; and having resolved with ourselves what we mean by them, it will not be hard to determine in either of them, or the like, when it is the same, and when not.

16. *Consciousness makes the same Person.*—But though the same immaterial substance or soul does not alone, wherever it be, and in whatsoever state, make the same man; yet it is plain, consciousness, as far as ever it can be extended, should it be to ages past, unites existences and actions, very remote in time into the same person, as well as it does the existences and actions of the immediately preceding moment: so that whatever has the consciousness of present and past actions, is the same person to whom they both belong.* Had I the same consciousness that I saw the ark and Noah's flood, as that I saw an overflowing of the Thames last winter, or as that I write now; I could no more doubt that I who write this now, that saw the Thames overflowed last winter, and that viewed the flood at the general deluge, was the same self, place that self in what substance

* I agree with Butler that Locke is here confused and obscure, or totally wrong. In his running contents, or synopsis, he says, "Consciousness makes the same person." But "one should really think it self-evident," as Butler observes, "that consciousness of personal identity presupposes, and therefore cannot constitute personal identity. any more than knowledge in any other case can constitute truth, which it presupposes." (Analogy, &c., p. 332.) Consciousness depends on memory; but if a man should lose wholly the power of reminiscence, so that he could recall no one action of his past life, I should not consider that his personal identity would be thus annihilated, or that he had become a different individual.—ED.

you please, than that I who write this am the same myself now whilst I write (whether I consist of all the same substance, material or immaterial, or no) that I was yesterday; for as to this point of being the same self, it matters not whether this present self be made up of the same or other substances; I being as much concerned, and as justly accountable for any action that was done a thousand years since, appropriatad to me now by this self-consciousness, as I am for what I did the last moment.

17. *Self depends on Consciousness.*—Self is that conscious thinking thing, whatever substance made up of, (whether spiritual or material, simple or compounded, it matters not,) which is sensible or conscious of pleasure and pain, capable of happiness or misery, and so is concerned for itself, as far as that consciousness extends. Thus every one finds, that, whilst comprehended under that consciousness, the little finger is as much a part of himself as what is most so. Upon separation of this little finger, should this consciousness go along with the little finger, and leave the rest of the body, it is evident the little finger would be the person, the same person, and self then would have nothing to do with the rest of the body. As in this case it is the consciousness that goes along with the substance, when one part is separate from another, which makes the same person, and constitutes this inseparable self; so it is in reference to substances remote in time. That with which the consciousness of this present thinking thing can join itself, makes the same person, and is one self with it, and with nothing else; and so attributes to itself, and owns all the actions of that thing as its own, as far as that consciousness reaches, and no further; as every one who reflects will perceive.

18. *Objects of Reward and Punishment.*—In this personal identity is founded all the right and justice of reward and punishment; happiness and misery being that for which every one is concerned for himself, and not mattering what becomes of any substance not joined to, or affected with that consciousness. For as it is evident in the instance I gave but now, if the consciousness went along with the little finger when it was cut off, that would be the same self which was concerned for the whole body yesterday, as making part of itself, whose actions then it cannot but admit as its own now.

Though, if the same body should still live, and immediately from the separation of the little finger have its own peculiar consciousness, whereof the little finger knew nothing; it would not at all be concerned for it, as a part of itself, or could own any of its actions, or have any of them imputed to him.

19. This may show us wherein personal identity consists: not in the identity of substance, but, as I have said, in the identity of consciousness;* wherein if Socrates and the present mayor of Queenborough agree, they are the same person: if the same Socrates waking and sleeping do not partake of the same consciousness, Socrates waking and sleeping is not the same person. And to punish Socrates waking for what sleeping Socrates thought, and waking Socrates was never conscious of, would be no more of right, than to punish one twin for what his brother-twin did, whereof he knew nothing, because their outsides were so like, that they could not be distinguished; for such twins have been seen.

20. But yet possibly it will still be objected, suppose I wholly lose the memory of some parts of my life, beyond a possibility of retrieving them, so that perhaps I shall never be conscious of them again; yet am I not the same person that did those actions, had those thoughts that I once was conscious of, though I have now forgot them? To which I answer, that we must here take notice what the word I is applied to; which, in this case, is the man only. And the same man being presumed to be the same person, I is easily here supposed to stand also for the same person. But if it be possible for the same man to have distinct incommunicable consciousness at different times, it is past doubt the same man would at different times make different persons; which, we see, is the sense of mankind in the solemnest declaration of their opinions; human laws not punishing the mad man for the sober man's actions, nor the sober man for what the mad man did, thereby making them two persons: which is somewhat explained by our way of speaking in English, when we say such an one is not himself, or is beside himself; in which phrases it is insinuated, as if those who now, or at

* Compare the "Observations on the Religio Medici," by Sir Kenelm Digby. (Masterpieces, vol. vi. p. 171, et seq.)—Ed.

least first used them, thought that self was changed, the self-same person was no longer in that man.

21. *Difference between Identity of Man and Person.*—But yet it is hard to conceive that Socrates, the same individual man, should be two persons. To help us a little in this, we must consider what is meant by Socrates, or the same individual man.

First, it must be either the same individual, immaterial, thinking substance; in short, the same numerical soul, and nothing else.

Secondly, or the same animal, without any regard to an immaterial soul.

Thirdly, or the same immaterial spirit united to the same animal.

Now, take which of these suppositions you please, it is impossible to make personal identity to consist in anything but consciousness, or reach any further than that does.

For, by the first of them, it must be allowed possible that a man born of different women, and in distant times, may be the same man. A way of speaking, which whoever admits, must allow it possible for the same man to be two distinct persons, as any two that have lived in different ages, without the knowledge of one another's thoughts.

By the second and third, Socrates, in this life and after it, cannot be the same man any way, but by the same consciousness; and so making human identity to consist in the same thing wherein we place personal identity, there will be no difficulty to allow the same man to be the same person. But then they who place human identity in consciousness only, and not in something else, must consider how they will make the infant Socrates the same man with Socrates after the resurrection. But whatsoever to some men makes a man, and consequently the same individual man, wherein perhaps few are agreed, personal identity can by us be placed in nothing but consciousness, (which is that alone which makes what we call self,) without involving us in great absurdities.

22. But is not a man drunk and sober the same person? why else is he punished for the fact he commits when drunk, though he be never afterwards conscious of it? Just as much the same person as a man that walks, and does other things in his sleep, is the same person, and is answer-

able for any mischief he shall do in it.* Human laws punish both, with a justice suitable to their way of knowledge; because, in these cases, they cannot distinguish certainly what is real, what counterfeit: and so the ignorance in drunkenness or sleep is not admitted as a plea. For, though punishment be annexed to personality, and personality to consciousness, and the drunkard perhaps be not conscious of what he did, yet human judicatures justly punish him, because the fact is proved against him, but want of consciousness cannot be proved for him. But in the great day, wherein the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open, it may be reasonable to think, no one shall be made to answer for what he knows nothing of; but shall receive his doom, his conscience accusing or excusing him.†

23. *Consciousness alone makes Self.*—Nothing but consciousness can unite remote existences into the same person: the identity of substance will not do it; for whatever substance there is, however framed, without consciousness there is no person: and a carcass may be a person, as well as any sort of substance be so without consciousness.

Could we suppose two distinct incommunicable conciousnesses acting the same body, the one constantly by day, the other by night; and, on the other side, the same consciousness, acting by intervals, two distinct bodies; I ask, in the first case, whether the day and the night man would not be two as distinct persons as Socrates and Plato? And whether, in the second case, there would not be one person in two distinct bodies, as much as one man is the same in two distinct clothings? Nor is it at all material to say, that this

* I doubt here both the law and the justice. A somnambulist, if satisfactorily proved to be such, would not be punished for his acts, whatever they might be; and most certainly ought not to be, any more than a madman.—ED.

† I have somewhere read of a traveller in America, who, having been nearly drowned in passing a great river, afterwards related, that, a few moments before all consciousness was extinguished, the memory of every action he had performed during his life was renewed within him, with the utmost distinctness and vividness—that, in fact, his whole career, painted, as it were, in outlines of fire, passed in rapid panoramic procession before his imagination. Something like this he supposed to take place in every man, at the moment of death, and again at the day of judgment; so that we shall be able to act as witnesses against ourselves, in all that we have done, spoken, or imagined: and this appears to be a rational and philosophical idea.—ED.

same, and this distinct consciousness, in the cases above mentioned, is owing to the same and distinct immaterial substances, bringing it with them to those bodies; which, whether true or no, alters not the case; since it is evident the personal identity would equally be determined by the consciousness, whether that consciousness were annexed to some individual immaterial substance or no. For, granting that the thinking substance in man must be necessarily supposed immaterial, it is evident that immaterial thinking thing may sometimes part with its past consciousness, and be restored to it again, as appears in the forgetfulness men often have of their past actions: and the mind many times recovers the memory of a past consciousness, which it had lost for twenty years together. Make these intervals of memory and forgetfulness to take their turns regularly by day and night, and you have two persons with the same immaterial spirit, as much as in the former instance two persons with the same body. So that self is not determined by identity or diversity of substance, which it cannot be sure of, but only by identity of consciousness.

24. Indeed it may conceive the substance whereof it is now made up to have existed formerly, united in the same conscious being; but, consciousness removed, that substance is no more itself, or makes no more a part of it, than any other substance; as is evident in the instance we have already given of a limb cut off, of whose heat, or cold, or other affections, having no longer any consciousness, it is no more of a man's self, than any other matter of the universe. In like manner it will be in reference to any immaterial substance, which is void of that consciousness whereby I am myself to myself: if there be any part of its existence which I cannot upon recollection join with that present consciousness, whereby I am now myself, it is in that part of its existence no more myself, than any other immaterial being. For whatsoever any substance has thought or done, which I cannot recollect, and by my consciousness make my own thought and action, it will no more belong to me, whether a part of me thought or did it, than if it had been thought or done by any other immaterial being anywhere existing.

25. I agree, the more probable opinion is, that this consciousness is annexed to, and the affection of, one individual immaterial substance.

But let men, according to their diverse hypotheses, resolve of that as they please; this very intelligent being, sensible of happiness or misery, must grant that there is something that is himself that he is concerned for, and would have happy; that this self has existed in a continued duration more than one instant, and therefore it is possible may exist, as it has done, months and years to come, without any certain bounds to be set to its duration; and may be the same self by the same consciousness continued on for the future. And thus, by this consciousness, he finds himself to be the same self which did such or such an action some years since, by which he comes to be happy or miserable now. In all which account of self, the same numerical substance is not considered as making the same self; but the same continued consciousness, in which several substances may have been united, and again separated from it; which, whilst they continued in a vital union with that wherein this consciousness then resided, made a part of that same self. Thus any part of our bodies vitally united to that which is conscious in us, makes a part of ourselves: but upon separation from the vital union by which that consciousness is communicated, that which a moment since was part of ourselves, is now no more so than a part of another man's self is a part of me: and it is not impossible but in a little time may become a real part of another person. And so we have the same numerical substance become a part of two different persons; and the same person preserved under the change of various substances. Could we suppose any spirit wholly stripped of all its memory or consciousness of past actions, as we find our minds always are of a great part of ours, and sometimes of them all; the union or separation of such a spiritual substance would make no variation of personal identity, any more than that of any particle of matter does. Any substance vitally united to the present thinking being, is a part of that very same self which now is; anything united to it by a consciousness of former actions, makes also a part of the same self, which is the same both then and now.

26. *Person a forensic Term.*—Person, as I take it, is the name for this self. Wherever a man finds what he calls himself, there, I think, another may say is the same person.*

* On the various significations of this word, see Faber's Lexicon, and Ernesti Clavis Ciceroniana, p. 356. The latter writer observes: "Nos

It is a forensic term, appropriating actions and their merit; and so belongs only to intelligent agents capable of a law, and happiness, and misery. This personality extends itself beyond present existence to what is past, only by consciousness, whereby it becomes concerned and accountable, owns and imputes to itself past actions, just upon the same ground and for the same reason that it does the present. All which is founded in a concern for happiness, the unavoidable concomitant of consciousness; that which is conscious of pleasure and pain, desiring that that self that is conscious should be happy. And therefore whatever past actions it cannot reconcile or appropriate to that present self by consciousness, it can be no more concerned in, than if they had never been done; and to receive pleasure or pain, i. e., reward or punishment, on the account of any such action, is all one as to be made happy or miserable in its first being, without any demerit at all: for supposing a man punished now for what he had done in another life, whereof he could be made to have no consciousness at all, what difference is there between that punishment, and being created miserable? And therefore, conformable to this, the apostle tells us, that, at the great day, when every one shall "receive according to his doings, the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open." The sentence shall be justified by the consciousness all persons shall have, that they themselves, in what bodies soever they appear, or what substances soever that consciousness adheres to, are the same that committed those actions, and deserve that punishment for them.

27. I am apt enough to think I have, in treating of this subject, made some suppositions that will look strange to some readers, and possibly they are so in themselves. But yet, I think they are such as are pardonable, in this ignorance we are in of the nature of that thinking thing that is in us, and which we look on as ourselves. Did we know what it was, or how it was tied to a certain system of fleeting animal spirits; or whether it could or could not perform its operations of thinking and memory out of a body organized as ours is: and whether it has pleased God, that no one such spirit shall ever be united to any one but such body, upon

monebimus—*personam* per periphrasin quandam dici de hominibus, **sed** eum respectu ad eorum conditionem, officium, mores," &c. **(Cfr. Cicer. pro A.** Cluentic, 29, pro Archia, Poeta 2.)—ED.

the right constitution of whose organs its memory should depend; we might see the absurdity of some of those suppositions I have made. But, taking as we ordinarily now do, (in the dark concerning these matters,) the soul of a man for an immaterial substance, independent from matter, and indifferent alike to it all, there can, from the nature of things, be no absurdity at all to suppose that the same soul may at different times be united to different bodies, and with them make up for that time one man, as well as we suppose a part of a sheep's body yesterday should be a part of a man's body to-morrow, and in that union make a vital part of Melibœus himself, as well as it did of his ram.

28. *The Difficulty from ill Use of Names.*—To conclude: Whatever substance begins to exist, it must, during its existence, necessarily be the same: whatever compositions of substances begin to exist, during the union of those substances the concrete must be the same; whatsoever mode begins to exist, during its existence it is the same; and so if the composition be of distinct substances and different modes, the same rule holds: whereby it will appear, that the difficulty or obscurity that has been about this matter rather rises from the names ill used, than from any obscurity in things themselves. For whatever makes the specific idea to which the name is applied, if that idea be steadily kept to, the distinction of anything into the same, and divers, will easily be conceived, and there can arise no doubt about it.

29. *Continued Existence makes Identity.*—For, supposing a rational spirit be the idea of a man, it is easy to know what is the same man, viz, the same spirit, whether separate or in a body, will be the same man. Supposing a rational spirit vitally united to a body of a certain conformation of parts to make a man, whilst that rational spirit, with that vital conformation of parts, though continued in a fleeting successive body, remains, it will be the same man. But if to any one the idea of a man be but the vital union of parts in a certain shape, as long as that vital union and shape remain in a concrete no otherwise the same, but by a continued succession of fleeting particles, it will be the same man. For, whatever be the composition whereof the complex idea is made, whenever existence makes it one particular thing under any denomination, the same existence

continued, preserves it the same individual under the same denomination.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF OTHER RELATIONS.

1. *Proportional.*—Besides the before-mentioned occasions of time, place, and causality, of comparing or referring things one to another, there are, as I have said, infinite others, some whereof I shall mention.

First, The first I shall name is some one simple idea, which, being capable of parts or degrees, affords an occasion of comparing the subjects wherein it is to one another, in respect of that simple idea, v. g., whiter, sweeter, equal, more, &c. These relations, depending on the equality and excess of the same simple idea, in several subjects, may be called, if one will, proportional; and that these are only conversant about those simple ideas received from sensation or reflection, is so evident, that nothing need be said to evince it.

2. *Natural.*—Secondly, Another occasion of comparing things together, or considering one thing, so as to include in that consideration some other thing, is the circumstances of their origin or beginning; which being not afterwards to be altered, make the relations depending thereon as lasting as the subjects to which they belong, v. g., father and son, brothers, cousin-germans, &c., which have their relations by one community of blood, wherein they partake in several degrees: countrymen, i. e., those who were born in the same country or tract of ground, and these I call natural relations: wherein we may observe, that mankind have fitted their notions and words to the use of common life, and not to the truth and extent of things. For it is certain, that, in reality, the relation is the same betwixt the begetter and the begotten in the several races of other animals as well as men; but yet it is seldom said, this bull is the grandfather of such a calf, or that two pigeons are cousin-germans. It is very convenient, that, by distinct names these relations should be observed and marked out in mankind; there being occasion, both in laws and other communications one with

* The doctrine of identity and diversity contained in this chapter, the Bishop of Worcester pretends to be inconsistent with the doctrines of

another, to mention and take notice of men under these relations; from whence also arise the obligations of several duties amongst men. Whereas, in brutes, men having very little or no cause to mind these relations, they have not thought fit to give them distinct and peculiar names. This, by the way, may give us some light into the different state and growth of languages; which being suited only to the convenience of communication, are proportioned to the notions men have, and the commerce of thoughts familiar amongst them; and not to the reality or extent of things, nor to the various respects might be found among them, nor the different abstract considerations might be framed about them. Where they had no philosophical notions, there they had no terms to express them: and it is no wonder men should have framed no names for those things they found no occasion to discourse of. From whence it is easy to imagine why, as in some countries, they may have not so much as the name for a horse; and in others, where they are more careful of the pedigrees of their horses, than of their own,* that there they may have not only names for particular horses, but also of their several relations of kindred one to another.

3. *Instituted.*—Thirdly, Sometimes the foundation of considering things, with reference to one another, is some act whereby any one comes by a moral right, power, or obligation to do something. Thus, a general is one that hath power to command an army; and an army under a general is a collection of armed men, obliged to obey one man. A citizen, or a burgher, is one who has a right to certain privileges in this or that place. All this sort depending upon men's wills, or agreement in society, I call instituted, or voluntary; and may be distinguished from the natural, in

the Christian faith, concerning the resurrection of the dead. His way of arguing from it is this: he says: The reason of believing the resurrection of the same body, upon Mr. Locke's grounds, is from the idea of identity. To which our author, in his Third Letter to the Bishop of Worcester, answers, as will be seen. (See Appendix, No. VI., at end of vol. ii.)—ED.

* As in Arabia, where, however, they have not, as is commonly supposed, written genealogies, though they preserve with the utmost care the pedigree of their horses. I have seen a barb of the famous Hassan breed, the history of which is probably as well known in the desert as that of the tribe to which it belongs.—ED.

that they are most, if not all of them, some way or other alterable, and separable from the persons to whom they have sometimes belonged, though neither of the substances, so related, be destroyed. Now, though these are all reciprocal, as well as the rest, and contain in them a reference of two things one to the other; yet, because one of the two things often wants a relative name, importing that reference, men usually take no notice of it, and the relation is commonly overlooked: v. g., a patron and client are easily allowed to be relations,* but a constable or dictator are not so readily at first hearing considered as such; because there is no peculiar name for those who are under the command of a dictator or constable, expressing a relation to either of them; though it be certain that either of them hath a certain power over some others, and so is so far related to them, as well as a patron is to his client, or general to his army.

4. *Moral.*—Fourthly, There is another sort of relation, which is the conformity or disagreement men's voluntary actions have to a rule to which they are referred, and by which they are judged of; which, I think, may be called

* The nature, however, of the relationship subsisting among the old Romans between patron and client is not very generally understood; nor, in fact, is it of easy explanation. Niebuhr, perhaps, has done most of any modern writer towards elucidating the subject; and his ideas are these:—"The Patronus and Matrona are the father and mother of the family, in relation to their children and domestics, and to their dependents, the clients. . . . . The clients who neither gained their livelihood by trade nor had already acquired property, received grants from their patrons of building-ground on their estates, together with two acres of arable land; not as property, but as a precarious tenement, which the owner could resume, if he felt himself injured. But all, however different in rank and consequence, were entitled to paternal protection from the patron: he was bound to relieve their distress, to appear for them in court, to expound the law to them, civil and pontifical. On the other hand, the clients were obliged to be heartily dutiful and obedient to their patron, to promote his honour, to pay his mulcts and fines, to aid him jointly with the members of his house in bearing burdens for the commonwealth, and defraying the charges of public offices, to contribute to the portioning of his daughters, and to ransom him or whoever of his family might fall into an enemy's hands." (Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 279.) This account of the German historian agrees, in most particulars, with that which had already been given in 1560, by Sigonius in his learned but little known work, De Antiquo Jure Civium Romanorum, l. ii. p. 35, a. b. Yet it is remarkable that Niebuhr never once refers to him, so far as I have been able to discover.—ED

moral relation, as being that which denominates our moral actions, and deserves well to be examined; there being no part of knowledge wherein we should be more careful to get determined ideas, and avoid, as much as may be, obscurity and confusion. Human actions, when with their various ends, objects, manners, and circumstances, they are framed into distinct complex ideas, are, as has been shown, so many mixed modes, a great part whereof have names annexed to them. Thus, supposing gratitude to be a readiness to acknowledge and return kindness received; polygamy to be the having more wives than one at once; when we frame these notions thus in our minds, we have there so many determined ideas of mixed modes. But this is not all that concerns our actions; it is not enough to have determined ideas of them, and to know what names belong to such and such combinations of ideas. We have a further and greater concernment; and that is, to know whether such actions, so made up, are morally good or bad.

5. *Moral Good and Evil.*—Good and evil, as hath been shown, (B. II. chap. xx. § 2, and chap. xxi. § 42,) are nothing but pleasure or pain, or that which occasions or procures pleasure or pain to us. Moral good and evil, then, is only the conformity or disagreement of our voluntary actions to some law, whereby good or evil is drawn on us by the will and power of the law-maker; which good and evil, pleasure or pain, attending our observance or breach of the law by the decree of the law-maker, is that we call reward and punishment.

6. *Moral Rules.*—Of these moral rules or laws, to which men generally refer, and by which they judge of the rectitude or pravity of their actions, there seem to me to be three sorts, with their three different enforcements, or rewards and punishments; for, since it would be utterly in vain to suppose a rule set to the free actions of men, without annexing to it some enforcement of good and evil to determine his will, we must, wherever we suppose a law, suppose also some reward or punishment annexed to that law. It would be in vain for one intelligent being to set a rule to the actions of another, if he had it not in his power to reward the compliance with, and punish deviation from his rule, by some good and evil that is not the natural product and consequence of the

action itself. For that being a natural convenience or inconvenience, would operate of itself, without a law.* This, if I mistake not, is the true nature of all law, properly so called.

7. *Laws.*—The laws that men generally refer their actions to, to judge of their rectitude or obliquity, seem to me to be these three: 1. The divine law. 2. The civil law. 3. The law of opinion or reputation, if I may so call it. By the relation they bear to the first of these, men judge whether their actions are sins or duties; by the second, whether they be criminal or innocent; and by the third, whether they be virtues or vices.

8. *Divine Law the Measure of Sin and Duty.*—First, the divine law, whereby I mean that law which God has set to the actions of men, whether promulgated to them by the light of nature,† or the voice of revelation. That God has given a rule whereby men should govern themselves, I think there is nobody so brutish as to deny. He has a right to do it; we are his creatures: he has goodness and wisdom to direct our actions to that which is best, and he has power to enforce it by rewards and punishments of infinite weight and duration in another life; for nobody can take us out of his hands. This is the only true touchstone of moral rectitude; and, by comparing them to this law, it is that men judge of the most considerable moral good or evil of their actions: that is, whether as duties or sins, they are like to procure them happiness or misery from the hands of the Almighty.‡

* However, we consider it to be "a law of nature" that certain actions necessarily produce certain results to the actor; which, as they are pleasurable or otherwise, may be regarded as a reward or punishment. It is understood, of course, that these consequences have been attached by the Creator to the acts from which they spring, with design to punish or reward.—ED.

† On the natural way of finding out laws by reason to guide the will unto that which is good, see Hooker, Eccles. Polity, l. i. § 8.—ED.

‡ Sir James Mackintosh, whose metaphysical studies had conferred considerable acuteness on his mind, indulges in oversubtilty in the remarks where he attacks Paley's very imperfect definition of *virtue;* which would appear to have been founded on the doctrine in the text. "Virtue," says Paley, "is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness." (Moral Philosophy, i. 7.) "According to this doctrine," observes Mackintosh, "every action not done for the sake of the agent's happiness is vicious."

9. *Civil Law the Measure of Crimes and Innocence.*—Secondly, the civil law—the rule set by the commonwealth to the actions of those who belong to it—is another rule to which men refer their actions, to judge whether they be criminal or no. This law nobody overlooks, the rewards and punishments that enforce it being ready at hand, and suitable to the power that makes it;* which is the force of the commonwealth, engaged to protect the lives, liberties, and possessions of those who live according to its law; and has power to take away life, liberty, or goods, from him who disobeys: which is the punishment of offences committed against this law.

10. *Philosophical Law the Measure of Virtue and Vice.*—Thirdly, the law of opinion or reputation. Virtue and vice are names pretended and supposed everywhere to stand for actions in their own nature right and wrong; and as far as

(Ethical Philosophy, p. 278, et seq.) And so it is, in truth: for, when the mind discovers that virtue is intellectual health, and vice intellectual disease, it naturally prefers the actions which promote that health; and, for the sake of promoting it, before such as have a tendency to destroy it. "Now, it is *plain*," adds he, "that an act cannot be said to be done for the sake of anything which is not present to the mind of the agent at the moment of action." But this is *not* plain. A man who habituates himself to walking in the open air, *for the sake of his health*, often continues his walk when no idea of the object for which he is walking is present to his mind. And so in morals. We get into the habit of acting in a certain manner, for the sake of obeying God, and obtaining his approbation, which is happiness; but this motive may not be always present to the mind while engaged in acts of virtue.—ED.

* As most political societies are ill organized, it often happens, that both the laws of God and public opinion are in opposition to the civil laws in force; in which case, every good man will be a bad citizen, since he must necessarily desire the dissolution of that government under which he happens to live. This fact has been well put by Muretus, in his Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachæan Ethics: "De hac privata cujusque disciplina ait Aristoteles fore ut posterius disputetur, nunquid ea ad civilem facultatem an ad aliam quandam pertinent. Nam in perfecta quidem, ut optime temperata repŭblica ejusdem facultatis est bonos cives efficere, et bonos viros. Illic enim is demum bonus civis est, qui vir bonus. At in vitioso et depravato reipublicæ statu aliud est bonum virum esse, aliud civem bonum. Nam bonus civis est qui præsentem reipublicæ statum maxime amat, eumque modis omnibus conservare conatur. At ea quæ vitiosa sunt, viro bono placere non possunt." (In. l. v. p. 400, et seq.) On the various contradictory notions and habits which prevail among men in different parts of the world, see Montaigne, Essais, l. 1, c 22; and Ælian. Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 1.—ED.

they really are so applied, they so far are conincident with the divine law above mentioned. But yet, whatever is pretended, this is visible, that these names, virtue and vice, in the particular instances of their application, through the several nations and societies of men in the world, are constantly attributed only to such actions as in each country and society are in reputation or discredit. Nor is it to be thought strange, that men everywhere should give the name of virtue to those actions, which amongst them are judged praiseworthy; and call that vice, which they account blamable; since otherwise they would condemn themselves, if they should think anything right, to which they allowed not commendation: anything wrong, which they let pass without blame. Thus the measure of what is everywhere called and esteemed virtue and vice is this approbation or dislike, praise or blame, which, by a secret and tacit consent, establishes itself in the several societies, tribes, and clubs of men in the world; whereby several actions come to find credit or disgrace amongst them, according to the judgment, maxims, or fashion of that place. For though men uniting into politic societies have resigned up to the public the disposing of all their force, so that they cannot employ it against any fellow-citizens any further than the law of the country directs; yet they retain still the power of thinking well or ill, approving or disapproving of the actions of those whom they live amongst, and converse with: and by this approbation and dislike they establish amongst themselves what they will call virtue and vice.

11. That this is the common measure of virtue and vice, will appear to any one who considers, that, though that passes for vice in one country which is counted a virtue—or at least not vice—in another, yet everywhere virtue and praise, vice and blame, go together. Virtue* is everywhere

* Our author, in his preface to the fourth edition, taking notice how apt men have been to mistake him, added what here follows: "Of this the ingenious author of the Discourse concerning the Nature of Man has given me a late instance, to mention no other. For the civility of his expressions, and the candour that belongs to his order, forbid me to think that he would have closed his preface with an insinuation, as if in what I had said, book ii. chap. 28, concerning the third rule which men refer their actions to, I went about to make virtue vice, and vice v rtue, unless he had mistaken my meaning; which he could not have done, if

that which is thought praiseworthy; and nothing else but that which has the allowance of public esteem is called

he had but given himself the trouble to consider what the argument was I was then upon, and what was the chief design of that chapter, plainly enough set down in the fourth section, and those following. For I was there not laying down moral rules, but showing the original and nature of moral ideas, and enumerating the rules men make use of in moral relations, whether those rules were true or false: and, pursuant thereunto, I tell what has everywhere that denomination, which in the language of that place answers to virtue, and vice in ours; which alters not the nature of things, though men do generally judge of, and denominate their actions according to the esteem and fashion of the place or sect they are of.

"If he had been at the pains to reflect on what I had said, b. I. c. iii. § 18, and in this present chapter, § 13, 14, 15, and 20, he would have known what I think of the eternal and unalterable nature of right and wrong, and what I call virtue and vice: and if he had observed that, in the place he quotes, I only report as matter of fact what others call virtue and vice, he would not have found it liable to any great exception. For I think I am not much out in saying, that one of the rules made use of in the world for a ground or measure of a moral relation, is that esteem and reputation which several sorts of actions find variously in the several societies of men, according to which they are there called virtues or vices: and whatever authority the learned Mr. Lowde places in his old English Dictionary, I dare say it nowhere tells him, (if I should appeal to it,) that the same action is not in credit, called and counted a virtue in one place, which being in disrepute, passes for and under the name of vice in another. The taking notice that men bestow the names of virtue and vice according to this rule of reputation, is all I have done, or can be laid to my charge to have done, towards the making vice virtue, and virtue vice. But the good man does well, and as becomes his calling, to be watchful in such points, and to take the alarm, even at expressions, which, standing alone by themselves, might sound ill, and be suspected.

"It is to this zeal, allowable in his function, that I forgive his citing, as he does, these words of mine, in § 11 of this chapter: "The exhortations of inspired teachers have not feared to appeal to common repute: 'Whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise,' &c., Phil. iv. 8," without taking notice of those immediately preceding, which introduce them, and run thus: "Whereby, in the corruption of manners, the true boundaries of the law of nature, which ought to be the rule of virtue and vice, were pretty well preserved; so that even the exhortations of inspired teachers," &c., by which words, and the rest of that section, it is plain that I brought that passage of St. Paul, not to prove that the general measure of what men call virtue and vice, throughout the world, was the reputation and fashion of each particular society within itself; but to show that, though it were so, yet, for reasons I there give, men, in that way of denominating their actions, did not, for the most part, much vary from the law of nature: which is that standing and unalterable rule, by

virtue. Virtue and praise are so united, that they are called often by the same name. "Sunt sua præmia laudi," which they ought to judge of the moral rectitude and pravity of their actions, and accordingly denominate them virtues or vices. Had Mr. Lowde considered this, he would have found it little to his purpose to have quoted that passage in a sense I used it not; and would, I imagine, have spared the explication he subjoins to it, as not very necessary. But I hope this second edition will give him satisfaction on the point, and that this matter is now so expressed, as to show him there was no cause of scruple.

"Though I am forced to differ from him in those apprehensions he has expressed in the latter end of his preface, concerning what I had said about virtue and vice; yet we are better agreed than he thinks, in what he says in his third chapter, p. 78, concerning natural inscription and innate notions. I shall not deny him the privilege he claims (p. 52) to state the question as he pleases, especially when he states it so as to leave nothing in it contrary to what I have said: for, according to him, innate notions being conditional things, depending upon the concurrence of several other circumstances, in order to the soul's exerting them; all that he says for innate, imprinted impressed notions (for of innate ideas he says nothing at all) amounts at last only to this: that there are certain propositions, which, though the soul from the beginning, or when a man is born, does not know, yet, by assistance from the outward senses, and the help of some previous cultivation, it may afterwards come certainly to know the truth of; which is no more than what I have affirmed in my first book. For I suppose by the soul's exerting them, he means its beginning to know them, or else the soul's exerting of notions will be to me a very unintelligible expression; and I think, at best, is a very unfit one in this case, it misleading men's thoughts by an insinuation, as if these notions were in the mind before the soul exerts them, i. e., before they are known: whereas, truly before they are known, there is nothing of them in the mind, but a capacity to know them, when the concurrence of those circumstances, which this ingenious author thinks necessary in order to the soul's exerting them, brings them into our knowledge.

"Page 52, I find him express it thus: 'These natural notions are not so imprinted upon the soul, as that they naturally and necessarily exert themselves, even in children and idiots, without any assistance from the outward senses, or without the help of some previous cultivation.' Here, he says, they exert themselves, as p. 78, that the soul exerts them. When he has explained to himself or others what he means by the soul's exerting innate notions, or their exerting themselves, and what that previous cultivation and circumstances, in order to their being exerted, are; he will, I suppose, find there is so little of controversy between him and me in the point, bating that he calls that exerting of notions, which I, in a more vulgar style, call knowing, that I have reason to think he brought in my name upon this occasion only out of the pleasure he has to speak civilly of me; which I must gratefully acknowledge he has done wherever he mentions me, not without conferring on me, as some others have done, a title I have no right to."—ED.

says Virgil;* and so Cicero, "Nihil habet natura præstantius, quam honestatem, quam laudem, quam dignitatem, quam decus;"† which he tells you are all names for the same thing. This is the language of the heathen philosophers, who well understood wherein their notions of virtue and vice consisted; and though perhaps by the different temper, education, fashion, maxims, or interest of different sorts of men, it fell out, that what was thought praiseworthy in one place, escaped not censure in another; and so in different societies, virtues and vices were changed; yet, as to the main, they for the most part kept the same everywhere: for, since nothing can be more natural than to encourage with esteem and reputation that wherein every one finds his advantage, and to blame and discountenance the contrary, it is no wonder that esteem and discredit, virtue and vice, should, in a great measure, everywhere correspond with the unchangeable rule of right and wrong, which the law of God hath established; there being nothing that so directly and visibly secures and advances the general good of mankind in this world, as obedience to the laws he has set them; and nothing that breeds such mischiefs and confusion, as the neglect of them. And therefore men, without renouncing all sense and reason, and their own interest, which they are so constantly true to,‡ could not generally mistake in placing their commendation and blame on that side that really deserved it not. Nay, even those men whose practice was otherwise, failed not to give their approbation right; few being depraved to that degree as not to condemn, at least in others, the faults they themselves were guilty of: whereby, even in the corruption of manners, the true boundaries of the law of nature, which ought to be the rule of virtue and vice, were pretty well preferred. So that even the exhortations of inspired teachers, have not feared to appeal to common repute: "Whatsoever

* The complete passage is:

Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi:
Sunt lachrimæ rerum: et mentem mortalia tangunt.
(Æn. l. i. v. 461, et seq.,

The remark of Servius agrees with that in the text: LAUDI: virtute, ut: puram merui qui laude coronam, ad loc.—ED.

† The whole passage in Cicero is at once philosophical and eloquent. Locke has quoted but a small part of it. (Tusculan. ii. 20.)—ED.

‡ This is a grievous error. There is nothing which men so constantly overlook or misunderstand as their own interest.—ED.

is lovely, whatsoever is of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise," &c. (Phil. iv. 8.)

12. *Its Enforcement, Commendation, and Discredit.*—If any one shall imagine that I have forgot my own notion of a law, when I make the law, whereby men judge of virtue and vice, to be nothing else but the consent of private men, who have not authority enough to make a law; especially wanting that which is so necessary and essential to a law, a power to enforce it; I think I may say, that, he who imagines commendation and disgrace not to be strong motives to men, to accommodate themselves to the opinions and rules of those with whom they converse, seems little skilled in the nature or history of mankind: the greatest part whereof we shall find to govern themselves chiefly, if not solely, by this law of fashion; and, so they do that which keeps them in reputation with their company, little regard the laws of God, or the magistrate. The penalties that attend the breach of God's laws some, nay, perhaps most men, seldom seriously reflect on; and amongst those that do, many, whilst they break the law, entertain thoughts of future reconciliation, and making their peace for such breaches. And as to the punishments due from the laws of the commonwealth, they frequently flatter themselves with the hopes of impunity. But no man escapes the punishment of their censure and dislike, who offends against the fashion and opinion of the company he keeps and would recommend himself to. Nor is there one of ten thousand, who is stiff and insensible enough to bear up under the constant dislike and condemnation of his own club. He must be of a strange and unusual constitution, who can content himself to live in constant disgrace and disrepute with his own particular society. Solitude many men have sought, and been reconciled to; but nobody, that has the least thought or sense of a man about him, can live in society under the constant dislike and ill opinion of his familiars, and those he converses with. This is a burden too heavy for human sufferance; and he must be made up of irreconcileable contradictions, who can take pleasure in company, and yet be insensible of contempt and disgrace from his companions.

13. *These three Laws the Rules of moral Good and Evil.*—These three then, first, the law of God; secondly, the law of

politic societies; thirdly, the law of fashion, or private censure; are those to which men variously compare their actions: and it is by their conformity to one of these laws that they take their measures, when they would judge of their moral rectitude, and denominate their actions good or bad.

14. *Morality is the Relation of Actions to these Rules.*— Whether the rule, to which, as to a touchstone, we bring our voluntary actions, to examine them by, and try their goodness, and accordingly to name them, which is, as it were, the mark of the value we set upon them; whether, I say, we take that rule from the fashion of the country, or the will of a law-maker, the mind is easily able to observe the relation any action hath to it, and to judge whether the action agrees or disagrees with the rule; and so hath a notion of moral goodness or evil, which is either conformity or not conformity of any action to that rule: and therefore is often called moral rectitude. This rule being nothing but a collection of several simple ideas, the conformity thereto is but so ordering the action, that the simple ideas belonging to it may correspond to those which the law requires. And thus we see how moral beings and notions are founded on, and terminated in these simple ideas we have received from sensation or reflection. For example: let us consider the complex idea we signify by the word murder; and when we have taken it asunder, and examined all the particulars, we shall find them to amount to a collection of simple ideas derived from reflection or sensation, viz., First, from reflection on the operations of our own minds, we have the ideas of willing, considering, purposing beforehand, malice, or wishing ill to another; and also of life, or perception, and self-motion. Secondly, from sensation we have the collection of those simple sensible ideas which are to be found in a man, and of some action, whereby we put an end to perception and motion in the man; all which simple ideas are comprehended in the word murder. This collection of simple ideas being found by me to agree or disagree with the esteem of the country I have been bred in, and to be held by most men there worthy praise or blame, I call the action virtuous or vicious: if I have the will of a supreme invisible lawgiver for my rule, then, as I supposed the action commanded or forbidden by God, I call it good or evil, sin

or duty: and if I compare it to the civil law, the rule made by the legislative power of the country, I call it lawful or unlawful, a crime or no crime. So that whencesoever we take the rule of moral actions, or by what standard soever we frame in our minds the ideas of virtues or vices, they consist only and are made up of collections of simple ideas, which we originally received from sense or reflection, and their rectitude or obliquity consists in the agreement or disagreement with those patterns prescribed by some law.

15. To conceive rightly of moral actions, we must take notice of them under this two-fold consideration. First, as they are in themselves each made up of such a collection of simple ideas. Thus drunkenness, or lying, signify such or such a collection of simple ideas, which I call mixed modes; and in this sense they are as much positive absolute ideas, as the drinking of a horse, or speaking of a parrot. Secondly, our actions are considered as good, bad, or indifferent; and in this respect they are relative, it being their conformity to, or disagreement with some rule that makes them to be regular or irregular, good or bad; and so, as far as they are compared with a rule, and thereupon denominated, they come under relation. Thus the challenging and fighting with a man, as it is a certain positive mode, or particular sort of action, by particular ideas, distinguished from all others, is called duelling; which, when considered in relation to the law of God, will deserve the name of sin; to the law of fashion, in some countries,* valour and virtue; and to the

* Duelling is the shield which liars and other persons of base mind hold before them, to protect their ears from the truth, and from learning the contempt in which they are held by their superiors in virtue and in wisdom. (See the opinions of Rousseau, in the Nouvelle Heloise, part i. lett. 57.) Among the Polish nobles of former days, petty wars were substituted for duels; that is, for a bad practice, one much worse. "In private quarrels, they are not obliged to seek satisfaction of the wrong done them, man to man. When they think themselves injured, they gather all their friends, and the most resolute of all their vassals, and march out with the greatest strength they can make to attack and worst their enemies wheresoever they can meet them, and do not lay down their arms till they have fought, or else some friends have interposed and reconciled them, and, instead of a scimitar put in their hands, a great glass full of the liquor they call *toquay*, to drink one another's health." (Descrip. of Ukraine, by the Sieur de Beauplan.) That curious, but little known traveller, Skippon, relates, that, when at Padua, he heard the celebrated Ferrarius lecture to the students against duelling, on which occasion an extraordinary story "of a duel, or *monomachia*

municipal laws of some governments, a capital crime. In this case, when the positive mode has one name, and another name as it stands in relation to the law, the distinction may as easily be observed as it is in substances, where one name, v. g., man, is used to signify the thing; another, v. g., father, to signify the relation.

16. *The Denominations of Actions often mislead us.*—But because very frequently the positive idea of the action, and its moral relation, are comprehended together under one name, and the same word made use of to express both the mode or action, and its moral rectitude or obliquity; therefore the relation itself is less taken notice of, and there is often no distinction made between the positive idea of the action, and the reference it has to a rule: by which confusion of these two distinct considerations under one term, those who yield too easily to the impressions of sounds, and are forward to take names for things, are often misled in their judgment of actions. Thus, the taking from another what is his, without his knowledge or allowance, is properly called stealing; but that name being commonly understood to signify also the moral pravity of the action, and to denote its contrariety to the law, men are apt to condemn whatever they hear called stealing as an ill action, disagreeing with the rule of right. And yet the private taking away his sword from a madman, to prevent his doing mischief, though it be properly denominated stealing, as the name of such a mixed mode; yet when compared to the law of God, and considered in its relation to that supreme rule, it is no sin or transgression, though the name stealing ordinarily carries such an intimation with it.*

(duelling, he said, is the same with bellum,) between two fellows who were thus pitted to fight. The hair of their heads was cut off, that there might be no spell in their hair; their nails were cut, and their habit was of leather; then a tub of grease was brought, with which they anointed their clothes. Each had a club in his hand, of the same length and weight. Before they fell to blows, they were both sworn upon a B.ble, concerning the matter of their strife; one swore the thing was true, and the other denied it upon oath. Sugar was set by them to refresh themselves when they were at any time weary." (Ap. Churchill, v. vi. p. 542.)—Ed.

* Plato employs this illustration, where he is showing that it is not always just to restore to a man that which belongs to him. (De Repub.) No definition that I have met with will hold but the one in the Gospel— "Do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you."—Ed.

17. *Relations innumerable.*—And thus much for the relation of human actions to a law, which, therefore, I call moral relation.

It would make a volume to go over all sorts of relations; it is not, therefore, to be expected that I should here mention them all. It suffices to our present purpose to show by these what the ideas are we have of this comprehensive consideration, called relation, which is so various, and the occasions of it so many, (as many as there can be of comparing things one to another,) that it is not very easy to reduce it to rules, or under just heads. Those I have mentioned, I think, are some of the most considerable, and such as may serve to let us see from whence we get our ideas of relations, and wherein they are founded. But before I quit this argument, from what has been said, give me leave to observe:

18. *All Relations terminate in simple Ideas.*—First, That it is evident, that all relation terminates in, and is ultimately founded on those simple ideas we have got from sensation or reflection: so that all we have in our thoughts ourselves, (if we think of anything, or have any meaning,) or would signify to others, when we use words standing for relations, is nothing but some simple ideas, or collections of simple ideas, compared one with another. This is so manifest in that sort called proportional, that nothing can be more; for when a man says honey is sweeter than wax, it is plain that his thoughts in this relation terminate in this simple idea, sweetness, which is equally true of all the rest; though, where they are compounded, or decompounded, the simple ideas they are made up of, are, perhaps, seldom taken notice of: v. g., when the word father is mentioned: First, there is meant that particular species, or collective idea, signified by the word man. Secondly, those sensible simple ideas, signified by the word generation; and, thirdly, the effects of it, and all the simple ideas signified by the word child. So the word friend, being taken for a man who loves and is ready to do good to another, has all these following ideas to the making of it up: First, all the simple ideas, comprehended in the word man, or intelligent being. Secondly, the idea of love. Thirdly, the idea of readiness or disposition. Fourthly, the idea of action, which is any kind of thought or motion. Fifthly, the idea of good, which signi-

fies anything that may advance his happiness, and terminates at last, if examined, in particular simple ideas; of which the word good in general signifies any one, but, if removed from all simple ideas quite, it signifies nothing at all. And thus also all moral words terminate at last, though perhaps more remotely, in a collection of simple ideas: the immediate signification of relative words, being very often other supposed known relations; which, if traced one to another, still end in simple ideas.

19. *We have ordinarily as clear (or clearer) a Notion of the Relation, as of its Foundation.*—Secondly, That in relations, we have for the most part, if not always, as clear a notion of the relation as we have of those simple ideas wherein it is founded: agreement or disagreement, whereon relation depends, being things whereof we have commonly as clear ideas as of any other whatsoever; it being but the distinguishing simple ideas, or their degrees one from another, without which we could have no distinct knowledge at all. For if I have a clear idea of sweetness, light, or extension, I have, too, of equal, or more or less of each of these: if I know what it is for one man to be born of a woman, viz, Sempronia, I know what it is for another man to be born of the same woman Sempronia; and so have as clear a notion of brothers as of births, and perhaps clearer. For if I believed that Sempronia dug Titus out of the parsley-bed, (as they used to tell children,) and thereby became his mother; and that afterwards, in the same manner, she dug Caius out of the parsley-bed; I had as clear a notion of the relation of brothers between them, as if I had all the skill of a midwife: the notion that the same woman contributed, as mother, equally to their births, (though I were ignorant or mistaken in the manner of it,) being that on which I grounded the relation, and that they agreed in that circumstance of birth, let it be what it will. The comparing them then in their descent from the same person, without knowing the particular circumstances of that descent, is enough to found my notion of their having or not having the relation of brothers. But though the ideas of particular relations are capable of being as clear and distinct in the minds of those who will duly consider them, as those of mixed modes, and more determinate than those of substances; yet the names belonging

to relation are often of as doubtful and uncertain signification, as those of substances or mixed modes, and much more than those of simple ideas; because relative words being the marks of this comparison, which is made only by men's thoughts, and is an idea only in men's minds, men frequently apply them to different comparisons of things, according to their own imaginations, which do not always correspond with those of others using the same name.

20. *The Notion of the Relation is the same, whether the Rule any Action is compared to be true or false.*—Thirdly, That in these I call moral relations, I have a true notion of relation by comparing the action with the rule, whether the rule be true or false. For if I measure anything by a yard, I know whether the thing I measure be longer or shorter than that supposed yard, though perhaps the yard I measure by be not exactly the standard; which indeed is another inquiry. For though the rule be erroneous, and I mistaken in it, yet the agreement or disagreement observable in that which I compare with, makes me perceive the relation. Though measuring by a wrong rule, I shall thereby be brought to judge amiss of its moral rectitude, because I have tried it by that which is not the true rule; yet I am not mistaken in the relation which that action bears to that rule I compare it to, which is agreement or disagreement.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF CLEAR AND OBSCURE, DISTINCT AND CONFUSED IDEAS.

1. *Ideas, some clear and distinct, others obscure and confused.*—HAVING shown the original of our ideas, and taken a view of their several sorts; considered the difference between the simple and the complex, and observed how the complex ones are divided into those of modes, substances, and relations, all which, I think, is necessary to be done by any one who would acquaint himself thoroughly with the progress of the mind in its apprehension and knowledge of things, it will, perhaps, be thought I have dwelt long enough upon the examination of ideas. I must, nevertheless, crave leave to offer some few other considerations concerning them. The first is, that some are clear and others obscure, some distinct and others confused.

2. *Clear and obscure explained by Sight.*—The perception of the mind being most aptly explained by words relating to the sight, we shall best understand what is meant by clear and obscure in our ideas, by reflecting on what we call clear and obscure in the objects of sight. Light being that which discovers to us visible objects, we give the name of obscure to that which is not placed in a light sufficient to discover minutely to us the figure and colours which are observable in it, and which, in a better light, would be discernible. In like manner, our simple ideas are clear when they are such as the objects themselves from whence they were taken did or might in a well-ordered sensation or perception present them. Whilst the memory retains them thus, and can produce them to the mind whenever it has occasion to consider them, they are clear ideas. So far as they either want anything of the original exactness, or have lost any of their first freshness, and are, as it were, faded or tarnished by time, so far are they obscure. Complex ideas, as they are made up of simple ones, so they are clear when the ideas that go to their composition are clear; and the number and order of those simple ideas that are the ingredients of any complex one is determinate and certain.

3. *Causes of Obscurity.*—The causes of obscurity, in simple ideas, seem to be either dull organs, or very slight and transient impressions made by the objects, or else a weakness in the memory not able to retain them as received. For to return again to visible objects, to help us to apprehend this matter; if the organs or faculties of perception, like wax over-hardened with cold, will not receive the impression of the seal, from the usual impulse wont to imprint it; or, like wax of a temper too soft, will not hold it well when well imprinted; or else supposing the wax of a temper fit, but the seal not applied with a sufficient force to make a clear impression; in any of these cases, the print left by the seal will be obscure. This, I suppose, needs no application to make it plainer.*

4. *Distinct and confused, what.*—As a clear idea is that whereof the mind has such a full and evident perception, as it does receive from an outward object operating duly on a

* Plato has made use of precisely the same illustration in the Theætetus, v. iii. p. 287, Bek.—Ed.

well-disposed organ; so a distinct idea is that wherein the mind perceives a difference from all other; and a confused idea is such an one as is not sufficiently distinguishable from another, from which it ought to be different.

5. *Objection.*—If no idea be confused, but such as is not sufficiently distinguishable from another, from which it should be different, it will be hard, may any one say, to find anywhere a confused idea. For let any idea be as it will, it can be no other but such as the mind perceives it to be; and that very perception sufficiently distinguishes it from all other ideas, which cannot be other, i. e., different, without being perceived to be so. No idea, therefore, can be undistinguishable from another, from which it ought to be different, unless you would have it different from itself; for from all other it is evidently different.

6. *Confusion of Ideas is in Reference to their Names.*—To remove this difficulty, and to help us to conceive aright what it is that makes the confusion ideas are at any time chargeable with, we must consider, that, things ranked under distinct names are supposed different enough to be distinguished, that so each sort by its peculiar name may be marked, and discoursed of apart upon any occasion; and there is nothing more evident, than that the greatest part of different names are supposed to stand for different things. Now every idea a man has being visibly what it is, and distinct from all other ideas but itself, that which makes it confused, is, when it is such, that it may as well be called by another name, as that which it is expressed by; the difference which keeps the things (to be ranked under those two different names) distinct, and makes some of them belong rather to the one, and some of them to the other of those names, being left out; and so the distinction, which was intended to be kept up by those different names, is quite lost.

7. *Defaults which make Confusion.*—The defaults which usually occasion this confusion, I think, are chiefly these following:

First, complex Ideas made up of too few simple Ones.—First, when any complex idea (for it is complex ideas that are most liable to confusion) is made up of too small a number of simple ideas, and such only as are common to other things, whereby the differences that make it deserve a dif-

ferent name, are left out. Thus, he that has an idea made up of barely the simple ones of a beast with spots, has but a confused idea of a leopard; it not being thereby sufficiently distinguished from a lynx, and several other sorts of beasts that are spotted. So that such an idea, though it hath the peculiar name leopard, is not distinguishable from those designed by the names lynx or panther, and may as well come under the name lynx as leopard. How much the custom of defining of words by general terms contributes to make the ideas we would express by them confused and undetermined, I leave others to consider. This is evident, that confused ideas are such as render the use of words uncertain, and take away the benefit of distinct names. When the ideas, for which we use different terms, have not a difference answerable to their distinct names, and so cannot be distinguished by them, there it is that they are truly confused.

8. *Secondly, or its simple Ones jumbled disorderly together.* —Secondly, Another fault which makes our ideas confused is, when, though the particulars that make up any idea are in number enough, yet they are so jumbled together, that it is not easily discernible whether it more belongs to the name that is given it than to any other. There is nothing properer to make us conceive this confusion, than a sort of pictures usually shown as surprising pieces of art, wherein the colours, as they are laid by the pencil on the table itself, mark out very odd and unusual figures, and have no discernible order in their position. This draught, thus made up of parts wherein no symmetry nor order appears, is in itself no more a confused thing, than the picture of a cloudy sky; wherein, though there be as little order of colours or figures to be found, yet nobody thinks it a confused picture. What is it, then, that makes it be thought confused, since the want of symmetry does not? as it is plain it does not; for another draught made barely in imitation of this could not be called confused. I answer, that which makes it be thought confused, is, the applying it to some name to which it does no more discernibly belong than to some other; v g., when it is said to be the picture of a man, or Cæsar, then any one with reason counts it confused; because it is not discernible in that state, to belong more to the name man,

or Cæsar, than to the name baboon, or Pompey; which are supposed to stand for different ideas from those signified by man, or Cæsar. But when a cylindrical mirror, placed right, hath reduced those irregular lines on the table into their due order and proportion, then the confusion ceases, and the eye presently sees that it is a man, or Cæsar, i. e., that it belongs to those names; and that it is sufficiently distinguishable from a baboon, or Pompey, i. e., from the ideas signified by those names. Just thus it is with our ideas, which are as it were the pictures of things. No one of these mental draughts, however the parts are put together, can be called confused (for they are plainly discernible as they are) till it be ranked under some ordinary name, to which it cannot be discerned to belong, any more than it does to some other name of an allowed different signification.

9. *Thirdly, or are mutable and undetermined.*—Thirdly, A third defect that frequently gives the name of confused to our ideas, is, when any one of them is uncertain and undetermined. Thus we may observe men, who not forbearing to use the ordinary words of their language, till they have learned their precise signification, change the idea they make this or that term stand for, almost as often as they use it. He that does this out of uncertainty of what he should leave out, or put into his idea of church or idolatry, every time he thinks of either, and holds not steady to any one precise combination of ideas that makes it up, is said to have a confused idea of idolatry or the church; though this be still for the same reason as the former, viz., because a mutable idea (if we will allow it to be one idea) cannot belong to one name rather than another, and so loses the distinction that distinct names are designed for.

10. *Confusion without Reference to Names, hardly conceivable.*—By what has been said, we may observe how much names, as supposed steady signs of things, and by their difference to stand for and keep things distinct that in themselves are different, are the occasion of denominating ideas distinct or confused, by a secret and unobserved reference the mind makes of its ideas to such names. This perhaps will be fuller understood, after what I say of words in the third book has been read and considered. But without taking notice of such a reference of ideas to distinct names as the

signs of distinct things, it will be hard to say what a confused idea is. And therefore when a man designs by any name a sort of things, or any one particular thing, distinct from all others, the complex idea he annexes to that name is the more distinct, the more particular the ideas are, and the greater and more determinate the number and order of them is, whereof it is made up. For the more it has of these, the more it has still of the perceivable differences, whereby it is kept separate and distinct from all ideas belonging to other names, even those that approach nearest to it, and thereby all confusion with them is avoided.

11. *Confusion concerns always two Ideas.* — Confusion making it a difficulty to separate two things that should be separated, concerns always two ideas; and those most which most approach one another. Whenever, therefore, we suspect any idea to be confused, we must examine what other it is in danger to be confounded with, or which it cannot easily be separated from; and that will always be found an idea belonging to another name, and so should be a different thing, from which yet it is not sufficiently distinct, being either the same with it or making a part of it, or at least as properly called by that name, as the other it is ranked under; and so keeps not that difference from that other idea which the different names import.

12. *Causes of Confusion.*—This, I think, is the confusion proper to ideas, which still carries with it a secret reference to names. At least, if there be any other confusion of ideas, this is that which most of all disorders men's thoughts and discourses: ideas, as ranked under names, being those that for the most part men reason of within themselves, and always those which they commune about with others. And, therefore, where there are supposed two different ideas marked by two different names, which are not as distinguishable as the sounds that stand for them, there never fails to be confusion; and where any ideas are distinct as the ideas of those two sounds they are marked by, there can be between them no confusion. The way to prevent it is to collect and unite into one complex idea, as precisely as is possible, all those ingredients whereby it is differenced from others; and to them, so united in a determinate number and order, apply steadily the same name. But this neither ac-

commodating men's ease or vanity, or serving any design but that of naked truth, which is not always the thing aimed at, such exactness is rather to be wished than hoped for. And since the loose application of names to undetermined, variable, and almost no ideas, serves both to cover our own ignorance, as well as to perplex and confound others, which goes for learning and superiority in knowledge, it is no wonder that most men should use it themselves, whilst they complain of it in others.* Though, I think, no small part of the confusion to be found in the notions of men might, by care and ingenuity, be avoided, yet I am far from concluding it everywhere wilful. Some ideas are so complex, and made up of so many parts, that the memory does not easily retain the very same precise combination of simple ideas under one name; much less are we able constantly to divine for what precise complex idea such a name stands in another man's use of it. From the first of these, follows confusion in a man's own reasonings and opinions within himself; from the latter, frequent confusion in discoursing and arguing with others. But having more at large treated of words, their defects, and abuses, in the following book, I shall here say no more of it.

13. *Complex Ideas may be distinct in one Part, and confused in another.*—Our complex ideas being made up of collections, and so variety of simple ones, may accordingly be very clear and distinct in one part, and very obscure and confused in another. In a man who speaks of a chiliaedron, or a body of a thousand sides, the ideas of the figure may be very confused, though that of the number be very distinct: so that he being able to discourse and demonstrate concerning that part of his complex idea which depends upon the number of thousand, he is apt to think he has a distinct idea of a chiliaedron; though it be plain he has no precise idea of its figure, so as to distinguish it by that, from one that has but 999 sides; the not observing whereof causes no small error in men's thoughts, and confusion in their discourses.

14. *This, if not heeded, causes Confusion in our Arguings.*—He that thinks he has a distinct idea of the figure of a chi-

* This truth was strikingly exemplified by the sophists, whose arts are nowhere so well exposed as in Plato's Dialogues, more particularly the Euthydemos, where two old fellows undertake to prove Socrates to have been cousin-german to Heracles.—ED.

liaedron, let him for trial sake take another parcel of the same uniform matter, viz., gold or wax, of an equal bulk, and make it into a figure of 999 sides: he will, I doubt not, be able to distinguish these two ideas one from another, by the number of sides, and reason and argue distinctly about them, whilst he keeps his thoughts and reasoning to that part only of these ideas which is contained in their numbers; as that the sides of the one could be divided into two equal numbers, and of the others not, &c. But when he goes about to distinguish them by their figure, he will there be presently at a loss, and not be able, I think, to frame in his mind two ideas, one of them distinct from the other, by the bare figure of these two pieces of gold; as he could, if the same parcels of gold were made one into a cube, the other a figure of five sides. In which incomplete ideas, we are very apt to impose on ourselves, and wrangle with others, especially where they have particular and familiar names. For being satisfied in that part of the idea which we have clear, and the name which is familiar to us, being applied to the whole, containing that part which is imperfect and obscure, we are apt to use it for that confused part, and draw deductions from it, in the obscure part of its signification, as confidently as we do from the other.

15. *Instance in Eternity.* — Having frequently in our mouths the name Eternity, we are apt to think we have a positive comprehensive idea of it, which is as much as to say, that there is no part of that duration which is not clearly contained in our idea. It is true that he that thinks so may have a clear idea of duration: he may also have a clear idea of a very great length of duration: he may also have a clear idea of the comparison of that great one with still a greater; but it not being possible for him to include in his idea of any duration, let it be as great as it will, the whole extent together of a duration where he supposes no end, that part of his idea, which is still beyond the bounds of that large duration, he represents to his own thoughts, is very obscure and undetermined. And hence it is that in disputes and reasonings concerning eternity, or any other infinite, we are apt to blunder, and involve ourselves in manifest absurdities.

16. *Divisibility of Matter.*—In matter we have no clear ideas of the smallness of parts much beyond the smallest that

occur to any of our senses; and therefore, when we talk of the divisibility of matter in infinitum, though we have clear ideas of division and divisibility, and have also clear ideas of parts made out of a whole by division; yet we have but very obscure and confused ideas of corpuscles, or minute bodies so to be divided, when by former divisions they are reduced to a smallness much exceeding the perception of any of our senses; and so all that we have clear and distinct ideas of, is of what division in general or abstractedly is, and the relation of totum and parts; but of the bulk of the body, to be thus infinitely divided after certain progressions, I think, we have no clear nor distinct idea at all. For I ask any one, whether, taking the smallest atom of dust he ever saw, he has any distinct idea (bating still the number, which concerns not extension) betwixt the 100,000th and the 1,000,000th part of it; or if he thinks he can refine his ideas to that degree, without losing sight of them, let him add ten cyphers to each of those numbers. Such a degree of smallness is not unreasonable to be supposed, since a division carried on so far brings it no nearer the end of infinite division, than the first division into two halves does. I must confess, for my part, I have no clear distinct ideas of the different bulk or extension of those bodies, having but a very obscure one of either of them. So that I think, when we talk of division of bodies in infinitum, our idea of their distinct bulks, which is the subject and foundation of division, comes, after a little progression, to be confounded, and almost lost in obscurity. For that idea which is to represent only bigness must be very obscure and confused, which we cannot distinguish from one ten times as big, but only by number; so that we have clear distinct ideas, we may say, of ten and one, but no distinct ideas of two such extensions. It is plain from hence, that, when we talk of infinite divisibility of body or extension, our distinct and clear ideas are only of numbers; but the clear distinct ideas of extension, after some progress of division are quite lost; and of such minute parts we have no distinct ideas at all: but it returns, as all our ideas of infinite do, at last to that of number always to be added; but thereby never amounts to any distinct idea of actual infinite parts. We have, it is true, a clear idea of division, as often as we think of it; but thereby we have no more a

clear idea of infinite parts in matter, than we have a clear idea of an infinite number, by being able still to add new numbers to any assigned numbers we have; endless divisibility giving us no more a clear and distinct idea of actually infinite parts, than endless addibility (if I may so speak) gives us a clear and distinct idea of an actually infinite number; they both being only in a power still of increasing the number, be it already as great as it will: so that of what remains to be added (wherein consists the infinity) we have but an obscure, imperfect, and confused idea, from or about which we can argue or reason with no certainty or clearness no more than we can in arithmetic, about a number of which we have no such distinct idea as we have of 4 or 100; but only this relative obscure one, that compared to any other, it is still bigger: and we have no more a clear positive idea of it when we say or conceive it is bigger, or more than 400,000,000, than if we should say it is bigger than 40 or 4; 400,000,000 having no nearer a proportion to the end of addition, or number, than 4. For he that adds only 4 to 4, and so proceeds, shall as soon come to the end of all addition, as he that adds 400,000,000 to 400,000,000. And so likewise in eternity, he that has an idea of but four years, has as much a positive complete idea of eternity, as he that has one of 400,000,000 of years; for what remains of eternity beyond either of these two numbers of years is as clear to the one as the other; i.e., neither of them has any clear positive idea of it at all. For he that adds only four years to 4, and so on, shall as soon reach eternity as he that adds 400,000,000 of years, and so on; or, if he please, doubles the increase as often as he will, the remaining abyss being still as far beyond the end of all these progressions as it is from the length of a day or an hour; for nothing finite bears any proportion to infinite, and therefore our ideas, which are all finite, cannot bear any. Thus it is also in our idea of extension, when we increase it by addition, as well as when we diminish it by division, and would enlarge our thoughts to infinite space. After a few doublings of those ideas of extension, which are the largest we are accustomed to have, we lose the clear distinct idea of that space; it becomes a confusedly great one, with a surplus of still greater; about which, when we would argue or reason, we shall

always find ourselves at a loss; confused ideas, in our arguings and deductions from that part of them which is confused, always leading us into confusion.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF REAL AND FANTASTICAL IDEAS.

1. *Real Ideas are conformable to their Archetypes.*—BESIDES what we have already mentioned concerning ideas, other considerations belong to them, in reference to things from whence they are taken, or which they may be supposed to represent: and thus, I think, they may come under a threefold distinction; and are,

First, either real or fantastical.

Secondly, adequate or inadequate.

Thirdly, true or false.

First, by real ideas, I mean such as have a foundation in nature; such as have a conformity with the real being and existence of things, or with their archetypes. Fantastical or chimerical, I call such as have no foundation in nature, nor have any conformity with that reality of being to which they are tacitly referred as to their archetypes. If we examine the several sorts of ideas before mentioned, we shall find that,

2. *Simple Ideas all real.*—First, Our simple ideas are all real, all agree to the reality of things: not that they are all of them the images or representations of what does exist; the contrary whereof, in all but the primary qualities of bodies, hath been already shown. But, though whiteness and coldness are no more in snow than pain is; yet those ideas of whiteness and coldness, pain, &c., being in us the effects of powers in things without us, ordained by our Maker to produce in us such sensations; they are real ideas in us, whereby we distinguish the qualities that are really in things themselves. For these several appearances being designed to be the mark whereby we are to know and distinguish things which we have to do with, our ideas do as well serve us to that purpose, and are as real distinguishing characters, whether they be only constant effects, or else exact resemblances of something in the things themselves; the reality lying in that steady correspondence they have with

the distinct constitutions of real beings. But whether they answer to those constitutions, as to causes or patterns, it matters not; it suffices that they are constantly produced by them. And thus our simple ideas are all real and true, because they answer and agree to those powers of things which produce them in our minds; that being all that is requisite to make them real, and not fictions at pleasure. For in simple ideas (as has been shown) the mind is wholly confined to the operation of things upon it, and can make to itself no simple idea, more than what it has received.

3. *Complex Ideas are voluntary Combinations.*—Though the mind be wholly passive in respect of its simple ideas; yet, I think, we may say it is not so in respect of its complex ideas: for those being combinations of simple ideas put together, and united under one general name; it is plain that the mind of man uses some kind of liberty in forming those complex ideas: how else comes it to pass that one man's idea of gold, or justice, is different from another's, but because he has put in, or left out of his, some simple idea which the other has not? The question then is, Which of these are real, and which barely imaginary combinations? What collections agree to the reality of things, and what not? And to this I say, that,

4. *Mixed Modes made of consistent Ideas are real.*—Secondly, Mixed modes and relations having no other reality but what they have in the minds of men, there is nothing more required to this kind of ideas to make them real, but that they be so framed, that there be a possibility of existing conformable to them. These ideas themselves, being archetypes, cannot differ from their archetypes, and so cannot be chimerical, unless any one will jumble together in them inconsistent ideas. Indeed, as any of them have the names of a known language assigned to them, by which he that has them in his mind would signify them to others, so bare possibility of existing is not enough; they must have a conformity to the ordinary signification of the name that is given them, that they may not be thought fantastical: as if a man would give the name of justice to that idea which common use calls liberality. But this fantasticalness relates more to propriety of speech, than reality of ideas: for a man to be undisturbed in danger, sedately to consider what is

fittest to be done, and to execute it steadily, is a mixed mode, or a complex idea of an action which may exist. But to be undisturbed in danger, without using one's reason or industry, is what is also possible to be; and so is as real an idea as the other. Though the first of these, having the name courage given to it, may, in respect of that name, be a right or wrong idea, but the other, whilst it has not a common received name of any known language assigned to it, is not capable of any deformity, being made with no reference to anything but itself.

5. *Ideas of Substances are real when they agree with the Existence of Things.*—Thirdly, Our complex ideas of substances being made all of them in reference to things existing without us, and intended to be representations of substances, as they really are, are no further real, than as they are such combinations of simple ideas as are really united, and co exist in things without us. On the contrary, those are fantastical which are made up of such collections of simple ideas as were really never united, never were found together in any substance; v.g., a rational creature, consisting of a horse's head, joined to a body of human shape, or such as the centaurs are described; or, a body yellow, very malleable, fusible, and fixed, but lighter than common water: or an uniform, unorganized body, consisting, as to sense, all of similar parts, with perception and voluntary motion joined to it. Whether such substances as these can possibly exist or no, it is probable we do not know: but be that as it will, these ideas of substances being made conformable to no pattern existing that we know, and consisting of such collections of ideas as no substance ever showed us united together, they ought to pass with us for barely imaginary; but much more are those complex ideas so, which contain in them any inconsistency or contradiction of their parts.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF ADEQUATE AND INADEQUATE IDEAS.

1. *Adequate Ideas are such as perfectly represent their Archetypes.*—Of our real ideas, some are adequate, and some are inadequate. Those I call adequate, which perfectly represent those archetypes which the mind supposes them taken from;

which it intends them to stand for, and to which it refers them. Inadequate ideas are such, which are but a partial or incomplete representation of those archetypes to which they are referred. Upon which* account it is plain,

2. *Simple Ideas all adequate.*—First, that all our simple ideas are adequate. Because being nothing but the effects of certain powers in things, fitted and ordained by God to produce such sensations in us, they cannot but be correspondent and adequate to those powers: and we are sure they agree to the reality of things. For, if sugar produce in us the ideas which we call whiteness and sweetness, we are sure there is a power in sugar to produce those ideas in our minds, or else they could not have been produced by it. And so each sensation answering the power that operates on any of our senses, the idea so produced is a real idea, (and not a fiction of the mind, which has no power to produce any simple idea,) and cannot but be adequate, since it ought only to answer that power: and so all simple ideas are adequate. It is true, the things producing in us these simple ideas are but few of them denominated by us, as if they were only the causes of them; but as if those ideas were real beings in them. For though fire be called painful to the touch, whereby is signified the power of producing in us the idea of pain, yet it is denominated also light and hot; as if light and heat were really something in the fire more than a power to excite these ideas in us: and therefore are called qualities in or of the fire. But these being nothing in truth, but powers to excite such ideas in us, I must in that sense be understood, when I speak of secondary qualities, as being in things; or of their ideas, as being the objects that excite them in us. Such ways of speaking, though accommodated to the vulgar notions, without which one cannot be well understood, yet truly signify nothing but those powers which

* Locke's style is often careless, and sometimes tedious, as in the present paragraph, where the word *which* is seven times repeated, very unnecessarily. The passage would read better as follows:—"Those I call adequate that perfectly represent the archetypes the mind supposes them to be taken from; *which* it intends them to stand for, and to *which* it refers them. Inadequate ideas are such *as* are but a partial or incomplete representation of those archetypes. On *this* account it is plain," &c. Thus, the reader will perceive, *five* out of the seven *whiches* are got rid of, without any great injury to the sense.—ED.

are in things to excite certain sensations or ideas in us: since were there no fit organs to receive the impressions fire makes on the sight and touch, nor a mind joined to those organs to receive the ideas of light and heat by those impressions from the fire or sun, there would yet be no more light or heat in the world, than there would be pain, if there were no sensible creature to feel it, though the sun should continue just as it is now, and Mount Ætna flame higher than ever it did.* Solidity and extension, and the termination of it, figure, with motion and rest, whereof we have the ideas, would be really in the world as they are, whether there were any sensible being to perceive them or no; and therefore we have reason to look on those as the real modifications of matter, and such are the exciting causes of all our various sensations from bodies. But this being an inquiry not belonging to this place, I shall enter no further into it, but proceed to show what complex ideas are adequate, and what not.

3. *Modes are all adequate.*—Secondly, our complex ideas of modes being voluntary collections of simple ideas, which the mind puts together without reference to any real archetypes, or standing patterns existing anywhere, are and cannot but be adequate ideas. Because they, not being intended for copies of things really existing, but for archetypes made by the mind to rank and denominate things by, cannot want anything: they having each of them that combination of ideas, and thereby that perfection which the mind intended they should; so that the mind acquiesces in them, and can find nothing wanting. Thus, by having the idea of a figure with three sides meeting at three angles, I have a complete idea, wherein I require nothing else to make it perfect. That the mind is satisfied with the perfection of this its idea, is plain, in that it does not conceive that any understanding hath or can have a more complete or perfect idea of that thing it signifies by the word triangle, supposing it to exist, than itself has in that complex idea of three sides and three

* Berkeley, it will be seen, had after this but one step to make. If, however, light cause an alteration in the condition of the air, and fire an alteration in the condition of bodies, those effects would still be produced, whether perceived or not; and so there would be light and heat, though no being existed to observe them.—Ed.

angles; in which is contained all that is or can be essential to it, or necessary to complete it, wherever or however it exists. But in our ideas of substances it is otherwise; for there, desiring to copy things as they really do exist, and to represent to ourselves that constitution on which all their properties depend, we perceive our ideas attain not that perfection we intend; we find they still want something we should be glad were in them, and so are all inadequate: but mixed modes and relations being archetypes without patterns, and so having nothing to represent but themselves, cannot but be adequate, everything being so to itself. He that at first put together the idea of danger perceived, absence of disorder from fear, sedate consideration of what was justly to be done, and executing that without disturbance, or being deterred by the danger of it, had certainly in his mind that complex idea made up of that combination; and intending it to be nothing else but what is, nor to have in it any other simple ideas but what it hath, it could not also but be an adequate idea: and laying this up in his memory, with the name courage annexed to it, to signify to others, and denominate from thence any action he should observe to agree with it, had thereby a standard to measure and denominate actions by, as they agreed to it. This idea, thus made and laid up for a pattern, must necessarily be adequate, being referred to nothing else but itself, nor made by any other original but the good liking and will of him that first made this combination.

4. *Modes, in reference to settled Names, may be inadequate.* —Indeed another coming after, and in conversation learning from him the word courage, may make an idea, to which he gives the name courage, different from what the first author applied it to, and has in his mind when he uses it. And in this case, if he designs that his idea in thinking should be conformable to the other's idea, as the name he uses in speaking is conformable in sound to his from whom he learned it, his idea may be very wrong and inadequate: because in this case, making the other man's idea the pattern of his idea in thinking, as the other man's word or sound is the pattern of his in speaking, his idea is so far defective and inadequate, as it is distant from the archetype and pattern he refers it to and intends to express and signify by the name he uses

for it; which name he would have to be a sign of the other man's idea, (to which, in its proper use, it is primarily annexed,) and of his own, as agreeing to it; to which if his own does not exactly correspond, it is faulty and inadequate.

5. Therefore these complex ideas of modes, when they are referred by the mind, and intended to correspond to the ideas in the mind of some other intelligent being, expressed by the names we apply to them, they may be very deficient, wrong, and inadequate; because they agree not to that which the mind designs to be their archetype and pattern: in which respect only any idea of modes can be wrong, imperfect, or inadequate. And on this account our ideas of mixed modes are the most liable to be faulty of any other; but this refers more to proper speaking than knowing right.

6. *Ideas of Substances, as referred to real Essences, not adequate.*—Thirdly, what ideas we have of substances, I have above shown. Now, those ideas have in the mind a double reference: 1. Sometimes they are referred to a supposed real essence of each species of things. 2. Sometimes they are only designed to be pictures and representations in the mind of things that do exist by ideas of those qualities that are discoverable in them. In both which ways, these copies of those originals and archetypes are imperfect and inadequate.

First, it is usual for men to make the names of substances stand for things, as supposed to have certain real essences, whereby they are of this or that species; and names standing for nothing but the ideas that are in men's minds, they must constantly refer their ideas to such real essences, as to their archetypes. That men (especially such as have been bred up in the learning taught in this part of the world) do suppose certain specific essences of substances, which each individual in its several kinds is made conformable to, and partakes of; is so far from needing proof, that it will be thought strange if any one should do otherwise. And thus they ordinarily apply the specific names they rank particular substances under to things, as distinguished by such specific real essences. Who is there almost, who would not take it amiss if it should be doubted whether he called himself a man, with any other meaning than as having the real essence of a man? And yet, if you demand what those real

essences are, it is plain men are ignorant, and know them not. From whence it follows, that the ideas they have in their minds being referred to real essences, as to archetypes which are unknown, must be so far from being adequate, that they cannot be supposed to be any representation of them at all. The complex ideas we have of substances are, as it has been shown, certain collections of simple ideas that have been observed or supposed constantly to exist together. But such a complex idea cannot be the real essence of any substance; for then the properties we discover in that body would depend on that complex idea, and be deducible from it, and their necessary connexion with it be known; as all properties of a triangle depend on, and, as far as they are discoverable, are deducible from the complex idea of three lines, including a space. But it is plain, that, in our complex ideas of substances, are not contained such ideas, on which all the other qualities that are to be found in them do depend. The common idea men have of iron, is a body of a certain colour, weight, and hardness; and a property that they look on as belonging to it, is malleableness. But yet this property has no necessary connexion with that complex idea, or any part of it; and there is no more reason to think that malleableness depends on that colour, weight, and hardness, than that colour or that weight depends on its malleableness. And yet, though we know nothing of these real essences, there is nothing more ordinary, than that men should attribute the sorts of things to such essences. The particular parcel of matter which makes the ring I have on my finger is forwardly by most men supposed to have a real essence, whereby it is gold, and from whence those qualities flow which I find in it, viz., its peculiar colour, weight, hardness, fusibility, fixedness, and change of colour upon a slight touch of mercury, &c. This essence, from which all these properties flow, when I inquire into it and search after it, I plainly perceive I cannot discover; the furthest I can go is, only to presume that, it being nothing but body, its real essence or internal constitution, on which these qualities depend, can be nothing but the figure, size, and connexion of its solid parts; of neither of which having any distinct perception at all, can I have any idea of its essence, which is the cause that it has that particular shining yel-

lowness, a greater weight than anything I know of the same bulk, and a fitness to have its colour changed by the touch of quicksilver. If any one will say, that the real essence and internal constitution on which these properties depend, is not the figure, size, and arrangement or connexion of its solid parts, but something else, called its particular form, I am further from having any idea of its real essence than I was before; for I have an idea of figure, size, and situation of solid parts in general, though I have none of the particular figure, size, or putting together of parts, whereby the qualities above mentioned are produced; which qualities I find in that particular parcel of matter that is on my finger, and not in another parcel of matter, with which I cut the pen I write with. But, when I am told that something besides the figure, size, and posture of the solid parts of that body is its essence, something called substantial form, of that I confess I have no idea at all, but only of the sound form, which is far enough from an idea of its real essence or constitution. The like ignorance as I have of the real essence of this particular substance, I have also of the real essence of all other natural ones; of which essences I confess I have no distinct ideas at all; and, I am apt to suppose, others, when they examine their own knowledge, will find in themselves, in this one point, the same sort of ignorance.

7. Now, then, when men apply to this particular parcel of matter on my finger a general name already in use, and denominate it gold, do they not ordinarily, or are they not understood to give it that name as belonging to a particular species of bodies, having a real internal essence; by having of which essence this particular substance comes to be of that species, and to be called by that name? If it be so, as it is plain it is, the name by which things are marked as having that essence must be referred primarily to that essence, and consequently the idea to which that name is given must be referred also to that essence, and be intended to represent it. Which essence, since they who so use the names know not, their ideas of substances must be all inadequate in that respect, as not containing in them that real essence which the mind intends they should.

8. *Ideas of Substances, as Collections of their Qualities, are all inadequate.*—Secondly, those who, neglecting that useless

supposition* of unknown real essences whereby they are distinguished, endeavour to copy the substances that exist in the world, by putting together the ideas of those sensible qualities which are found co-existing in them, though they come much nearer a likeness of them than those who imagine they know not what real specific essences; yet they arrive not at perfectly adequate ideas of those substances they would thus copy into their minds; nor do those copies exactly and fully contain all that is to be found in their archetypes. Because those qualities and powers of substances whereof we make their complex ideas are so many and various, that no man's complex idea contains them all. That our abstract ideas of substances do not contain in them all the simple ideas that are united in the things themselves, it is evident, in that men do rarely put into their complex idea of any substance all the simple ideas they do know to exist in it. Because endeavouring to make the signification of their names as clear and as little cumbersome as they can, they make their specific ideas of the sorts of substance, for the most part, of a few of those simple ideas which are to be found in them; but these having no original precedency or right to be put in, and make the specific idea, more than others that are left out, it is plain that both these ways our ideas of substances are deficient and inadequate. The simple ideas whereof we make our complex ones of substances are all of them (bating only the figure and bulk of some sorts) powers, which being relations to other substances, we can never be sure that we know all the powers that are in any one body, till we have tried what changes it is fitted to give to or receive from other substances in their several ways of application: which being impossible to be tried upon any one body, much less upon all, it is impossible we should have adequate ideas of any substance made up of a collection of all its properties.

* However *useless* the supposition may be, we must yet make it. For there is something in bodies which characterizes their particular form of existence, and constitutes the difference between them and all other bodies; and this we may as well denominate a "real essence," as anything else. It is impossible to determine what it is that constitutes the essence of man's being; but this does not stifle in us the conviction that our nature reposes on a basis peculiar to itself, and so also of every thing else that exists. —ED.

9. Whosoever first lighted on a parcel of that sort of substance we denote by the word gold, could not rationally take the bulk and figure he observed in that lump to depend on its real essence or internal constitution. Therefore those never went into his idea of that species of body; but its peculiar colour, perhaps, and weight, were the first he abstracted from it, to make the complex idea of that species. Which both are but powers; the one to affect our eyes after such a manner, and to produce in us that idea we call yellow; and the other to force upwards any other body of equal bulk, they being put into a pair of equal scales, one against another. Another perhaps added to these the ideas of fusibility and fixedness, two other passive powers, in relation to the operation of fire upon it; another, its ductility and solubility in aq. regia, two other powers relating to the operation of other bodies in changing its outward figure, or separation of it into insensible parts. These or part of these put together, usually make the complex idea in men's minds of that sort of body we call gold.

10. But no one who hath considered the properties of bodies in general, or this sort in particular, can doubt that this called gold has infinite other properties not contained in that complex idea. Some who have examined this species more accurately, could, I believe, enumerate ten times as many properties in gold, all of them as inseparable from its internal constitution, as its colour or weight; and it is probable, if any one knew all the properties that are by divers men known of this metal, there would be an hundred times as many ideas go to the complex idea of gold, as any one man yet has in his; and yet perhaps that not be the thousandth part of what is to be discovered in it. The changes which that one body is apt to receive and make in other bodies, upon a due application, exceeding far not only what we know, but what we are apt to imagine. Which will not appear so much a paradox to any one who will but consider how far men are yet from knowing all the properties of that one, no very compound figure, a triangle; though it be no small number that are already by mathematicians discovered of it.

11. *Ideas of Substances, as Collections of their Qualities, are all inadequate.*—So that all our complex ideas of substances are imperfect and inade[illegible]e; which would be so also in

mathematical figures, if we were to have our complex ideas of them, only by collecting their properties in reference to other figures. How uncertain and imperfect would our ideas be of an ellipsis, if we had no other idea of it, but some few of its properties! Whereas, having in our plain idea the whole essence of that figure, we from thence discover those properties, and demonstratively see how they flow, and are inseparable from it.

12. *Simple Ideas, ἔκτυπα, and adequate.*—Thus the mind has three sorts of abstract ideas or nominal essences:

First, simple ideas, which are *ἔκτυπα*, or copies, but yet certainly adequate; because, being intended to express nothing but the power in things to produce in the mind such a sensation, that sensation, when it is produced, cannot but be the effect of that power. So the paper I write on, having the power in the light (I speak according to the common notion of light) to produce in men the sensation which I call white, it cannot but be the effect of such a power in something without the mind; since the mind has not the power to produce any such idea in itself, and being meant for nothing else but the effect of such a power, that simple idea is real and adequate; the sensation of white, in my mind, being the effect of that power which is in the paper to produce it, is perfectly adequate to that power, or else that power would produce a different idea.

13. *Ideas of Substances are ἔκτυπα, inadequate.*—Secondly, the complex ideas of substances are ectypes, copies too, but not perfect ones, not adequate: which is very evident to the mind, in that it plainly perceives, that, whatever collection of simple ideas it makes of any substance that exists, it cannot be sure that it exactly answers all that are in that substance; since, not having tried all the operations of all other substances upon it, and found all the alterations it would receive from, or cause in, other substances, it cannot have an exact adequate collection of all its active and passive capacities; and so not have an adequate complex idea of the powers of any substance existing, and its relations, which is that sort of complex idea of substances we have. And after all, if we would have, and actually had, in our complex idea, an exact collection of all the secondary qualities or powers of any substance, we should not yet thereby have an idea

of the essence of that thing. For, since the powers or qualities that are observable by us, are not the real essence of that substance, but depend on it, and flow from it, any collection whatsoever of these qualities cannot be the real essence of that thing. Whereby it is plain, that our ideas of substances are not adequate, are not what the mind intends them to be. Besides, a man has no idea of substance in general, nor knows what substance is, in itself.

14. *Ideas of Modes and Relations are Archetypes, and cannot but be adequate.*—Thirdly, complex ideas of modes and relations are originals, and archetypes; are not copies, nor made after the pattern of any real existence, to which the mind intends them to be conformable, and exactly to answer. These being such collections of simple ideas, that the mind itself puts together, and such collections, that each of them contains in it precisely all that the mind intends that it should, they are archetypes and essences of modes that may exist; and so are designed only for, and belong only to, such modes as, when they do exist, have an exact conformity with those complex ideas. The ideas, therefore, of modes and relations cannot but be adequate.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF TRUE AND FALSE IDEAS.

1. *Truth and Falsehood properly belong to Propositions.*—Though truth and falsehood belong, in propriety of speech, only to propositions; yet ideas are oftentimes termed true or false (as what words are there that are not used with great latitude, and with some deviation from their strict and proper significations?) Though I think, that, when ideas themselves are termed true or false, there is still some secret or tacit proposition, which is the foundation of that denomination; as we shall see if we examine the particular occasions wherein they come to be called true or false; in all which we shall find some kind of affirmation or negation, which is the reason of that denomination. For our ideas, being nothing but bare appearances or perceptions in our minds, cannot properly and simply in themselves be said to be true

or false, no more than a single name of anything can be said to be true or false.

2. *Metaphysical Truth contains a tacit Proposition.*—Indeed both ideas and words may be said to be true in a metaphysical sense of the word truth, as all other things that any way exist are said to be true, i. e., really to be such as they exist. Though in things called true, even in that sense, there is perhaps a secret reference to our ideas, looked upon as the standards of that truth, which amounts to a mental proposition, though it be usually not taken notice of.

3. *No Idea, as an Appearance in the Mind, true or false.*—But it is not in that metaphysical sense of truth which we inquire here, when we examine whether our ideas are capable of being true or false, but in the more ordinary acceptation of those words; and so I say that the ideas in our minds, being only so many perceptions or appearances there, none of them are false; the idea of a centaur having no more falsehood in it when it appears in our minds, than the name centaur has falsehood in it when it is pronounced by our mouths or written on paper. For truth or falsehood lying always in some affirmation or negation, mental or verbal, our ideas are not capable, any of them, of being false, till the mind passes some judgment on them; that is, affirms or denies something of them.

4. *Ideas referred to anything may be true or false.*—Whenever the mind refers any of its ideas to anything extraneous to them, they are then capable to be called true or false; because the mind, in such a reference, makes a tacit supposition of their conformity to that thing; which supposition, as it happens to be true or false, so the ideas themselves come to be denominated. The most usual cases wherein this happens, are these following:

5. *Other Men's Ideas, real Existence, and supposed real Essences, are what Men usually refer their Ideas to.*—First, when the mind supposes any idea it has conformable to that in other men's minds, called by the same common name; v. g., when the mind intends or judges its ideas of justice, temperance, religion, to be the same with what other men give those names to.

Secondly, when the mind supposes any idea it has in itself to be conformable to some real existence. Thus the two

ideas of a man and a centaur, supposed to be the ideas of real substances, are the one true and the other false; the one having a conformity to what has really existed, the other not.

Thirdly, when the mind refers any of its ideas to that real constitution and essence of anything, whereon all its properties depend; and thus the greatest part, if not all our ideas of substances, are false.

6. *The Cause of such References.*—These suppositions the mind is very apt tacitly to make concerning its own ideas. But yet, if we will examine it, we shall find it is chiefly, if not only, concerning its abstract complex ideas. For the natural tendency of the mind being towards knowledge; and finding that, if it should proceed by and dwell upon only particular things, its progress would be very slow, and its work endless; therefore, to shorten its way to knowledge, and make each perception more comprehensive; the first thing it does, as the foundation of the easier enlarging its knowledge, either by contemplation of the things themselves that it would know, or conference with others about them, is to bind them into bundles, and rank them so into sorts, that what knowledge it gets of any of them it may thereby with assurance extend to all of that sort, and so advance by larger steps in that which is its great business, knowledge. This, as I have elsewhere shown, is the reason why we collect things under comprehensive ideas, with names annexed to them, into genera and species, i. e., into kinds and sorts.

7. If, therefore, we will warily attend to the motions of the mind, and observe what course it usually takes in its way to knowledge; we shall, I think, find that the mind having got an idea which it thinks it may have use of either in contemplation or discourse, the first thing it does is to abstract it, and then get a name to it, and so lay it up in its storehouse, the memory, as containing the essence of a sort of things, of which that name is always to be the mark. Hence it is that we may often observe, that, when any one sees a new thing of a kind that he knows not, he presently asks what it is, meaning by that inquiry nothing but the name. As if the name carried with it the knowledge of the species, or the essence of it; whereof it is indeed used as the mark, and is generally supposed annexed to it.

8. *Cause of such References.*—But this abstract idea being something in the mind between the thing that exists, and the name that is given to it; it is in our ideas that both the rightness of our knowledge, and the propriety and intelligibleness of our speaking, consists. And hence it is that men are so forward to suppose that the abstract ideas they have in their minds are such as agree to the things existing without them, to which they are referred; and are the same also to which the names they give them do by the use and propriety of that language belong. For without this double conformity of their ideas, they find they should both think amiss of things in themselves, and talk of them unintelligibly to others.

9. *Simple Ideas may be false in Reference to others of the same Name, but are least liable to be so.*—First, then, I say, that when the truth of our ideas is judged of by the conformity they have to the ideas which other men have, and commonly signify by the same name, they may be any of them false. But yet simple ideas are least of all liable to be so mistaken; because a man by his senses, and every day's observation, may easily satisfy himself what the simple ideas are, which their several names that are in common use stand for; they being but few in number, and such as, if he doubts or mistakes in, he may easily rectify by the objects they are to be found in. Therefore it is seldom that any one mistakes in his names of simple ideas, or applies the name red to the idea green, or the name sweet to the idea bitter; much less are men apt to confound the names of ideas belonging to different senses, and call a colour by the name of a taste, &c., whereby it is evident that the simple ideas they call by any name are commonly the same that others have and mean when they use the same names.

10. *Ideas of mixed Modes most liable to be false in this Sense.*—Complex ideas are much more liable to be false in this respect; and the complex ideas of mixed modes, much more than those of substances; because in substances (especially those which the common and unborrowed names of any language are applied to) some remarkable sensible qualities, serving ordinarily to distinguish one sort from another, easily preserve those who take any care in the use of their words from applying them to sorts of substances to

which they do not at all belong. But in mixed modes we are much more uncertain, it being not so easy to determine of several actions, whether they are to be called justice or cruelty, liberality or prodigality. And so in referring our ideas to those of other men, called by the same names, ours may be false; and the idea in our minds, which we express by the word justice, may perhaps be that which ought to have another name.

11. *Or at least to be thought false.*—But whether or no our ideas of mixed modes are more liable than any sort to be different from those of other men, which are marked by the same names, this at least is certain, that this sort of falsehood is much more familiarly attributed to our ideas of mixed modes than to any other. When a man is thought to have a false idea of justice, or gratitude, or glory, it is for no other reason, but that his agrees not with the ideas which each of those names are the signs of in other men.

12. *And why.*—The reason whereof seems to me to be this: that the abstract ideas of mixed modes being men's voluntary combinations of such a precise collection of simple ideas, and so the essence of each species being made by men alone, whereof we have no other sensible standard existing anywhere but the name itself, or the definition of that name; we having nothing else to refer these our ideas of mixed modes to as a standard to which we would conform them, but the ideas of those who are thought to use those names in their most proper significations; and, so as our ideas conform or differ from them, they pass for true or false.* And thus much concerning the truth and falsehood of our ideas, in reference to their names.

13. *As referred to real Existences, none of our Ideas can be false, but those of Substances.*—Secondly, as to the truth and falsehood of our ideas, in reference to the real existence of things; when that is made the standard of their truth, none

* And thus may we account for most of the disputes and controversies that perplex mankind. Where there is no natural standard, each individual tacitly sets up a standard for himself, which agrees with that of other men exactly in proportion as his organization and habits resemble theirs, and no further. Nevertheless, this evil is irremediable, arising out of the constitution of human nature, and only to be modified by creating in the mind an artificial standard by education.—ED.

of them can be termed false, but only our complex ideas of substances.

14. *First, simple Ideas in this Sense not false, and why.*—First, our simple ideas being barely such perceptions as God has fitted us to receive, and given power to external objects to produce in us by established laws and ways, suitable to his wisdom and goodness, though incomprehensible to us, their truth consists in nothing else but in such appearances as are produced in us, and must be suitable to those powers he has placed in external objects, or else they could not be produced in us, and thus answering those powers, they are what they should be, true ideas. Nor do they become liable to any imputation of falsehood, if the mind (as in most men I believe it does) judges these ideas to be in the things themselves. For God in his wisdom having set them as marks of distinction in things, whereby we may be able to discern one thing from another, and so choose any of them for our uses as we have occasion; it alters not the nature of our simple idea, whether we think that the idea of blue be in the violet itself, or in our mind only; and only the power of producing it by the texture of its parts, reflecting the particles of light after a certain manner, to be in the violet itself. For that texture in the object, by a regular and constant operation producing the same idea of blue in us, it serves us to distinguish by our eyes that from any other thing, whether that distinguishing mark, as it is really in the violet, be only a peculiar texture of parts, or else that very colour, the idea whereof (which is in us) is the exact resemblance. And it is equally from that appearance to be denominated blue, whether it be that real colour, or only a peculiar texture in it, that causes in us that idea; since the name, blue, notes properly nothing but that mark of distinction that is in a violet, discernible only by our eyes, whatever it consists in, that being beyond our capacities distinctly to know, and perhaps would be of less use to us, if we had faculties to discern.

15. *Though one Man's Idea of Blue should be different from Another's.*—Neither would it carry any imputation of falsehood to our simple ideas, if by the different structure of our organs it were so ordered, that the same object should produce in several men's minds different ideas at the same time;

v. g., if the idea that a violet produced in one man's mind by his eyes were the same that a marigold produced in another man's, and vice versâ. For, since this could never be known, because one man's mind could not pass into another man's body, to perceive what appearances were produced by those organs, neither the ideas hereby, nor the names, would be at all confounded, or any falsehood be in either; for all things that had the texture of a violet, producing constantly the idea that he called blue, and those which had the texture of a marigold, producing constantly the idea which he as constantly called yellow; whatever those appearances were in his mind, he would be able as regularly to distinguish things for his use by those appearances, and understand and signify those distinctions marked by the names blue and yellow, as if the appearances or ideas in his mind received from those two flowers were exactly the same with the ideas in other men's minds. I am nevertheless very apt to think that the sensible ideas produced by any object in different men's minds, are most commonly very near and undiscernibly alike. For which opinion, I think, there might be many reasons offered; but that being besides my present business, I shall not trouble my reader with them, but only mind him,* that the contrary supposition, if it could be proved, is of little use, either for the improvement of our knowledge, or conveniency of life, and so we need not trouble ourselves to examine it.

16. *First, simple Ideas in this Sense not false, and why.*— From what has been said concerning our simple ideas, I think it evident that our simple ideas can none of them be false in respect of things existing without us. For the truth of these appearances or perceptions in our minds consisting, as has been said, only in their being answerable to the powers in external objects to produce by our senses such appearances in us, and each of them being in the mind such as it is, suitable to the power that produced it, and which alone it represents, it cannot upon that account, or as referred to such a pattern, be false Blue and yellow, bitter or sweet, can never be false ideas: these perceptions in the mind are just such as they are there. answering the powers appointed by

* That is, desire him to observe.—ED.

God to produce them; and so are truly what they are, and are intended to be. Indeed the names may be misapplied; but that in this respect makes no falsehood in the ideas; as if a man ignorant in the English tongue should call purple scarlet.

17. *Secondly, Modes not false.*—Secondly, neither can our complex ideas of modes, in reference to the essence of anything really existing, be false; because whatever complex idea I have of any mode, it hath no reference to any pattern existing, and made by nature; it is not supposed to contain in it any other ideas than what it hath; nor to represent anything but such a complication of ideas as it does. Thus, when I have the idea of such an action of a man who forbears to afford himself such meat, drink, and clothing, and other conveniences of life, as his riches and estate will be sufficient to supply and his station requires, I have no false idea; but such an one as represents an action, either as I find or imagine it, and so is capable of neither truth nor falsehood. But when I give the name frugality or virtue to this action, then it may be called a false idea, if thereby it be supposed to agree with that idea to which, in propriety or speech, the name of frugality doth belong, or to be conformable to that law which is the standard of virtue and vice.

18. *Thirdly, Ideas of Substances when false.*—Thirdly, our complex ideas of substances, being all referred to patterns in things themselves, may be false. That they are all false, when looked upon as the representations of the unknown essences of things, is so evident, that there needs nothing to be said of it. I shall therefore pass over that chimerical supposition, and consider them as collections of simple ideas in the mind taken from combinations of simple ideas existing together constantly in things, of which patterns they are the supposed copies: and in this reference of them to the existence of things, they are false ideas. 1. When they put together simple ideas, which in the real existence of things have no union; as when to the shape and size that exist together in a horse, is joined in the same complex idea the power of barking like a dog: which three ideas, however put together into one in the mind, were never united in nature; and this, therefore, may be called a false idea of a horse. 2. Ideas of substances are, in this respect, also false,

when from any collection of simple ideas that do always exist together, there is separated, by a direct negation, any other simple idea which is constantly joined with them. Thus, if to extension, solidity, fusibility, the peculiar weightiness, and yellow colour of gold, any one join in his thoughts the negation of a greater degree of fixedness than is in lead or copper, he may be said to have a false complex idea, as well as when he joins to those other simple ones the idea of perfect absolute fixedness. For either way, the complex idea of gold being made up of such simple ones as have no union in nature, may be termed false. But if he leave out of this his complex idea, that of fixedness quite, without either actually joining to, or separating of it from the rest in his mind, it is, I think, to be looked on as an inadequate and imperfect idea, rather than a false one; since, though it contains not all the simple ideas that are united in nature, yet it puts none together but what do really exist together.

19. *Truth or Falsehood always supposes Affirmation or Negation.*—Though, in compliance with the ordinary way of speaking, I have shown in what sense and upon what ground our ideas may be sometimes called true or false; yet if we will look a little nearer into the matter, in all cases where any idea is called true or false, it is from some judgment that the mind makes, or is supposed to make, that is true or false. For truth or falsehood, being never without some affirmation or negation, express or tacit, it is not to be found but where signs are joined or separated, according to the agreement or disagreement of the things they stand for. The signs we chiefly use are either ideas or words, wherewith we make either mental or verbal propositions. Truth lies in so joining or separating these representatives, as the things they stand for do in themselves agree or disagree; and falsehood in the contrary, as shall be more fully shown hereafter.

20. *Ideas in themselves neither true nor false.*—Any idea, then, which we have in our minds, whether conformable or not to the existence of things, or to any idea in the minds of other men, cannot properly for this alone be called false. For these representations, if they have nothing in them but what is really existing in things without, cannot be thought false, being exact representations of something: nor yet if

they have anything in them differing from the reality of things, can they properly be said to be false representations, or ideas of things they do not represent. But the mistake and falsehood is:

21. *But are false*—1. *When judged agreeable to another Man's Idea, without being so.*—First, when the mind having any idea, it judges and concludes it the same that is in other men's minds, signified by the same name; or that it is conformable to the ordinary received signification or definition of that word, when indeed it is not; which is the most usual mistake in mixed modes, though other ideas also are liable to it.

22. *Secondly, When judged to agree to real Existence, when they do not.*—2. When it having a complex idea made up of such a collection of simple ones as nature never puts together, it judges it to agree to a species of creatures really existing: as when it joins the weight of tin to the colour, fusibility, and fixedness of gold.

23. *Thirdly, When judged adequate, without being so.*—3. When in its complex idea it has united a certain number of simple ideas that do really exist together in some sort of creatures, but has also left out others as much inseparable, it judges this to be a perfect complete idea of a sort of things which really it is not; v. g., having joined the ideas of substance, yellow, malleable, most heavy, and fusible, it takes that complex idea to be the complete idea of gold, when yet its peculiar fixedness and solubility in aqua regia are as inseparable from those other ideas or qualities of that body as they are one from another.

24. *Fourthly, When judged to represent the real Essence.*—4. The mistake is yet greater, when I judge that this complex idea contains in it the real essence of any body existing, when at least it contains but some few of those properties which flow from its real essence and constitution. I say only some few of those properties; for those properties consisting mostly in the active and passive powers it has in reference to other things, all that are vulgarly known of any one body, of which the complex idea of that kind of things is usually made, are but a very few, in comparison of what a man that has several ways tried and examined it knows of that one sort of things; and all that the most expert man knows are but a few, in comparison of what are really in

that body, and depend on its internal or essential constitution. The essence of a triangle lies in a very little compass, consists in a very few ideas: three lines including a space make up that essence; but the properties that flow from this essence are more than can be easily known or enumerated. So I imagine it is in substances their real essences lie in a little compass, though the properties flowing from that internal constitution are endless.

25. *Ideas, when false.*—To conclude, a man having no notion of anything without him, but by the idea he has of it in his mind, (which idea he has a power to call by what name he pleases,) he may indeed make an idea neither answering the reason of things, nor agreeing to the idea commonly signified by other people's words; but cannot make a wrong or false idea of a thing which is no otherwise known to him but by the idea he has of it; v. g., when I frame an idea of the legs, arms, and body of a man, and join to this a horse's head and neck, I do not make a false idea of anything, because it represents nothing without me; but when I call it a man or Tartar, and imagine it to represent some real being without me, or to be the same idea that others call by the same name, in either of these cases I may err. And upon this account it is that it comes to be termed a false idea; though indeed the falsehood lies not in the idea, but in that tacit mental proposition wherein a conformity and resemblance is attributed to it which it has not. But yet, if having framed such an idea in my mind, without thinking either that existence, or the name man or Tartar belongs to it, I will call it man or Tartar, I may be justly thought fantastical in the naming, but not erroneous in my judgment, nor the idea any way false.

26. *More properly to be called right or wrong.*—Upon the whole matter, I think that our ideas, as they are considered by the mind, either in reference to the proper signification of their names, or in reference to the reality of things, may very fitly be called right or wrong ideas, according as they agree or disagree to those patterns to which they are referred. But if any one had rather call them true or false, it is fit he use a liberty, which every one has, to call things by those names he thinks best; though, in propriety of speech, truth or falsehood will, I think, scarce agree to them,

but as they some way or other virtually contain in them some mental proposition. The ideas that are in a man's mind, simply considered, cannot be wrong, unless complex ones, wherein inconsistent parts are jumbled together. All other ideas are in themselves right, and the knowledge about them right and true knowledge; but when we come to refer them to anything, as to their patterns and archetypes, then they are capable of being wrong, as far as they disagree with such archetypes.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS.

1. *Something unreasonable in most Men.**—THERE is scarce any one that does not observe something that seems odd to

* Mr. Dugald Stewart, a writer by no means disposed to speak in complimentary terms of any part of Locke's philosophy, finds, in this speculation on the association of ideas, something to praise. He considers the short chapter which we have here before us one of the most valuable in the whole Essay; and observes that, if Locke's "language on this head had been more closely imitated by his successors, many of the errors and false refinements into which they have fallen would have been avoided." (Phil. Ess. Prelim. Diss. p. 18.) Previous to the time of Locke, the doctrine of association, though to a certain extent understood by philosophers, made but little figure in their systems. Hobbes alludes to it in his usual brief and dogmatic way, but appears not to have suspected the use which might be made of it in explaining many operations of the mind:—"The cause of the coherence or consequence of one conception to another, is their first coherence or consequence at that time, when they are produced by sense: as, for example, from St. Andrew the mind runneth to St. Peter, because their names are read together; from St. Peter to a stone, from the same cause; from stone to foundation, because we see them together; and from the same cause, from foundation to church, and from church to people, and from people to tumult: and, according to this example, the mind may run almost from anything to anything. But as in the sense the conception of cause and effect may succeed one another, so may they after sense, in the imagination: and for the most part they do so; the cause whereof is the appetite of them, who, having a conception of the end, have next unto it a conception of the next means to that end; as when a man, from a thought of honour to which he hath an appetite, cometh to the thought of wisdom, which is the next means thereunto; and from thence to the thought of study, which is the next means to wisdom." (Hum. Nat. ch. iv. § 2.) Very similar to this, and evidently based upon it, is the explanation of Condillac, who says:—"Tous nos

him, and is in itself really extravagant in the opinions, reasonings, and actions of other men. The least flaw of this

besoins tiennent les unes aux autres, et l'on en pourroit considérer les perceptions comme une suite d'idées fondamentales, auxquelles on rapporterait tout ce qui fait partie de nos connoissances. Audessus de chacune, s'éleveroient d'autres suites d'idées qui formeroient des espèces de chaînes, dont la force seroit entièrement dans l'analogie des signes, dans l'ordre des perceptions, et dans la liaison que les circonstances qui réuniserent quelquefois les idées les plus disparates auraient formée. A un besoin est liée l'idée de la chose qui est propre à le soulager; à cette idée est liée celle du lieu où cette chose se rencontre; à celle-ci, celle des personnes qu'on y a vues; à cette dernière, les idées des plaisirs ou des chagrins qu'on en a reçus, et plusieurs autres. On peut même remarquer qu'à mesure que la chaîne s'étend, elle se soudevise en differens chaînons; en sorte que, plus on s'éloigne du premier anneau, plus les chaînons s'y multiplient. Une première idée fondamentale est liée à deux ou trois autres; chacune de celles-ci à un égal nombre; ou même à un plus grand, et ainsi de suite. (Essai sur l'Origine des Connaissance Humaines, Sect. I. ch. iii.) (Compare with this what Hartley has advanced in his "Conjecturæ quædam de Sensu, Motu, &c.," Propos. XII. et seq. p. 22.) An anonymous writer, whose work has been reprinted by Dr. Parr among the "Metaphysical Tracts of the Eighteenth Century," endeavours te explain, according to Hartley's principles, the phenomena of Association: "*By association, I mean that power or faculty by which the joint appearance of two or more ideas frequently in the mind, is for the most part changed into a lasting, and sometimes into an inseparable union.* It is probable association may be the result of, and owing to that relation, which the soul and body have to each other, in their joint incorporated capacity. And since by ideas are understood certain motions of the nerves, as felt and perceived by the soul; then, probably, the reason of ideas, when once united, keeping ever after in company together, is owing to a succession of motions in the body, or rather to those motions of the nerves always producing one another. For this is fact; a child has the ideas of the sound *nurse* often presented to the ear, at the same time with the visible appearance of the nurse herself in the eye, and by this frequent conjunction it comes to pass, that the visible appearance of the nurse shall itself excite a faint image of the sound, nurse; and the sound nurse, in like manner, shall excite a faint image of the visible appearance of the nurse in the eye. And all this seems to be effected by the mutual influence which the motions in the optic and auditory nerves, constituting seeing and hearing, have upon one another, according to the laws of matter and motion. And though the heat residing in the medullar particles of the brain, and the continual pulsation of the arteries will not, as we just now observed, suffer the motions excited there wholly to die away, yet other motions being ever and anon impressed by external objects on the nerves, and from thence conveyed to the brain, those latter motions striking the sentient principle more forcibly, will obliterate the others for a while, or during the time this last impression continues; but

kind, if at all different from his own, every one is quick sighted enough to espy in another, and will by the authority of reason forwardly condemn, though he be guilty of much greater unreasonableness in his own tenets and conduct, which he never perceives, and will very hardly, if at all, be convinced of.

2. *Not wholly from Self-love.*—This proceeds not wholly from self-love, though that has often a great hand in it. Men of fair minds, and not given up to the overweening of self-flattery, are frequently guilty of it; and in many cases one with amazement hears the arguings, and is astonished at the obstinacy of a worthy man, who yields not to the evidence of reason, though laid before him as clear as day-light.

3. *Not from Education.*—This sort of unreasonableness is usually imputed to education and prejudice, and for the most part truly enough, though that reaches not the bottom of the disease, nor shows distinctly enough whence it rises, or wherein it lies. Education is often rightly assigned for

as this wears off, which by degrees it will do, the former motions revive, and first those, and then others, will come to be taken notice of, as they pass in review before the mind." (Inquiry into the Origin of the Human Appetites and Affections, showing how each arises from Association, § 11, ¶ 18, p. 68.) Not to swell this note into a treatise, I shall conclude with Lord Byron's poetical exposition of the system, unsurpassed for brevity, beauty, and truth:—

"But ever and anon of griefs subdued
There comes a token, like a scorpion's sting,
Scarce seen, but with fresh bitterness imbued;
And slight withal may be the things which bring
Back on the heart the weight which it would fling
Aside for ever: it may be a sound—
A tone of music,—summer's eve—or spring,
A flower—the wind—the ocean—which shall wound,
Striking the electric chain wherewith we are darkly bound;

And how and why, we know not, nor can trace
Home to its cloud this lightning of the mind,
But feel the shock renewed, nor can efface
The blight and blackening which it leaves behind;
Which out of things familiar, undesigned,
When least we dream of such, calls up to view
The spectres whom no exorcism can bind,
The cold—the changed—perchance the dead, anew,
The mourned, the loved, the lost—too many!—yet how few!"

CHILDE HAROLD, c. iv. stanz. 23, 24.—ED.

the cause, and prejudice is a good general name for the thing itself; but yet, I think, he ought to look a little further, who would trace this sort of madness to the root it springs from, and so explain it, as to show whence this flaw has its original in very sober and rational minds, and wherein it consists.

4. *A Degree of Madness.*—I shall be pardoned for calling it by so harsh a name as madness, when it is considered that opposition to reason deserves that name, and is really madness; and there is scarce a man so free from it, but that if he should always, on all occasions, argue or do as in some cases he constantly does, would not be thought fitter for Bedlam than civil conversation. I do not here mean when he is under the power of an unruly passion, but in the steady calm course of his life. That which will yet more apologize for this harsh name, and ungrateful imputation on the greatest part of mankind, is, that, inquiring a little by the bye into the nature of madness, (b. ii. ch. xi. § 13,) I found it to spring from the very same root, and to depend on the very same cause we are here speaking of. This consideration of the thing itself, at a time when I thought not the least on the subject which I am now treating of, suggested it to me. And if this be a weakness to which all men are so liable, if this be a taint which so universally infects mankind, the greater care should be taken to lay it open under its due name, thereby to excite the greater care in its prevention and cure.

5. *From a wrong Connexion of Ideas.*—Some of our ideas have a natural correspondence and connexion one with another; it is the office and excellency of our reason to trace these, and hold them together in that union and correspondence which is founded in their peculiar beings. Besides this, there is another connexion of ideas wholly owing to chance or custom; ideas, that, in themselves, are not all of kin, come to be so united in some men's minds, that it is very hard to separate them; they always keep in company, and the one no sooner at any time comes into the understanding, but its associate appears with it; and if they are more than two which are thus united, the whole gang, always inseparable, show themselves together.

6. *This Connexion, how made.*—This strong combination

of ideas, not allied by nature, the mind makes in itself either voluntarily or by chance; and hence it comes in different men to be very different, according to their different inclinations, education, interests, &c. Custom settles habits of thinking in the understanding, as well as of determining in the will, and of motions in the body; all which seems to be but trains of motions in the animal spirits, which, once set a going, continue in the same steps they have been used to; which, by often treading, are worn into a smooth path, and the motion in it becomes easy, and as it were natural. As far as we can comprehend thinking, thus ideas seem to be produced in our minds; or if they are not, this may serve to explain their following one another in an habitual train, when once they are put into their track, as well as it does to explain such motions of the body. A musician used to any tune will find, that, let it but once begin in his head, the ideas of the several notes of it will follow one another orderly in his understanding, without any care or attention, as regularly as his fingers move orderly over the keys of the organ to play out the tune he has begun, though his unattentive thoughts be elsewhere a wandering. Whether the natural cause of these ideas, as well as of that regular dancing of his fingers be the motion of his animal spirits, I will not determine, how probable soever, by this instance, it appears to be so; but this may help us a little to conceive of intellectual habits, and of the tying together of ideas.

7. *Some Antipathies an Effect of it.*—That there are such associations of them made by custom in the minds of most men, I think nobody will question, who has well considered himself or others; and to this, perhaps, might be justly attributed most of the sympathies and antipathies observable in men, which work as strongly, and produce as regular effects as if they were natural; and are therefore called so, though they at first had no other original but the accidental connexion of two ideas, which either the strength of the first impression, or future indulgence so united, that they always afterwards kept company together in that man's mind, as if they were but one idea. I say most of the antipathies, I do not say all, for some of them are truly natural, depend upon our original constitution, and are born with us; but a great part of those which are counted natural, would have

been known to be from unheeded, though perhaps early, impressions, or wanton fancies at first, which would have been acknowledged the original of them, if they had been warily observed. A grown person surfeiting with honey no sooner hears the name of it, but his fancy immediately carries sickness and qualms to his stomach, and he cannot bear the very idea of it; other ideas of dislike, and sickness, and vomiting, presently accompany it, and he is disturbed, but he knows from whence to date this weakness, and can tell how he got this indisposition. Had this happened to him by an over-dose of honey, when a child, all the same effects would have followed, but the cause would have been mistaken, and the antipathy counted natural.

8. I mention this, not out of any great necessity there is in this present argument to distinguish nicely between natural and acquired antipathies; but I take notice of it for another purpose, viz., that those who have children, or the charge of their education, would think it worth their while diligently to watch, and carefully to prevent the undue connexion of ideas in the minds of young people. This is the time most susceptible of lasting impressions; and though those relating to the health of the body are by discreet people minded and fenced against, yet I am apt to doubt, that those which relate more peculiarly to the mind, and terminate in the understanding or passions, have been much less heeded than the thing deserves: nay, those relating purely to the understanding, have, as I suspect been by most men wholly overlooked.*

9. *A great Cause of Errors.*—This wrong connexion in our minds of ideas, in themselves loose and independent of one another, has such an influence, and is of so great force to set us awry in our actions, as well moral as natural, passions, reasonings, and notions themselves, that perhaps there is not any one thing that deserves more to be looked after.

* And up to this day have not been acted on: for teachers generally continue to give rise in the minds of their pupils to disagreeable ideas, in connexion with the most beautiful departments of learning. Thus, from school associations, some men have an aversion to Euripides, others to Homer, as Lord Byron to Horace. Had sound judgment presided over their education, those names would have been linked in their minds with every sublime and pleasurable image.—ED.

10. *Instances.*—The ideas of goblins and sprites have really no more to do with darkness than light; yet let but a foolish maid inculcate these often on the mind of a child, and raise them there together, possibly he shall never be able to separate them again so long as he lives; but darkness shall ever afterwards bring with it those frightful ideas, and they shall be so joined, that he can no more bear the one than the other.

11. A man receives a sensible injury from another, thinks on the man and that action over and over; and by ruminating on them strongly, or much in his mind, so cements those two ideas together, that he makes them almost one; never thinks on the man, but the pain and displeasure he suffered comes into his mind with it, so that he scarce distinguishes them, but has as much an aversion for the one as the other. Thus hatreds are often begotten from slight and innocent occasions, and quarrels propagated and continued in the world.

12. A man has suffered pain or sickness in any place; he saw his friend die in such a room; though these have in nature nothing to do one with another, yet when the idea of the place occurs to his mind, it brings (the impression being once made) that of the pain and displeasure with it; he confounds them in his mind, and can as little bear the one as the other.

13. *Why Time cures some Disorders in the Mind, which Reason cannot.*—When this combination is settled, and while it lasts, it is not in the power of reason to help us, and relieve us from the effects of it. Ideas in our minds, when they are there, will operate according to their natures and circumstances; and here we see the cause why time cures certain affections, which reason, though in the right, and allowed to be so, has not power over, nor is able against them to prevail with those who are apt to hearken to it in other cases. The death of a child that was the daily delight of its mother's eyes, and joy of her soul, rends from her heart the whole comfort of her life, and gives her all the torment imaginable: use the consolations of reason in this case, and you were as good preach ease to one on the rack, and hope to allay, by rational discourses, the pain of his joints tearing asunder. Till time has by disuse separated

the sense of that enjoyment and its loss, from the idea of the child returning to her memory, all representations, though ever so reasonable, are in vain; and, therefore, some in whom the union between these ideas is never dissolved, spend their lives in mourning, and carry an incurable sorrow to their graves.*

14. *Further Instances of the Effect of the Association of Ideas.*—A friend of mine knew one perfectly cured of madness by a very harsh and offensive operation. The gentleman who was thus recovered, with great sense of gratitude and acknowledgment owned the cure all his life after, as the greatest obligation he could have received; but, whatever gratitude and reason suggested to him, he could never bear the sight of the operator: that image brought back with it the idea of that agony which he suffered from his hands, which was too mighty and intolerable for him to endure.

15. Many children, imputing the pain they endured at school to their books they were corrected for, so join those ideas together, that a book becomes their aversion, and they are never reconciled to the study and use of them all their lives after; and thus reading becomes a torment to them, which otherwise possibly they might have made the great pleasure of their lives. There are rooms convenient enough, that some men cannot study in, and fashions of vessels, which, though ever so clean and commodious, they cannot drink out of, and that by reason of some accidental ideas which are annexed to them, and make them offensive: and who is there that hath not observed some man to flag at the appearance, or in the company of some certain person not otherwise superior to him, but because, having once on some occasion got the ascendant, the idea of authority and distance goes along with that of the person, and he that has been thus subjected, is not able to separate them?

16. Instances of this kind are so plentiful everywhere, that if I add one more, it is only for the pleasant oddness of it. It is of a young gentleman, who, having learnt to dance, and that to great perfection, there happened to stand an old trunk in the room where he learnt. The idea of this remarkable

* Never was there a juster observation, or one more elegantly expressed.—ED.

piece of household stuff had so mixed itself with the turns and steps of all his dances, that though in that chamber he could dance excellently well, yet it was only whilst that trunk was there; nor could he perform well in any other place, unless that or some such other trunk had its due position in the room. If this story shall be suspected to be dressed up with some comical circumstances, a little beyond precise nature, I answer for myself that I had it some years since from a very sober and worthy man, upon his own knowledge, as I report it; and I dare say there are very few inquisitive persons who read this, who have not met with accounts, if not examples, of this nature, that may parallel, or at least justify this.*

17. *Its Influence on intellectual Habits.*— Intellectual habits and defects this way contracted, are not less frequent and powerful, though less observed. Let the ideas of being and matter be strongly joined, either by education or much thought, whilst these are still combined in the mind, what notions, what reasonings, will there be about separate spirits? Let custom from the very childhood have joined figure and shape to the idea of God, and what absurdities will that mind be liable to about the Deity?

Let the idea of infallibility be inseparably joined to any person, and these two constantly together possess the mind; and then one body, in two places at once, shall unexamined be swallowed for a certain truth, by an implicit faith, whenever that imagined infallible person dictates and demands assent without inquiry.

18. *Observable in different Sects.*—Some such wrong and unnatural combinations of ideas will be found to establish the irreconcilable opposition between different sects of philosophy and religion; for we cannot imagine every one of their followers to impose wilfully on himself, and knowingly refuse truth offered by plain reason. Interest, though it does a great deal in the case, yet cannot be thought to work whole societies of men to so universal a perverseness, as that

* From the examples above given, which the experience of most men will corroborate, it may be seen how carefully associations of this kind should be guarded against in the education of youth. Most fixed habits in things indifferent are contemptible, either as ridiculous, or as leading to enslave the mind.—ED.

every one of them to a man should knowingly maintain falsehood: some at least must be allowed to do what all pretend to; i. e., to pursue truth sincerely; and therefore there must be something that blinds their understandings, and makes them not see the falsehood of what they embrace for real truth. That which thus captivates their reasons and leads men of sincerity blindfold from common sense, will, when examined, be found to be what we are speaking of: some independent ideas, of no alliance to one another, are by education, custom, and the constant din of their party, so coupled in their minds, that they always appear there together; and they can no more separate them in their thoughts than if they were but one idea, and they operate as if they were so. This gives sense to jargon, demonstration to absurdities, and consistency to nonsense, and is the foundation of the greatest, I had almost said of all, the errors in the world; or if it does not reach so far, it is at least the most dangerous one, since, so far as it obtains, it hinders men from seeing and examining. When two things in themselves disjoined, appear to the sight constantly united; if the eye sees these things riveted, which are loose, where will you begin to rectify the mistakes that follow in two ideas, that they have been accustomed so to join in their minds, as to substitute one for the other, and, as I am apt to think, often without perceiving it themselves? This, whilst they are under the deceit of it, makes them incapable of conviction, and they applaud themselves as zealous champions for truth, when indeed they are contending for error, and the confusion of two different ideas, which a customary connexion of them in their minds hath to them made in effect but one, fills their heads with false views, and their reasonings with false consequences.

19. *Conclusion.*—Having thus given an account of the original, sorts, and extent of our ideas, with several other considerations about these (I know not whether I may say instruments) or materials of our knowledge, the method I at first proposed to myself would now require that I should immediately proceed to show what use the understanding makes of them, and what knowledge we have by them. This was that which, in the first general view I had of this subject, was all that I thought I should have

to do; but, upon a nearer approach, I find that there is so close a connexion between ideas and words, and our abstract ideas and general words have so constant a relation one to another, that it is impossible to speak clearly and distinctly of our knowledge, which all consists in propositions, without considering, first, the nature, use, and signification of language; which, therefore, must be the business of the next book.

END OF VOLUME I.

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